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G Buchanan 7/  
August. 1577.

*Edinburgh: W. & A. Mackenzie, 1831.*

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

OF

GEORGE HUCHANAN;

WITH

NOTES,

AND

A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY JOHN WATKINS, LL.D.

—♦—

..

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER PLATES.

LONDON:

HENRY FISHER, SON, AND P. JACKSON,

38, NEWGATE-STREET.

1831.

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## PREFACE.

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OF the merits of BUCHANAN'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, as a literary composition, there has long been but one opinion among the learned. That accomplished judge, THURASUS, who was nearly his contemporary, says—"Buchanan, in his old age, began to write the history of his own country; and although, according to the genius of his nation, he sometimes inveighs against crowned heads with severity, yet the work is written with so much purity, spirit, and judgment, that it does not appear to be the production of a man who had passed all his days in the dust of a school, but of one that had been through his whole life conversant in the most important affairs of state. Such was the greatness of his mind, and the felicity of his genius, that the meanness of his condition and fortune has not hindered him from forming correct sentiments of things of the utmost moment, or from expressing himself concerning them with the greatest judgment."

The no less erudite and acute critic LE CLERC observes, that "the style of Buchanan is fine and pure, and the historian appears every where to speak the truth as far as it was known to him." Again, the same author says, "Buchanan has united the brevity of Sallust to the elegance and perspicuity of Livy; for these were the two authors that he chose principally to follow: and I do not believe that any modern writer hath better succeeded in imitating the historians of antiquity."

Bishop Burnet remarks, that "in the writings of Buchanan there appears, not only all the beauty and grace of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind and quickness of thought, far beyond Bembo or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman style.—He is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors."

To these testimonies it is sufficient to add that of a man who was neither partial to Scotland, nor to the principles of Buchanan. Dr. JOHNSON, in his Journey to the Western Islands, says, "At an hour somewhat late we came to St. Andrew's, a city once archiepiscopal; where that university still subsists, in which philosophy was taught by Buchanan, whose name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern Latinity, and perhaps a fairer than the instability of vernacular languages admits."

The History of Scotland was the last performance of this great scholar, who, with it, ended his life, in the year 1582, when the first edition appeared at Edinburgh, in a folio volume, under this title, "*Hærum Scoticarum Historia*." From that time the work remained, on account of its free sentiments and strong facts, locked up in the language in which it was written, till the first year of the Revolution, when an English version, apparently by authority of government, was published at London, in one volume, folio.

In this state it remained till 1721, when Mr. William Bond was employed by the booksellers to revise the work for a new edition, in two octavo volumes. But though that gentleman professed to have corrected the translation by the original, it is evident on comparison that he did this very slightly, for the numerous errors which disfigured the folio were suffered by him to pass unamended, and they have been servilely copied in all the succeeding editions.

In preparing the history again for publication, the present Editor has compared the version throughout, with the Latin copy printed at Edinburgh in 1700; and also with the complete impression of Buchanan's works, in two vols. folio, in 1715, of which the learned Thomas Ruddiman was the superintendent. No CONTINUATION of the History, however, has hitherto been given in any edition. That now offered, it is presumed, will not be found unworthy, at least in respect to accuracy and impartiality, of a connexion with the standard performance to which it is appended.



THE  
EPISTLE DEDICATORY  
TO  
JAMES THE SIXTH, KING OF SCOTLAND.

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ON returning to my native country, after an absence of twenty-four years, I desired nothing more than to review my papers, which were dispersed and many ways injured by the iniquity of the times: for I found, that by the over-officiousness of my friends, to precipitate the publication of what was yet unfit to see the light, and the excessive liberty which transcribers take to censure the works of other men, they had altered many things, and corrupted others, according to their several humours.

But whilst I was endeavouring to remedy these disorders, the sudden and unexpected solicitations of my friends broke up my measures; all of them, as if they had conspired together, exhorting me to lay aside things of less weight, that rather delight the ear than instruct the mind, and apply myself to write the history of our nation, as a subject not only suitable to my age, and sufficient to answer the expectation of my countrymen; but deserving great commendation, and most likely to preserve one's memory to succeeding ages. Amongst other reasons, which I omit, they added, that though Britain be the most famous island in the world, and every part of its history contain most remarkable things; yet scarce one was to be found in any age, who durst attempt so great a work, or if he did, was able to accomplish it.

Neither was it the least inducement to this undertaking, that I hoped my pains herein would not be unsuitable, nor unacceptable, to your Majesty. For I thought it would be extremely wrong if you, Sir, who in your tender years have read the histories of all nations, and retain very many of them in your memory, should be a stranger at home. Besides, an incurable distemper having made me unfit to discharge, in person, the care of your instruction committed to me, I thought that sort of writing which tends to the information of the mind, would best supply the want of my attendance; and therefore resolved to send your Majesty faithful counsellors from history, that you might make use of their advice in your deliberations, and imitate their virtue in your actions. For there are amongst your royal ancestors men excellent in every respect, of whom posterity will never be ashamed; and, to omit others, your Majesty will hardly find in history, any hero worthy to be compared with our royal DAVID. And if the divine goodness was so liberal to him in those most calamitous and wicked times, we may with reason hope that your Majesty will be, as the prophet says, "a pattern of all those excellencies which mothers desire in their children when they give them their best wishes," and that this government, which seems to be hurried on to ruin and destruction, may be supported till the time shall come, when all sublunary things, having finished the course appointed them by God's eternal decree, shall reach their destined period.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

*Edinburgh, August 27th.*

THE

LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

(Said to be written by Himself, two Years before his Death.)

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in the shire of Lennox, (commonly called the sheriffdom of Dumbarton,) in Scotland, situated near the river or water of Blane, in the year of our Lord 1506, about the beginning of February. The place of his birth was Killairn, a country town, and his family was rather ancient than rich. His father died of the stone, in the flower of his age, whilst his grandfather was yet alive, by whose extravagance, the family, already low, was now almost reduced to the extremity of want. Yet such was the frugal care of his mother Agnes Heriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to men and women's estate. Of the five sons, George was one. His uncle, James Heriot, perceiving his forwardness in their own country schools, took him from thence, and sent him in 1520 to Paris. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to poetry; partly through a natural genius that way, and partly out of necessity, because it was the only method of learning propounded to him in his youth. Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; insomuch that being in extreme want, he was forced to return to his friends. After remaining at home about a year to recover his health, he went into the army of French auxiliaries, then newly arrived in Scotland, to learn the military art; but that expedition proving fruitless, and those forces being reduced, by the deep snows of a very severe winter, he relapsed into such an illness as confined him all that season to his bed. Early in the spring he was sent to St. Andrew's, to attend the lectures of John Major; who, though very old, read logic, or rather sophistry, in that university. The next summer he accompanied him into France; and there fell into the troubles of the Lutherans, which sect then began to increase. After struggling with the difficulties of fortune almost two years, he was at last admitted into the College of St. Barbe, where he was professor of grammar near three years. During this time, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, a young Scottish nobleman, being much pleased with his genius and discourse, entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him to his native land.

Afterwards, when he intended to return to Paris to his old studies, he was detained by the king, and made tutor to James Murray, his natural son. In the mean time, an elegy, written by him at his leisure, came into the hands of the Franciscans. In this piece he represents himself as solicited in a dream, by St. Francis, to enter into his order; but the poem contained one or two passages which reflected so very severely on the ghostly fathers, that, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, they took the matter more heinously than men who had obtained such a reputation for piety among the vulgar ought to have done upon so small an occasion. Having no just grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the article of religion; which was their common way of harassing those to whom they bore ill will. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran persuasion. In the mean time, the king, with his consort Magdalen, came from France, not without exciting alarm among the clergy; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been bred up under her aunt the queen of Navarre, would attempt some innovation in religion. But this fear vanished at her death, which happened shortly after.

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## THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Next there arose jealousies at court, about some of the nobility, who were thought to have conspired against the king; and his majesty, convinced of the treachery of the Franciscans, commanded Buchanan, without knowing of the difference between him and that order, to write a satire upon them. Buchanan was loath to offend either; and therefore, though he wrote a poem, it was but a short one, and such as might admit of a doubtful interpretation. In this he satisfied neither party: not the king, who would have had a sharp and stinging invective; nor the fathers, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing said of them but what was honourable. Upon receiving a second command, to write more pungently against them, he began that production which bears the title of "The Franciscan," and gave it to the king. But shortly after, being made acquainted by his friends at court, that cardinal Beaton sought his life, and had offered the king a sum of money as a price for his head, he escaped out of prison, and fled to England. But there things were in such an uncertainty, that on the very same day, and almost in one and the same fire, the men of both parties (as well Protestants as Papists) were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own security, than the purity or reformation of religion. This instability of affairs in England, seconded by his ancient acquaintance with the French, and the courtesy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

On coming to Paris, he found cardinal Beaton, his bitter enemy, ambassador there; to withdraw himself from whose fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govea, he went to Bourdeaux. There he taught three years in the schools which were erected at the public expense. During that time he composed four tragedies, which were afterwards occasionally published: but the one written first, called the Baptist, was printed last, and next the Medea from Euripides. He wrote them in compliance with the custom of the school, to have a play once a year, that the acting of it might wean the French youth from allegories, to which they had taken a false taste, and bring them back as much as possible to a just imitation of the ancients. This affair succeeding, even almost beyond his hope, he took more pains in compiling the other two tragedies, called Jephthah and Alceste; because he thought they would be more severely criticized by the learned. While thus engaged, he was not wholly free from trouble, being harassed between the menaces of the cardinal on the one side, and of the Franciscans on the other. The former wrote letters to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, to apprehend him; but, providentially, those epistles fell into the hands of Buchanan's best friends; and soon after, the death of the king of Scots, and the plague which then raged over all Aquitaine, dispelled that fear.

In the mean time, an express came to Govea from the king of Portugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him some men, learned in the Greek and Latin tongues; that they might teach the liberal arts, and especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those schools which he was then building with great care and expense. Buchanan, on being applied to, readily consented to go for one; the rather because, seeing that all the rest of Europe was either actually engaged in war, or upon the point of being so, he thought that corner of the world would probably be the most free from tumults and combustions: besides which, he would have for his companions in the journey, not strangers, but acquaintance and familiar friends. Many of them had been his intimates for several years, and are well known to the world by their learned works, as Nicholas Grouchy, William Garent, James Tevins, and Elias Vinet. This was the reason that he not only consented to make one of their society, but also persuaded his brother Patrick to do the same. And indeed the matter succeeded very well at first, but in the midst of the concern, Andrew Govea was taken away from them by a sudden death, which proved very prejudicial to his companions. For, after his decease, their enemies, who had hitherto endeavoured to ensnare them by treachery, ran violently upon them as it were with open mouth; and their agents and instruments being equally inimical to the accused, they laid hold of three of them, and put them in prison; whence, after a long and loathsome confinement, they were called out to give their answers; and, after many bitter taunts, were remanded; but no one appeared in court against them. As for Buchanan, they insulted him bitterly on account of his being a stranger; and knowing also that he had very few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his prosperity, sympathize with his grief, or revenge his wrongs. The crime laid to his charge, was the poem he wrote against the Franciscans; of which he had himself, before he went from France, taken care to give an account to the king of Portugal; neither did his accusers perfectly know what it was; as the only copy ever delivered was to the king of Scots, by whose command it was written. They further objected his eating of flesh in

## THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Lent; though there is not a man in all Spain, who does not use the same liberty. But the worst was, he had given some sly blows to the monks, which, however, nobody but a monk himself could well except against.

Moreover, they were grievously offended, because in a familiar discourse with some young Portuguese gentlemen, upon mention made of the Eucharist, he had said that, in his judgment, Austin was more inclinable to the Lutheran party than to the church of Rome. Some years afterwards, it appeared that two other persons, John Tolpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius, a Genoese, had witnessed against him, their having heard, from many who were worthy of belief, that Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion.

But to return: After the inquisitors had wearied themselves and him for almost half a year, at last, that they might not seem to have without cause vexed a man of some name and note in the world, they shut him up in a monastery for some months, there to be more exactly disciplined and instructed by the monks, who, to give them their due, though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men otherwise neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour.

This was the time he took to translate the principal of David's psalms into Latin verse. At length he was set at liberty; and, on applying for a pass, and accommodations from the crown, to return into France, the king desired him to stay, at the same time allotting him a little sum for daily necessities and expenses, till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But being tired out with delay and uncertainty, he embraced the opportunity of taking his passage in a ship then at Lisbon, and bound for England. He made, however, no long stay in that country, though fair offers were made him; for he saw that all things were in disorder under a very young king; the nobles at variance one with another, and the minds of the commons in a ferment, on account of their civil combusions. Upon this he returned into France, and as this was about the time when the siege of Metz was raised, he was importuned by his friends to write a poem concerning that event. He complied, though somewhat unwillingly, because he was loath to interfere with several of his acquaintance, and especially with Melin de Saint Gelais, who had composed a learned and elegant poem on that subject. From thence he was called over into Italy, by Charles de Cosse, marshal de Brissac, who then governed with credit the Gallician and Ligurian territories about the Po. He lived with him and his son Timoleon, either in Italy or in France, till 1560, being the space of five years; the greatest part of which period he spent in the study of the holy scriptures, that so he might be able to form a more exact judgment of the controversies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and took up the time, of most men in those days. Those disputes being a little silenced in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France; he returned thither, and became a member of the reformed church.

Some of his writings, in former times, being as it were redeemed from shipwreck, were by him collected and published; the rest, which are still scattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he commits to the disposal of Providence.

Being at this time in the seventy-fourth year of his age, he still attends the education of James VI. king of Scotland, to whom he was appointed tutor in the year 1566, and now, quite broken with the infirmities of old age, he longs for the desired haven of his rest.

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Thus far runs the narrative said to have been written by Buchanan; but in reality the production of Patrick Young: to which account it is necessary that some particulars should be added.

In 1561 our author returned to Scotland, and, though an avowed Protestant, he was admitted at court, where he assisted the unfortunate Mary in her studies. The parliament also appointed him one of the visitors of the universities; and the General Assembly employed him to revise the "Book of Discipline." In 1564 the queen settled upon him a pension of five hundred pounds, Scotch; which favour he repaid, by writing a libel entitled "*Detectio Mariæ Reginae*." About the year 1566 he was made the principal of St. Leonard's College, at St. Andrew's, where for some time he taught moral philosophy; but in 1567 he was chosen moderator to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland. He was now closely connected with his former pupil, the earl of Murray, whom he accompanied to England; and while there he gained the particular favour of queen Elizabeth, by writing some encomiastic verses on her majesty, for which she rewarded him with several presents, and a regular pension of one hundred pounds sterling a year.

## THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

In 1570 Buchanan sustained a great loss by the assassination of his patron Murray: notwithstanding which, he still continued to be employed at court, and was actually appointed one of the members of the privy council, with the title of privy seal. He was also entrusted with the education of the young king, towards whom he never shewed much respect or lenity. One day, the little monarch being rather noisy at play, was told to be quiet. The youth, however, disregarded the injunction, and continued his sport, on which the tutor said, that if he did not cease he should have a good whipping. The royal pupil bristly replied, he should be glad to see who would bell the cat; alluding to the well-known fable of *Æsop*. Buchanan upon this threw away his book in a passion, and, snatching up the boy, gave him a severe flagellation. The countess of Mar, who was in an adjoining room, hearing the king cry, ran in, and inquired what was the matter. He told her that the master had whipped him; upon which, turning to Buchanan, she asked him how he dared to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed? He answered, "Madam, I have whipped his backside, and you may kiss it if you please."

In 1579, Buchanan published his famous political dialogue, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*," which he dedicated to king James. This performance was followed in 1582 by his great work entitled "*Rerum Scotticarum Historia*;" of which the following is a translation.—Buchanan, who had spent the last twelve or thirteen years of his life upon this History, just saw its appearance from the press, and died at Edinburgh December the 5th, the same year. It is said that when upon his death-bed he was told how much the king was offended with his two publications on the Government and History of Scotland, he coolly replied, "that he was not much concerned about it, as he was shortly going to a place where there were few kings." We are also told, that when he was dying he called for his servant, and asked him how much money there was in the house; and finding that it was very little, he ordered it to be given to the poor. The domestic, upon this, asked, "Who would be at the charge of burying him?" Buchanan replied, "that he was indifferent about that; for if he were dead, and they would not bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpse where they pleased." He was accordingly buried at the expense of the city of Edinburgh; but in the common cemetery, without either pomp or monument.

During the residence of our author at Bourdeaux, he was employed in the education of Michael Montaigne, who, in his *Essays*, says, "George Buchanan the great poet of Scotland, and Marcus Antonius Muretus, the best orator of his time, were among the number of my domestic tutors. Buchanan, when I saw him afterwards in the retinue of the Marechal de Brissac, told me that he was about to write a Treatise on the Education of Children, and that he would take the model of it from mine."

The story just related of Buchanan's behaviour in his last moments, though characteristic enough of the man, appears somewhat doubtful, and to be nothing more than a transfer to him of the saying of Democritus, a cynic philosopher of antiquity. When the friends of the dying sage asked him how he would be buried, he replied, "O give yourselves no manner of trouble about that, for if you let my body remain where it is, the effluvia will provide an interment."

The countenance of Buchanan, though strongly expressive, was austere; and his manners corresponded with his appearance. In regard to his person, he was slovenly to an extreme: and he seems to have affected a philosophical contempt of dress.

Sir James Melville, who was of the opposite party to him, and therefore cannot be supposed to be partial in his favour, tells us, that Buchanan "was a Stoic philosopher, who looked not far before him; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poetry, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing, at all occasions, moralities, short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, and inventing where he wanted. He was also religious, but was easily abused; and so facile, that he was led by every company that he haunted; which made him factious in his old days for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him informed him; for he was become careless, following, in many things, the vulgar opinion; as he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him; which was his greatest fault."

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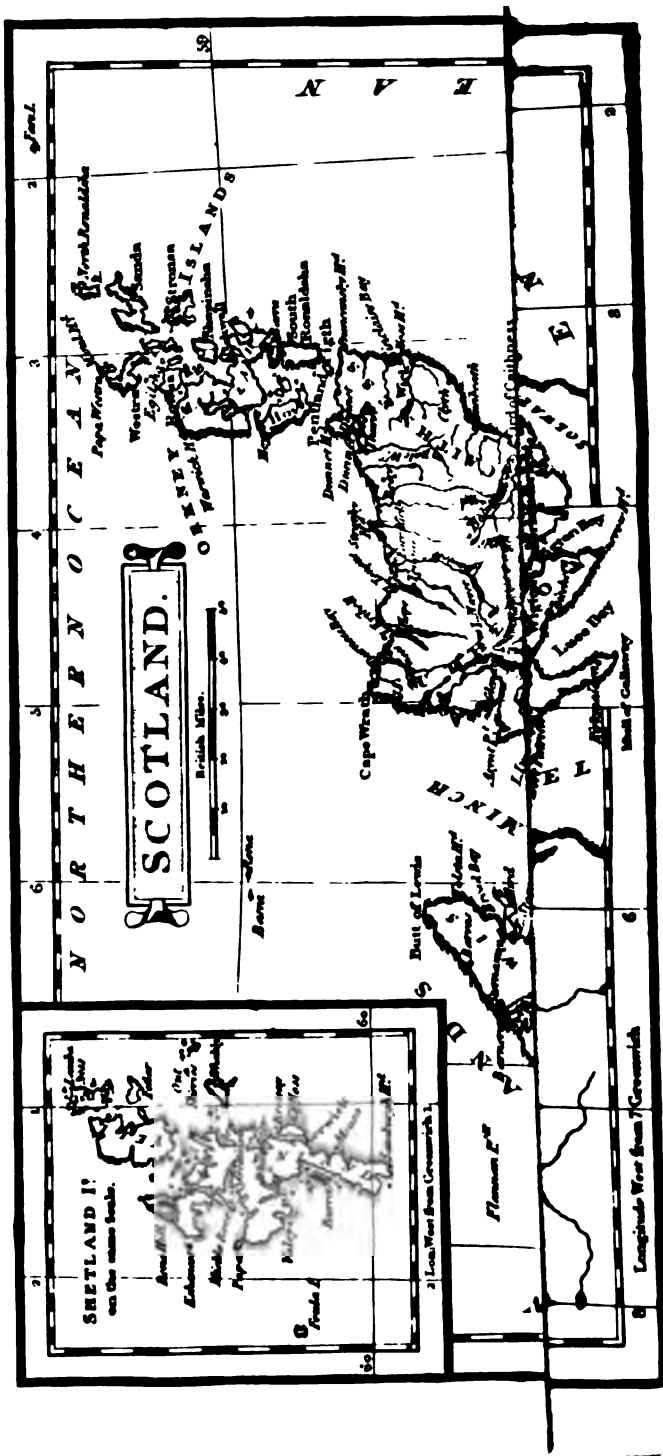


FIG. 1. Scotland, Firth of Clyde, Firth of Forth.

THE

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

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## BOOK I.



WHEN I first determined to record the achievements of our ancestors, and, after purging them from vain fables, to rescue them from oblivion; I thought it conducive to my purpose to trace from the very beginning, as much as distance of time and the deficiency of literary monuments would permit, the situation of the countries, the nature of the soil and air, the ancient names and manners, and the origin of the first inhabitants of the islands called of old, *BRITANY*; which are extended between Spain and Germany, in a long tract of land near the coast of France. As Albion and Ireland, two of these, far exceed the others in extent; therefore, of them I shall speak first; and afterwards, as convenience serves, describe the site, and explain the names, of the rest.

The first in magnitude is Albion; which now alone retains the name of *Britain*, that formerly was common to them all. Concerning its length and breadth, other writers agree with Cæsar; namely, that from north to south it is 800 miles long; and that in the widest part, which, as some think, is where it looks towards France, or, according to others, from St David's head to Yarmouth, it is almost 200 miles. From thence it narrows by degrees, till we come to the borders of Scotland. The Romans, who as yet knew not the extremities of the island, believed it to be triangular; but when their knowledge extended farther, they found, that, beyond Adrian's wall, it gradually became broader, and ran out far to the eastward. This, in brief, concerning its dimensions.

The climate is more temperate than that of France, as Cæsar affirms; but that of Ireland is still milder. The air, which is seldom serene, is commonly darkened with thick mists; but the winters are mild enough, and rather rainy than snowy. The ground brings forth corn plentifully; and produceth, besides, all sorts of metals. It is also fruitful in breeds of cattle. They who inhabit the more remote and cold parts of the island, eat bread made of oatmeal, and drink a vinous or strong liquor extracted from damaged corn: though some boil whey, and keep it in hogsheads several months under ground, which last is counted by many, not only a wholesome, but a pleasant beverage. There was no controversy concerning the name of *Britain* among the ancients, except that the Greeks called it *Britania*, and the Latins, *Britannia*. Other nations used these names indifferently, as they saw fit. Lately, however, some men have started up, not so desirous of truth as of contention, who hoped to make themselves famous, by opposing persons of the greatest eminence; imagining that thereby they must needs obtain a great opinion of learning amongst the vulgar, for daring to enter the lists against, and to combat with, all antiquity; and though the dispute was about a thing of no consequence, yet, because it concerned the name of their coun-

try, they thought it worth contending for with all their might, as if the ancient glory of the nation were at stake. They say, that these three ancient names of the island have their several assertors, *Prudania*, *Prytanæia*, and *Britannia*. Lihwyd\* contends most strenuously for *Prudania*; Thomas Elyot, a British knight, for *Prytanæia*, but very modestly; while almost all others adhere to the name of *Britain*.

Lihwyd, in defence of what he asserts for *Prudania*, useth the authority of an old paper fragment, which nothing but mouldiness, and length of time have made sacred with him. Though he counts this proof firm enough of itself, yet he strengthens it by etymology, the verses of the old Bards, the country dialect, and the rust of antiquity. But, in the first place, I would ask, whence came that fragment, on which he lays the stress and weight of his cause? when and by whom was it written? or what says it in support of his assertion? Though the place, time, and author, are all uncertain, yet he deduces the antiquity of the manuscript from that very obscurity. An excellent proof this, where the certainty, credit, and authority of the testimony must depend on ignorance; and that which is made use of to explain the matter in controversy, hath more intricacy and weakness in it, than the cause which it is brought to defend. Who is the witness in this case? I know not, says Lihwyd. What is it that he offers for evidence? I know not that neither, he replies; but this I have heard, that in the fragment it is called *Prudania*. But, what is this *Prudania*? is it a mountain, or a river? a village, or a town? a man, or a woman? "Here I am again at a loss, (says he,) I do not know," but I conjecture that Britain is signified by the name. Well, then, let *Prudania* signify Britain; still what doth this fragment make for you? I would ask this question. Whether it affirms *Prudania* to be the true name of the island, or doth not rather upbraid their ignorance who ascribe that false name to it? Here, too, I am perplexed (says Lihwyd;) but this I am certain of, that it has the sound of a British word; and the force of the British language doth also appear, even in its very etymology; for *Prudania* is as it were *Prudcania*, that is, 'excellent beauty,' from *Pryd*, signifying form, and *can*, white, the asperity of the word being somewhat mollified. But for that reason it should be called *Prudcania*, not *Prudania*; which word the Bards do pronounce *Pruda*, in their country-speech. I shall not here observe how trivial, deceitful, and oftentimes ridiculous, this inquiry after the original of words is. I pass by Varro, and other learned men, who have been frequently laughed at upon this account. I omit also the whole *Cratylus* of Plato; and will only affirm before impartial judges, that a man may more easily prove, the word *Cambri* to be derived from *Canis* and *Brutum*, a dog and a brute, than you shall persuade me that *Prudania* comes from *Prudecania*. For according to this fashion you may form derivations from any thing as you please. And, indeed, Lihwyd himself shews, what little confidence he puts in his own proofs, when he calls the Bards to his aid; a race of men, I allow to be very ancient, but of whom antiquity affirms that they committed nothing to writing. Of these, however, I shall speak more elsewhere.

Let us now come to the last refuge of Lihwyd: Cæsar, says he, being the first who mentioned the name of this island in Latin, called it *Britain*; and almost all Latin writers having trod in his steps, did not change the appellation. Here Lihwyd is guilty of a notorious falsehood, in saying that Cæsar was the first of the Latins who called it Britain; for, before Cæsar was born,

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\* Humphrey Lihwyd, Lihuyd, or Lloyd, was a native of the county of Denbigh in North Wales, and educated at Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where he studied physic, but it is uncertain whether he ever practised in that line. He devoted himself chiefly to antiquarian pursuits, and died in his native country, about 1570. The work on which Buchanan animadverts with such unmerciful severity, was printed at Cologne, in 1572, with this title, "*Commentarioli Britannicæ, Descriptionis Fragmentum*:" a new edition of it was published in London in 1731.

Sir Thomas Elyot was born in Suffolk, and bred at Oxford, after which, he became a favourite with Henry VIII, who employed him in several embassies, particularly to the emperor Charles V. He died in 1545. The work to which Buchanan alludes, is entitled, "*De Rebus Memorabilibus Anglicæ*."

Lucretius mentions the name of Britain; as Aristotle did amongst the Greeks, long before him; and Propertius, not long after him, when he saith,

*Cogor et in tabula pictos ediscere mundos.*

"Our force of art in maps the globe describes,  
"Where painted nations meet our wond'ring eyes."

This shews, that, in his age, maps or representations of the world made part of the furniture of houses. Now I would ask, do you think that Cæsar, who was so well skilled in all sorts of learning, never saw or read a description of the world? Or, can you be persuaded, that Britain alone, the greatest island in the universe, and then so famous both in the Latin and Greek monuments, was omitted in those maps? or, do you believe, that Cæsar, who was so inquisitive about the affairs of Britain, as to inquire what men inhabited that country then, and before his time; what plants and animals grew, or were bred therein; and what were the laws and customs of the country; do you, I say, believe, that he, who was so solicitous about those things, would neglect the name of the whole island? or, that he, who, with so great faithfulness and diligence, gave right names to the cities of the Gauls, would deprive the Britons of their ancient glory? Upon the whole, I see no reason why Lihwyd should think that the old name of the island was Prudania, upon which he values himself so much, unless words may contract authority from the rest of a worm-eaten paper. This is all I have to say to Lihwyd at present, who, by private witnesses, and his own dreams, hath thought fit to oppose himself against the opinion of all the learned men that now are, or ever have been, in the world.

As for Elyot, my task will be easier with him. He, being induced not only by probable conjectures, but also by some authors, and those not obscure, thinks that the island was sometimes called Prytaneia. He judged it not improbable, that an island abounding with plenty of all things, not only for the necessities, but the ornaments of life, should be so denominated. In this case, if we should weigh the reason of names, Sicily would rather deserve the title of Prytaneia, and some other islands also; which as far exceed Britain in fruitfulness, as they fall short of it in extent. Besides, in those authors, by whose testimony the name Prytaneia is confirmed, it easily appears that the orthography is vitiated. As for Stephens, there is the highest inconstancy in him. Under the word Albion, he says, professing to follow Martian, that it is the island of Brettain, but under the words Javernia and Javerna, he writes Prætanica. Elsewhere, says he, in the ocean are the British islands, whose inhabitants are called Brettains, but that Martian and Ptolemy, in these words, make P the first letter. If any one compare the places, without doubt he will find, that the writing is corrupted, and that Stephens himself was of opinion, that Bretania ought to have B for the first letter, and a reduplicate T in the middle.

Of this, Elyot, I believe, was not ignorant, and therefore, being content to notice, as much as was needful, what things men, greedy of praise, will bring together for the ostentation of their learning, he leaves the matter in dispute entirely to the judgment of the reader. But Lihwyd, that you may know his disposition more fully, of the three names of this large island, approves that most which hath the fewest assertors, viz. Prudania; and next to that he commends Prytaneia. But Britannia, which name, according to Ptolemy, grew famous through all nations, and was celebrated both in Greek and Latin monuments, he rejects altogether, as corrupted in tract of time, and fixed by Julius Cæsar; whom he falsely asserts to have first mentioned that appellative in Latin, and thereby drew others into the same error. But I can prove the antiquity of the word Britannia, by many clear and ample testimonies, if this were the matter in dispute; and shew that it was not corrupted by Cæsar, but delivered down to us, pure from hand to hand, by our ancestors, except that the ancients were wont to write it with a reduplicate. Whence it was, as I suppose, that Lucretius made the first syllable of the word long, in verse; but now the Latins leave out one T, which, however, is still retained in the word Britto. The Greeks, who write

Brettania, come nearest to the pronunciation of the country-speech, which the Britons themselves, and all their neighbours, still retain. For the neighbouring Gauls call all British women Brettæ; and Bretter, with them, is to speak British: and a promontory in Gaseony is commonly called Cape Breton; and both sorts of Scots, that is, the Albians and the Hibernians, speak so too; only with this difference, that they who delight in the German dialect, sometimes use the transposition of letters, and pronounce Berton for Breton. But Dionysius Afer in this verse,

*Ἰταλὸν εἰχεται ψυχρὸς ῥόος ἐνθα Βρετανοί,*

mentioning the "Bretanes as inhabiting near the cold surges of the ocean," hath used a poetical license in leaving one *r* out of the word *Βρετανοί*, as he hath also done in the elision of the letter *ρ* in *Σαπάραι* for *Σαπάρραι*. Here the consent of so many nations, almost from their originals, both among themselves, and with the ancients, as well Greeks as Latins, will have greater weight with me, than all the rubbish Lhwyl has raked out of the dunghill, and that which is good for nothing but to be laughed at, and to disparage the collector. Let him shew, if he can, what author ever wrote Prudania before Aristotle: but with all his labour, he will never be able to do it; seeing, that for some ages after him, the Bards committed nothing to writing. Away, then, with this vain-glorious, or, may I not rather say, senseless, boast of antiquity, of which no argument, nor the least vestige, can be found.

Amidst this diversity of opinions, and these various modes of speech, Lhwyl thinks it most advisable always to look to antiquity, and the ordinary dialect of a country, as to a pole-star; by which to direct the whole of his discourse. For my part, I would not much dissent from him, if that which was in ancient use, and therefore thought certain, could be always retained. But there are many causes to prevent this from being done.

First, Because, in every language, it is difficult to find out the most ancient words; and therefore it is more advisable, in this case, to follow the custom of the learned, than, by a vain and ridiculous labour, always to search after originals, as if it were for the source of the Nile; especially since the beginning of words depends not so much on the judgment of the wise, as on the caprice of the ordinary people: who, for the most part, are rude and uncultivated. Therefore, anxiously to inquire after the reason of such is labour in vain. For, as in the generation of all other things, which either grow naturally of themselves, or are invented by men for the use of life, the first conceptions are very imperfect, and the productions incommensurable and disagreeable, though afterward, by culture, they are improved, and rendered amiable by good management: so it is in language, which, taking its rise from men rough and unpolite, was at first harsh, rugged, and uncouth; until it gradually put off its natural rigour and unpleasantness, became more gentle and sweet to the ear, and more easily insinuated itself into the minds of men. Therefore, it is in this case, if in any, that I think something should be indulged to the custom of men more polished than others; and that such a pleasure, which is neither uncomely nor ungraceful, as far as it is not hurtful to men's manners, is not to be despised. But if any one is born with such an evil genius, that he loves the language of Cato and Ennius, better than that of Cicero and Terence; and when wheat is found out, would rather still feed on acorns, my vote is,—much good may it do him! But our dispute is not here concerning the purity and elegance of the Latin tongue; for it matters not how the Britons of former ages sounded their letters or words. My endeavour is, to shew how the Latins might learn the British, not how the British acquired the Latin pronunciation. For my part, I had rather be ignorant of the gibberish of the old Britons, than to forget the knowledge of the Latin tongue, which I imbibed with great pains when a child. And I have no other reason for lessening my disgust, when I find the ancient Scottish language dying away by degrees, but this consideration, which I own is very pleasing to me: That while we banish those wild barbarous sounds, we substitute harmonious ones from the Latin, in their room. If in this transmigration of languages, one must be given up for the other; of the two, let us pass from rusticity and barbarism,

to culture and humanity; and, by our choice and judgment, put off that uncleanliness which accrued to us by the infelicity of our birth. Or if our pains and industry can avail any thing in this case, let us bestow them all in polishing, as much as we can, the Greek and Latin tongues, which the better part of the world hath publicly received; and if there be any solecisms or flaws adhering thereto, by the contagion of barbarous languages, let us exert our utmost endeavours to purge them away.

Besides, an over-anxious diligence about foreign names, especially in transferring them into another language, can never be observed, neither is it expedient that it should: for what tongue is there which hath not some letters and sounds, that cannot fully be expressed by the characters of another? What nation, besides the German, can pronounce the letter *W*? Who can give that sound to the letters *D*, *G*, *P*, *T*, *X*, and *Z*, in Latin, which the Spaniards, the Britons, and some of the Scots, do?

It is on account of this uncouthness of sound, as I suppose, that Pliny, reckoning up the cities of Spain, denies that some of them can be well pronounced in the Latin tongue. Some he calls ignoble, and of barbarous appellation; others, he says, cannot be so much as named without grating the ear. What, I beseech you, would Lhwyd do in this case, if he were to write the history of Britain in Latin? With all his stock of rusty barbarism, I believe he would hardly know how to pronounce the genuine names of the Britons; were he vexes himself so much how he should write his own name, whether Lhwyd, or Lhud, or else bare Ludd, none of which can be written, pronounced, or heard amongst Latinists, without disgust: now, if he retains the true sound, he will make, not a Latin, but a semi-barbarous oration; but if he bend foreign words to the sound of the Latin, he will commit as great a trespass, as Cæsar is said to have done in the word *Britannus*. What, then, shall we do to please so captious and morose a person as Lhwyd? Shall we call the island *Prudamia*, rather than *Britannia*? Lhwyd himself, who is so severe a censor of others, will not exact this of us: he will permit it to be called *Prudania*, from *Pruda*; but if any one dare to pronounce and call it *Britannia* or *Brettania*, he directly accuses him of violating sacred antiquity, of corrupting and contaminating the ancient and sincere language, and of turning it from a robust and masculine sound, into an effeminate pronunciation. What shall we do in this case? May we not brighten some expressions, and rescue them from the gloom of antiquity, by changing their air? Or, if we must not change, yet may we not polish some rough words, and soften them a little from their harshness and barbarity, that they may sound

like the speech of men? We see our ancestors have done this in the words *Nerini*, *Moremarusa*, and *Armorici*; so that if we cannot make those words free of old Rome, at least we may give them a Latin garb and similitude. But I see Lhwyd will not allow us this liberty. He calls us back to the strict antiquity of the *Prudanians* and dotards of old times, and forbids us to depart in the least from the Bards. But the ancient Greeks and Latins were not so tenacious; for when the stiffness of their ancient speech began to relax, there was none among them who would rather pronounce *Famul* and *Volup*, than the words *Famulis* and *Voluptas*, which were substituted for them; and moreover they took also a great liberty in translating Latin words from Greek, and Greek ones from Latin. Who ever blamed the Latins, for turning *Polydeuces* into *Pollux*, *Heracleis* into *Hercules*, *Asclepius* into *Æsculapius*? Or, who hath reproved the Greeks for calling *Catulus*, *Catullus*; and *Remus*, *Romus*? Nay, what did the Greeks do, in translating barbarous words into their own language? Did they ever scruple turning *as*, a Punic termination, into *as*, at the end of words? If a man pronounce *Annibals* for *Annibal*, does he therefore tread under foot the majesty of history? Shall he be said on that account to corrupt the truth, or do a notorious injury to the Punic language? Observe how the study of humanity and politeness, amongst the ancient Saxons, and the Danes, who passed over into Britain, differs from Lhwyd's uncouth and slovenly affectation of a rude people, being rude, and ignorant of all learning, when they came among men who used a barbarous and broken kind of language, were so far from suffering themselves to be infected with their solecisms, that, on the con-



trary, on tasting the sweetness of the Latin tongue, they pared away much of the roughness that had been brought upon it; besides which, they rendered some harsh words so smooth, as to make them less offensive to the ear, such as Oxonia and Roffa, for Oxensfordia Oxford, and Rauschestria, for Rochester, and many others, which Lhwyd himself does not deny. And he allows himself the same liberty in many other words, though he is so severe and obstinate a critic in this one word Britannia. But now he pertinaciously opposes the ancient custom of all nations, for a new, obscure, and uncertain word; lest, the royal name of Lhwyd, descended from the Cimbri, and kept as a palladium to this day, should be buried in oblivion. To prevent this, he contends against the universal suffrage of mankind, the antiquity of time, and even against truth itself.

Another observation to be made upon the word Britannia, is this, that foreign writers make it the name of the whole island; and that the Britons and English, who have written the British history, now and then do the same; though at other times they call only that part of the island Britain, which was a Roman province, and that variously, too, as the event of war changed the borders; for at one time they made the wall of Adrian, at another that of Severus, the limits of their empire; those who lived beyond the walls, being termed either barbarous, or outlandish people. Bede, in the beginning of his first book, writes thus:—"Wherefore the Picts, coming into Britain, began to inhabit the north part of the island; for the Britons inhabited the south." He says also, (chap. 34.) "Aidan was king of the Scots, who inhabit Britain." And (lib. 4. chap. 4.) writing of the return of Colman out of England into Scotland, he says, "In the mean time, Colman, who was of Scotland, leaving Britain:" and elsewhere he writes, "They then began, for many days, to come from the country of Scotland into Britain," and farther, "Oswald was slain near the wall which the Romans had built from sea to sea, to defend Britain, and to repel the assaults of the barbarians." This form of speech is found in the same author, again in the ninth chapter of his second book. Nor doth Claudian seem to have been ignorant of this manner of speaking as peculiar to the Britons, when he writes, that the Roman legion, which curbed the fiercest Scots, lay between them and the Britons, that is, opposite to the former, in order to cover the others from their fury, in the farthest part of the country, bordering upon Scotland. William of Malmesbury, and Geoffry of Monmouth, none of the obscurest writers of British affairs, often use this kind of speech, calling that part only Britain, which was contained within the wall of Severus. But though this matter be so clear in these writers, that no man can be ignorant of it, yet great mistakes arose amongst the historians of the next age, some of whom have affirmed in their works, that Alured, Athelstan, and other Saxon kings, did sometimes reign over the whole island; when it is clear, they never passed beyond the wall of Severus. On reading that those kings held the empire of all Britain, these writers presently thought, that they were masters of the whole island, and had it entirely in their own possession. The same observation applies to the manner of using those names, Britannus and Britto; for all the old Greek and Latin writers call the whole island Britannia, and all its inhabitants Britons, without making any distinction. The first, that I know, of the Romans, who called them Brittonis was Martial, in that verse,

*Quam veteres brachia Brittonis pauperis.*

"The old tresses of Britain poor."

The vulgar commonly term the inhabitants of the Gallic peninsula, Britons, though Gregory of Tours always calls the country Britain, and its inhabitants Britains. The Romans constantly gave to their provincials the name of Britains, but the provincials themselves preferred the name of Brittonis. Both names have one radix and the same original, viz. Britannia; and as they both spring from one and the selfsame root, so they both signify one and the selfsame thing:—as the verses of Ausonius plainly shew:

*Silvius ille bonus, qui carmina nostra laceat,  
Nostra magis meruit disticha Britto bona*

*Silvius hic Bonus est. Quis Silvius? Iste Britannus.*

*Aut Britto hic non est Silvius, aut malus est.*

*Silvius esse Bonus Britto, ferturque Britannus.*

*Quis credat civem degenerasse bonum?*

*Nemo bonus Britto est. Si simplex Silvius esse*

*Incipiat, simplex desinet esse bonus.*

*Silvius hic bonus est: sed Britto est Silvius idem.*

*Simplicior res est dicere, Britto malus.*

*Silvi, Britto Bonus, quamvis homo non bonus esse*

*Fertis: nec se quis jungere Britto bono.\**

They who contend, that the Britons were a colony of the Gauls, affirm that Hercules had a son called Britannus, by Colto, a Gallic virgin, from whom the nation of the Britons had their origin. Pliny placeth this nation near the Moriai,† Atrebatæ,‡ and Gessoriaci.§ Neither are there wanting some Greek grammarians to confirm it, as Suidas, and the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Cæsar and Tacitus seem to have been of the same opinion; and so are some other Latin writers, who, although of less fame indeed, are not devoid of learning. Besides, the religion, speech, institutions, and manners of some nations inhabiting near the Gallic sea, do evince the same thing; from whence the Britons, in my opinion, emigrated in colonies, while the Morini by little and little were quite extinguished. Morinus seems to be derived from More, which, in the old Gallic tongue, signifies the sea. Venta, called in old Latin, Venta Belgarum, (because inhabited by the Gallo-Belgæ,) that is, Winchester; and Icenum, derived from Icium; make it probable, that the colonies transported with them, into a foreign soil, their own country terms, in the place of a surname; and at their very entrance, meeting with the Britons, whom they acknowledged to be their offspring, brought them home, and maintained them at their own houses. For Morinus, amongst the old Gauls, signifies Marinus; and Moremarusa, Mare Mortuum: though Goropius hath almost stolen from us these two last names, whilst he is studious to extol his Advatici beyond measure. Neither can the Armorici, or Armoricæ deny that they are of our stock; for we have ample testimonies, old and new, in proof of the fact; because Ar, or Are, is an old Gallic preposition, signifying *at* or *upon*; as if we should say, *at* or *upon* the sea, that is, maritime. And Moremarusa is derived from More, that is, Mare, the sea; the last syllable being long, after the manner of a Greek participle. As for Armorica, or Armoricæ, he that cannot know them at first hearing, is ignorant of the old Gallic tongue: they also signify maritime; and so Strabo interprets them, who is Greek always renders them Apoceanitæ. Cæsar writes of the Armorici, (lib. 6.) that “Great forces of the Gauls, out of the cities called Armoricæ, were gathered to oppose him.” And (lib. 7.) “All the cities near the ocean, according to their custom, are called Armoricæ.” And (lib. 8.) “The cities situated in the extreme parts of Gaul, near the sea, are called Armoricæ.” As often as Cæsar makes mention of these cities, he always calls them, “which are often so called;” but in such a manner that it rather seems an epithet, or surname of a place, than its proper appellation. Neither is that found to be the name of a city in any other authentic writer; yet the

\* This epigram was made by the poet against one Silvius, surnamed Bonus, of Little Britain in France, against whom he had a pique, (and it seems, against the whole nation of Bretons, for his sake.) He takes an occasion to jeer him, from the ambiguity of his surname Bonus, which signifies also good in Latin, and (by the figure antiphrasis) evil, as here it is taken. This author makes it a dodecastich; whereas later interpreters have divided it into six distichs, (but all of one subject,) according to the poet's mind expressed at the first of them. They are not here quoted for the sarcasms contained therein, nor are they here translated, but only to show, that, in this poet's time, who lived under Gratian emperor, about the year 380, *Britto* and *Britannus* were synonymous terms.

† The Morini were a people of Gallia Belgica, now Flanders.

‡ The Atrebatæ were the inhabitants of that part of Gaul, now Artois.

§ The Gessoriaci dwelt on the coast from Calais to Boulogne.

¶ These were the inhabitants of some part of Brabant.

‡ The inhabitants of Bretagne to the west of Normandy.

word is spread far and near on that coast, from Spain to the Rhine; and amongst all writers, I find Pliny alone seems not to understand the force of the word; for he thinks that all Gascoigne was sometimes so called. But enough of this at present; more may be said of the Gallic tongue hereafter.

The most ancient name of the island is thought to have been Albion; or as Aristotle, or rather Theophrastus, in the book entitled, *De Mundo*, writes it, Albium. But this name is rather taken from books, than used in common speech; unless amongst the old Scots, who, as yet, call themselves Albinich, and their country Albin. Many think that this name was given to it, from the white rocks which first appear in approaching the coast from France. But it seems very absurd to me, to fetch the origin of a British name from the Latin, there being then so little commerce between strange nations. Others are of opinion, that this name was given by Albion the son of Neptune, whom they feign to have been some time king of Britain: which is an impudent fiction, without any ground in antiquity to support it; and though some are not ashamed to speak of such a kingdom, upon so weak a foundation as that of a similitude in names, I discover nothing in history to occasion this fable. Amongst the Greeks, it is true, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo have made mention of Albion and Bergion; and from the Latins, Cato, Hyginus, and Mela, we may gather, that Albion and Bergion, the sons of Neptune, being Ligurians, committed robberies in the roads leading from the country of the Albici\* into Italy. These men, when Hercules, after conquering Geryon, was returning out of Spain, sought to rob him of his prey, and maintained so sharp a fight with him, that he, almost despairing of victory, was forced to implore the aid of Jupiter, who sent down a shower of stones to relieve his son. This field of stones remained to posterity as a testimony of the fight; and I will not deny, but that both the island, and the robbers too, took their name from Album. But this I say, that Album was a common name amongst many nations, and that it signified with them, not only colour, but height too. And Festus Pompeius affirms, that what the Latins call Alba, the Sabines call Alpa; from whence the Alps had their name, because they are white with continual snow. For my part, as I assert concerning the one, that Album and Alpum were synonymous amongst the ancients, and I have the authority, not of Festus only, but Strabo also, to support my opinion; so I judge, that the Alps were so called, rather from their height than their whiteness. My reasons are, first, because Alb is the name of many cities in Italy, France, and Spain, which are all situated on hills, or near them: and besides, because Strabo acknowledges, that these names, Alba, Alpa, Alpia, Albionia, Albici, without any difference, are derived from the same root, in the signification of height; and therefore it shews, that they are most used where the Alps begin to grow high. Hence in Liguria, there is Albingaunum, and Albium Intimellum; and among the Iapodes there is Albium, an exceeding high cliff, where the Alps terminate. There are other places also, which may seem to be named from their height. In Italy there is the river Albula, rising in the mountains of Etruria, and its waters called Albulæ, flowing down from the Tibertine mountains. In Gaul Narbonensis there are the Albici, a mountainous people. In Germany there is the river Albis, rising in the mountains of Bohemia. In Asia, the river Albanus flows down from Mount Caucasus, and the Albanians dwell at the same mountain. By these instances, I think we may conclude, that Album is not a word of one, but many nations; and in all the places which have named, their height is always one and the same; but their whiteness happens only during a few months in the year, and in some of them not at all. The names of the Ligurian giants likewise confirm this conjecture. Albion and Bergion, both of them, as I judge, being so called from their imposing stature. Upon what the ancients thought of the word Album, I have said enough already. That which the Germans call high, or berg, is well known to need explanation: but there is a place in Pliny which shews that it was anciently used in the same sense amongst the Gauls; it is in the

\* Liguria comprised the country between the Po in Italy, and the Rhone in France. The Albici dwelt at the foot of the Alps.

third book, which I am of opinion should be thus read: "Whence Cato affirms the Bergomates to have had their original, they discovering themselves by their names to be situated more highly, than happily." Therefore Albion and Bergion were men, it seems, far taller than their neighbours, who, in confidence of their strength, committed robberies in those coasts of Liguria, where Hercules travelled and subdued them by force of arms. But none of the ancients ever affirmed, that they reigned in Britain; and the state of the Gallic affairs at this period makes it improbable that they should; nor is it likely that the state of Britain was much more quiet; in which land the great Albion left a famous kingdom, that he might play the robber at home. Now, as I do not much differ from their opinion, who assert, that Albion was so called from Album; so I think the occasion of the name was not from the colour, but from the height of the mountains. They who imposed that name were, I believe, something inclined thereunto by comparing England with Ireland, there being but a narrow sea between them; for they seeing one shore to be altogether mountainous, and the other depressed, level, and spread into open fields, called the first Albion, from its height. But whether they gave any name to the second, from its low situation, the length of time, and the negligence of the inhabitants in recording ancient affairs, hath made uncertain. Besides, this also adds strength to my opinion, that the name of the island, derived from Album, whether Albion or Albium, remains in Scotland to this very day, as in its native soil; neither could it be extirpated there, notwithstanding so many changes of inhabitants, kingdoms, languages, and the vicissitude of other things. These things seem true, or at least probable, to me; yet if any man can inform me better, I will easily be of his opinion.

Hitherto of the ancient names of the island. The next thing is, to shew the situation of the countries. The English writers have clearly enough described their several counties; but Hector Boethius, in his description of Scotland, hath delivered some things not so true, and he hath drawn others into mistakes, by putting too much faith in those whom he employed, and so published their opinions rather than facts. But I shall briefly touch upon those things of which I am certain; and those which seem obscure, and less true, I will correct as well as I can.

England is conveniently divided by four rivers, two running into the Irish sea, the Dee and Severn; and two into the German sea, the Thames and Humber. Between Dee and Severn lies Wales, being distinguished into three several regions. Between Severn and Thames, lies all that part of England which is opposite to France. The countries interjacent between Thames and Humber, make the third part; and the countries reaching from Humber and Dee to Scotland, the fourth.

Scotland is divided from England, first, by the river Tweed, then by the high mountain Cheviot; and, where that declines, by a wall or trench newly made, and afterwards by the rivers Esk and Solway. Within these bounds, from the Scottish sea to the Irish, the counties lie in this order. First, March, in which the English possess Berwick, situate on the left side of the Tweed. On the east it is bounded with the Frith of Forth; on the south with England. To the west, on both sides the river Tweed, lies Teviotdale, which takes its name from the river Teviot: and is divided from England by the Cheviot hills. After this lie three counties not very great, Liddisdale, Ewisdale, and Eskdale, being so called from three rivers called Liddel, Ewe, and Esk. The last is Annandale, so called from the river Annan, which divides it almost in the middle, and, near to Solway, runs into the Irish Sea.

To return again to the Forth: On the east it is bounded by Lothian. Cockburn's-Path and Lammermoor hills divide it from March. Then, bending a little to the west, it touches Lauderdale and Tweeddale; the one so called from the towns of Lauder, the other from the river Tweed, dividing it in the middle. Liddisdale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale, border on Tweeddale on the south and west. The river Nith, which gives name to Nithsdale, runs through it into the Irish Sea. Lothian, which has its name from Lothus, king of the Picts, is bounded on the north-east by the Forth, or Scottish sea, and looks towards Clydesdale on the south-west. This country far

excels the rest, in the civility of its inhabitants, and in all the necessities of life. It is watered with five rivers, the Tyne, both the Esks, (which, before they fall into the sea, join in one channel,) Leith, and Almond. These rivers rising partly in the Lammermoor-hills, and partly in the Pentland-hills, disgorge themselves into the Frith of Forth. Lothian contains these towns, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Leith, and Linlithgow. More to the west lies Clydesdale, on both sides the river Clyde; which, on account of its length, is divided into two sheriffwicks. In the uppermost of these is a hill, which, though not very high, yet sends out three rivers, the Tweed into the Scottish, the Annan into the Irish, and the Clyde into the Deucalionian seas. The most eminent cities here, are Lanark and Glasgow. Adjoining to it, on the south-west, is Kyle; and beyond that is Galloway, which is separated from Nithsdale by the river Clyde, bending almost wholly to the south; and that remaining part of Scotland is also covered by its shore. Galloway, which throughout is more fruitful in cattle than corn, hath these rivers running into the Irish Sea, Ure or Ore, Dee, Kenn, Cree, and Luss. It hath few great mountains, but only some small hills; between which, the water, collected in the valleys, forms abundance of lakes, whereby, in the first showers after the autumnal equinox, the rivers are increased, bringing down an incredible quantity of eels, which the inhabitants take in a kind of nets made of osier-twigs, and by salting them, get no small profit. The boundary on that side is the Mull of Galloway, under which, in the mouth of the river Luss, is a bay, called, by Ptolemy, Rerigonius. The bay commonly called Loch-Ryan, and, by Ptolemy, Vidogara, flows into it on the other side from the Frith of Clyde. The land which runs betwixt these bays, the inhabitants call Rinns, or the edge of Galloway: and the promontory of Novantium they term the Mull, that is, the beak or jaw. But the whole country is called Galloway; for Gallovid, in old Scotch, signifies a Gaul.

Below Loch-Ryan, on the other side of Galloway, lies Carrick, gently declining to the Frith of Clyde. Two rivers pass through it, Stinchar and Girvan, both having many pleasant villages on their banks. Between the rivers are some small hills, fruitful for pasture, and not unfit for corn. Every part abounds with land and sea commodities, and it also supplies its neighbours with many necessities. The river Don separates it from Kyle, which riseth out of a lake of the same name, wherein is an island with a small castle. Kyle follows next, bordering upon Galloway on the south, and on the north-east on Clydesdale; on the west it is separated from Cunningham by the river Irving; and that of Ayr divides it in the middle. Near it is situated Ayr, a town of great trade: the country in general abounds more with valiant men, than with corn or cattle; for as the soil is poor and sandy, it sharpens the industry of the inhabitants; and their parsimony invigorates both their bodies and minds. After Ayr, Cunningham runs to the north, where it encroaches upon, and strengthens the Clyde, which is brought into the compass of a moderate river. The name of the country is Danish, and, in that language, signifies The King's House; which is an argument that the Danes had sometime the possession of it. Next on the east is Renfrew, so called from a little town, wherein they were wont to celebrate their conventions; whence it is commonly named the barony of Renfrew. Two rivers, both called Carth, divide it in the middle. After the barony of Renfrew, Clydesdale stretches out on both sides of the river Clyde, and, on account of its magnitude, is divided into many jurisdictions. It pours out several famous rivers—on the left, Avon and Douglas, which run into Clyde; and, on the right, another called Avon, which divides Lothian from Stirlingshire. These two currents take the common appellation of rivers, instead of a proper name; as in Wales, the river called Avon doth, in a different dialect. The Evan or Avon separates the county of Stirling, on the south, from Lothian; and on the east runs the Frith of Forth, until at last, being lessened, it is reduced to the proper size of a passable river, and admits of a bridge near Stirling. There is but one memorable river which divides this country, called Carron water, near which there are some ancient monuments. On the left hand of Carron are two small hills, or barrows, made of earth by man's hand, (as the

thing itself shews,) commonly called *Duni Pacis*, that is, emblems of reconciliation. But about two miles lower, on the same river, there is a round edifice made without any lime, but so formed with sharp stones, that part of every upper one is, as it were, mortised into the lower; so that the whole work, mutually conjoined, sustains itself by its own pressure, from top to bottom, growing narrower and narrower by degrees. The top of it is open. The common people have several fancies, according to their divers humours, concerning the use and author of this structure. For my part, I once conjectured, that it was a temple of the god Terminus; which, they say, was wont to be built round and open at top: and the *Duni Pacis* near adjoining, seemed somewhat to strengthen my conjecture, as if a peace had been made there, of which these hills are a monument, because here the Romans terminated the bounds of their jurisdiction and empire: neither could any thing have altered my opinion, unless I had been informed by creditable persons, that in a certain island are many edifices, in other respects like the structure which I have spoken of, but that they are greater, and not so compact. There are also two chapels in Ross, of the like shape. These things made me suspend my opinion, and to judge that these were monuments or trophies of some famous deeds, placed, as it were, at the extremity of the world, that they might be preserved from the fury of enemies. But whether these were trophies, or, as some think, sepulchres of famous men, I believe they were monuments intended to be perpetuated to posterity, and built by rude unskilful workmen, after the similitude of the chapel erected at Carron. On the right side of Carron, the ground is generally plain and level, only there is a little hill in it, almost mid-way between the *Duni Pacis* and the chapel; where, at the bending of the angle, some remains of an ancient city appear at this day. But the foundation of the walls, and the description of the streets, partly by ploughing up the ground, and partly by plucking out the square stones to build some rich men's houses, are quite blended and confused. Bede calls this place *Guidi*, and places it in the angle of the wall of Severus. Besides him, many Roman writers make mention of this wall; of which several footsteps do yet appear, and many stones are dug out, with inscriptions containing either a gratulation of safety and victory, received by the centurions and tribunes of the Romans, or else some funeral epitaphs engraven thereon. And seeing the wall of Severus is seldom less distant than 100 miles from that of Adrian, which is the older of the two, (as the remains of both evince,) English writers betray their great ignorance, either in not understanding the Latins, who have delivered these things down to us; or else their carelessness, who have translated that so confusedly, which is so plain in the original. However this may be, the thing is worthy, if not of a sharp reprehension, yet of a light admonition at least; especially since, by the monuments just mentioned, and by Bede's history, it appears that this was once the boundary betwixt the Britons and the Scots. Those who fancy Maldon to be situated here, are the same who affirm, that the chapel or structure we spoke of, was the temple of Claudius Cæsar: but they are mistaken in both, since Maldon, a colony of the Romans, is in Essex, above 300 miles distant from that place, if we may believe Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus. Tacitus plainly confutes this mistake, as in all his other narrations, so especially when he says, that the Romans, having lost Maldon, fled to the temple of Claudius Cæsar for safety. But that structure, whether it were a chapel or temple of Terminus, or else a monument of some other thing, having no doors, nor sign of any, and being open also at top, from the casting in of stones, can scarcely contain, much less shelter, ten soldiers. Moreover, about forty years after the expedition of Claudius Cæsar into Britain, Julius Agricola was the first of the Roman generals who penetrated with his army into those parts. Besides, Adrian also, fifty years after Agricola, settled the bounds of the Roman province, between the rivers Tyne and Esk, by making a wall, of which there are several footsteps yet remaining in many places. Septimius Severus, about the year 210, entering into Britain, built a wall 100 miles beyond the limits made by Adrian, from the Frith of Clyde to the conflux of Forth and Avon, of which there are many evident tokens yet existing.

Further, we never read in ancient writings, that the capital of the Picts was at Maldon, but at Abernethy; where was their royal, and also their episcopal seat, which was afterwards translated to St. Andrew's. If it be asked, what moved the Romans to draw a colony thither, and how they maintained it in a soil so barren, and at that time woody, uncultivated, and exposed to the injuries of the fiercest of their enemies; I suppose the answer will be, (for I see not what else can be said,) that it was supplied from the sea, as ships came then up to the very gates of the city, though against the stream of Carron water. If this were true, then the grounds on both sides the Forth, being overwhelmed by the inundations of the ocean, must have been barren, which alone in that tract ought to have borne corn. But this is yet a more difficult question; that seeing the sea-water ran on both sides the Forth, how happened it that the Romans did not there make their boundary-wall, rather than unnecessarily carry it many miles farther?

Beyond the county of Stirling lies Lennox, which is divided from the barony of Renfrew by the Clyde, and from the county of Glasgow by the river Kelvin; from the county of Stirling by mountains; from the stewardry of Monteith by the Forth; and terminates in the mountain Grampius, or Granzben, at the foot of which, through an hollow valley, Loch Lomond spreads itself. This piece of water, which is twenty-four miles long and eight broad, contains above twenty-four islands; and, besides a multitude of other fish, has some of a peculiar kind, very pleasant to eat, called pollacks. At length, breaking forth towards the south, it pours out the river Leven, which gives a name to the whole country, and near the castle of Dunbarton, and a town of the same name, falls into the Clyde. The farthestmost hills of mount Grampius heighten the extreme parts of Lennox, being divided by a small bay of the sea, called Loch Gair, from its shortness. Beyond that, there is a bay much larger, called Loch Long, from the river Long that falls into it, and is the boundary between Lennox and Cowal. Cowal itself, Argyre, and Knapdale, are divided into many parts, by several narrow bays of the sea running into them, from the frith of Clyde. Among these is one more eminent than the rest, being above sixty miles in length, called Loch Fyne, from the river Fyne, which runs into it. There is also in Knapdale a lake called Loch Awe, in which is a small island and a fortified castle. The Awe, or Owe, flowing from this loch, is the only river in that country which empties itself into the Deucaliedonian sea.

Beyond Knapdale, to the south-west, projects Cantyre or Kintyre, that is, the head of the country, which is divided from Ireland by a narrow sea. Its breadth does not equal its length; and it is joined to Knapdale by a neck of land, so narrow as to be scarce a mile over: which isthmus is nothing but sand, so plain and level, that sometimes mariners, to make their voyages shorter, haul their boats, called hirlings, over it, from one side to the other.

Lorn borders immediately upon Argyre, and reaches as far as the country of Aber, commonly called Lochaber. It is a plain country, and not unfruitful; and that part where the mountain Grampius lessens, and becomes more passable, is called Braedalbano, which is as much to say, the highest part of Scotland. The loftiest peak or top of the whole is called Drumalbane, that is, the back of Scotland, and not without cause; for from thence run down rivers, some into the north or German, others into the south or Deucaliedonian sea. From Loch Earn it pours out the river Earn, towards the south-east, which falls into the river Tay about three miles below Perth. From this river, the country, called in Highland, or the old Scots language, Strathearn, takes its name, being situated on both sides of its banks. For the highlanders use to call a country, lying at the fall of rivers, Strath. Between the mountains of this country and the Forth, lies the stewardry of Monteith, taking its name from the river Teith, which runs through the middle of it. Next to Monteith, stand the Ochil hills, a great part of which, as also of the country lying at the foot of them, is reckoned within the stewardry of Strathearn; but the rest of the country, as far as the Forth, ambition hath divided into several stewardries, as Clackmannan, Culross, and Kinross. From thence and the Ochil hills, all the country between the Forth and the Tay







grows narrow like a wedge, eastward even to the sea; and is called by one name, Fife. This country, which abounds with all the necessities of life, is broadest where it is divided by Loch Leven and the river of that name: and from thence it narrows on each side, till you come to the town of Crail. It affords but one remarkable river, which is called the Leven. Its whole shore is covered with towns, of which the most remarkable for the study of learning is St. Andrew's, which the highlanders call *Fanum Reguli*. More inland, and almost in the middle of the country, lies Cupar, the shire or assize town, whither the rest of the inhabitants of Fife come for the administration of justice. Where it touches Strathearn stands the town of Abernethy, the ancient royal seat of the Picts. Here the river Earn falls into the Tay. The latter river itself flows from Loch Tay, in Braedalbane, which loch is twenty-four miles long. The Tay is without question the greatest river in Scotland; and in winding about towards the Grampian hills, it touches upon Athol, a fruitful country, situated in the woody passages of Mount Grampius. That part of it which spreads into a plain, at the foot of the mountain, is called the Blair of Athol, a word that signifies a soil bare of trees.

Below Athol, on the right bank of the Tay, stands the town of Caledonia, which yet retains its ancient name, though vulgarly called Dunkeldin, that is, a hill full of hazel-trees, because those trees, growing thick in such unmanured places, and shadowing the country like a wood, gave name both to the town, and also to the neighbouring people: for the Caledons, or Caledonians, heretofore one of the most famous nations amongst the Britons, made up one part of the kingdom of the Picts, as we may learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, who divides the Picts into the two tribes, that of Caledones and Vectoriones, though at this day there is hardly any token left of either of these names.

Twelve miles below Dunkeld, on the same side of the Tay, stands Perth, otherwise called St. Johnston. And on the left bank of the Tay, below Athol, towards the east, stands Gowry, a country abounding with rich corn-fields.

Below Gowry, between the Tay and the Esk, is Angus, or, as the highlanders call it, *Æneia*; though some call it *Horestia*, or, according to the English dialect, *Forestia*. In it are these two towns, Cupar, and that which Boetius, to gratify his countrymen, ambitiously calls *Deidonum*; but I think the old name thereof was *Tædunum*, that is, Dundee, from Dun, a hill situated by the river Tay; for at the foot of the hill the town is built.

Fourteen miles beyond the Tay, in a direct line along the shore, we meet with Aberbrothock, sometimes called *Abrinca*. Then follows the promontory, called Red-head, which shews itself at a considerable distance. The river South Esk runs through the middle of Angus; and the North Esk divides it from the Mearns. This last country is for the most part plain and level, till it toucheth Mount Grampius, beyond the town of Fordun, and Dunotter, a castle belonging to the Earls Marischal; and then it declines gradually towards the sea. Further to the north is the Dee, commonly called Deemouth; and about a mile beyond it is the river Don. Upon the one stands Aberdeen, a town famous for salmon-fishing; and on the other is Aberdeen, so called in old records, which is an episcopal see, and has also a flourishing university. At present, however, both towns are distinguished only by the names of Old and New Aberdeen.

From this narrow front, between the two rivers, begins Marr, which, growing wider and wider by degrees, extends itself sixty miles in length, as far as Badenoch. This country is full of hills and mountains, that send forth rivers into both seas.

Aber, which borders upon Badenoch, declines gently towards the Deu-rædonian sea; and, for a Scottish country, abounds much with all land and maritime productions. As it is fruitful in corn and pasture, so it is very pleasant for its shadowy groves, and likewise for the delightful fountains, brooks, and rivulets, which glide through it. In regard to the multitude of fish, hardly any county in Scotland can compare with it: for, besides the plenty afforded by the numerous rivers, a great variety is supplied from the sea, which piercing, in a long channel, through the level part of the country, and there being somewhat curbed and pent in by the higher boundary of the land for some space, diffuses and spreads itself abroad again, in

the form of a meer, or rather loch. Hence it is called Aber; that is, in our country language, a road for ships. They give also the same name to the surrounding country; but those who affect to speak after the English mode, absurdly call both the bay and the land, Lochaber. These three countries, Aber, Badenoch, and Marr, take up all the breadth of Scotland between the Deucaliedonian and German seas.

On the north, next to Marr, and divided from it by the river Don, stands Buchan, which stretcheth farthest of any county in Scotland into the German sea. It is rich in pasture, abounds in a good breed of sheep, and is able to maintain itself with all conveniences for the support of life. All the rivers, except Ratray, abound with salmon; and, which is strange, that hath not any in it. On the shore of Ratray is a strange kind of cave, in which the water drops down from a natural vault or arch, and is turned into pyramids of stone; so that if men were not constantly cleaning it, the whole space, to the very roof, would be soon filled up. The substance thus concreted is of a middle nature between stone and ice; for it is friable, and never arrives at the hardness and solidity of marble. When I was at Toulouse, about the year 1644, I was informed by credible persons, that there was a cave exactly like this in the adjacent Pyrenees.

Beyond Buchan to the north, lie two small counties, called Boyne, and Ainay or Enzie, which reach to the river Spey, and are separated by it from Murray. The Spey rises in the ridge of hills in Badenoch, already mentioned; and not far from the source of it is a loch, which sends forth a river called Lochty, that rolls itself into the western sea. At the mouth of it there was once (as they say) a noble town, called Inner-lochty, borrowing its name from the loch. The truth is, if you consider the nature of the neighbouring soil, and the convenience of transporting goods by sea, it is a place very fit for trade. Our ancient kings, therefore, tempted by those conveniences, made their abode here for some ages in the castle of Evonia, which some would persuade themselves to be Dunstaffnage; but wrongly, for the ruins of that castle are yet to be seen in Lorn. There are some small counties lying betwixt Buchan and the western sea, but as they have scarcely any thing remarkable, I shall not waste time in describing them.

Beyond the Spey, to the river Ness, follows Murray, heretofore, as it is thought, called Varar. Between these two rivers, the Spey and the Ness, the German ocean doth, as it were, force the land backward to the west, and so forms a capacious bay. This whole country, for its extent, abounds with corn and pasturage; and for pleasantness, and the profit arising from fruit-trees, it surpasses every other part of Scotland. It hath two eminent towns, Elgin and Inverness. Elgin stands on the river Lossie, and as yet retains its ancient name. Inverness is situated by the river Ness, which issues out of Loch Ness. The latter is twenty-four miles in length; the water in it is almost constantly warm, and throughout the year is never so cold as to freeze; nay, in the sharpest winter, if flakes of ice are put into it, they will quickly be dissolved.

Beyond Loch Ness, towards the west, there are only eight miles of land; so small a portion of ground hinders the conjunction of the two seas, and, consequently, the making of the rest of Scotland an island. All the space which lies betwixt this narrow neck and the Deucaliedonian sea, is cut off from the rest by several bays breaking into the land.

That part of the country which lies beyond Loch Ness and these narrow straits, is wont to be divided into four provinces or shires. Ross, Strath-naver, Sutherland, and Caithness. Beyond the mouth of the Ness, where it disembogues itself into the German sea, lies Ross, which runs out into the ocean with very high promontories, as the name itself indicates; for Ross, in the Scottish dialect, signifies a cape or headland. This province hath more of length than breadth; for it reaches from the German to the Caledonian sea. The mountainous parts are barren and uncultivated; but the plains scarcely yield to any part of Scotland for fruitfulness. It hath likewise many pleasant valleys, watered by rivers full of fish, which also abound in its several lochs, the greatest of them all being Loch Broom. From the Deucaliedonian sea the shore becomes somewhat narrower, and

turns back towards the north-east; from the opposite side, the German sea, making its way between the clefts of high rocks within land, expands itself into a spacious bay, which affords a safe harbour and road for ships against all storms: the entrance into it is not difficult, and, when once in, the greatest fleets may be secure from all injury of wind and weather.

At the farthest point of Ross, towards the north, lies Naver, so called from the river of that name, which the vulgar, following the propriety of their country speech, call Strathnaver. Ross bounds it on the south; the Deucaledonian sea washes it west and north; and on the east it reaches Caithness.

Sutherland is so situated between the three last-mentioned provinces, as to border on all of them; and, in some quarter or other, touches every one: for on the west lies Strathnaver; on the south and east, Ross; and on the north, Caithness. The inhabitants there, according to the nature of the soil, are more given to pasturage than tillage. I know no remarkable thing in it, except that it hath some mountains of white marble, (which is a wonderful thing in so cold a country,) and yet it is of little or no use to the inhabitants, because the spirit of luxury hath not reached this place.

Caithness is the last province towards the north, on which coast Strathnaver also comes up with it; and these two countries here contract the breadth of Scotland into a narrow front, where are three high promontories: the loftiest of all is that in Strathnaver, which Ptolemy calls Orcas, or Tervedrum, now Faro-head; the other two are in Caithness, but not so high as the former; these are Vervedrum, now called *Hoia*, or Strathy Head; and Berubium, (Dunsbay Head,) falsely called, by Hector Boetius, Dume; while others name it Duncan's-Bei, from which word some letters being subtracted, the word *Duns Bei* seems to be derived. At the foot of the hill is a small bay, which little vessels, coming from the Orcades, use as a haven. An arm of the sea is here called *Bei*: and this creek being named by the neighbouring inhabitants the Bei of Duncan, or Donach; from both those words conjoined, the country language hath formed *Duns Bei*.

In this tract Ptolemy places the Cornavii, (or Caithness-men:) some similitude of which name does yet remain; since they commonly call the castle of the Earls of Caithness, *Gernico*; and those whom foreigners term *Cornavii*, the Britons denominate *Kernici*. Now seeing Ptolemy places the Cornavii, not in this tract only, but even in so distant a part of the island as Cornwall, in England; and they who retain the old British speech, do yet call the same persons *Kernici*; perhaps, it is no absurd conjecture to imagine, that the *Cornavalli* are so called for *Kernicovalli*, that is, the Kernic-Gauls. Nay, in the very midst of the island, some marks, though obscure ones, of that name, seem to have remained; for Bede writes, that the beginning of the wall of Severus was not far from the monastery of Kebercurnig: whereas there is now no sign of a monastery in those parts; but there remains not far from thence the half-ruined castle of the family of Douglas, called Abercorn. Whether both these words, or only one of them, be corrupted from *Kernicus*, I leave the reader to judge.

It remains now, that I should speak something concerning the islands of Scotland, which part of the British history is perplexed with great mistakes. To pass over the ancients, who have delivered nothing certain on this subject, I shall only insist on what men of our own times have more truly and plainly reported. Of all the islands which encircle Scotland, they make three classes or ranks, the Western, the Orcades, and the Shetland.

The Western isles lie between Scotland and Ireland, in the Deucaledonian sea, and reach almost to the Orcades. They who have written of the British affairs, either in this or the preceding age, call them Hebrides; a new name, of which there is not any sign, or original, in ancient authors. For, in that tract of the sea, some place the *Æbudæ*, or *Æmodæ*; but with such inconsistency amongst themselves, that they scarce ever agree in their number, situation, or names. Strabo (to begin with the most ancient) may be excused, because he followed uncertain report, that part of the world being not fully discovered in his time. Mela reckons the *Æmodæ* to be seven; and Martianus Capella makes the *Acmodæ* to be as many; Ptolemy and Solinus count the *Æbudæ* five; while Pliny numbers the *Acmodæ* seven; and the *Æbudæ*

thirty. For myself, I deem it proper to retain the names most used by the ancients, and therefore call the whole of the western isles *Æbuda*; but I purpose to describe the site, nature, and commodities of each of them, from later and surer authorities.

In this I shall principally follow Donald Monro, a pious and diligent man, who travelled over all these islands, and observed them exactly. They lie dispersed in the Deucaledonian sea, to the number of more than three hundred. The kings of Scotland held them from time immemorial, till Donald, brother of Malcolm III. ceded them to the king of Norway, that, by his aid, he might forcibly seize upon the crown of Scotland, to which he had no right. By virtue of this grant the Norwegians enjoyed the islands about one hundred and sixty years, when Alexander III. recovered them to the crown of Scotland, after a great victory. These islanders, either confiding in their strength, or else urged on and induced by sedition, have sometimes endeavoured to assert their liberty, and to set up kings of their own: for, of late, John, of the family of the Donalds, as well as others before him, usurped the royal title. In their diet, habit, and the domestic mode of living, they use the ancient parsimony. Hunting and fishing afford them food. They boil flesh in water poured either into the paunch or into the skins of the beasts which they kill; and, in hunting, they sometimes eat raw flesh, after squeezing out the blood. For drink they use ordinarily the broth of boiled meat; but at feasts they indulge copiously in whey, which has been kept in proper vessels for some years. This kind of liquor they call *blandium*; but the most part of them drink water. Their bread is made of oats or barley, (for no other grain grows in those parts,) and it is not unpleasant to the taste; and, by frequent use, they are very expert at making and moulding of it. In the morning they eat a little of this, and then go a hunting; or, if they have any other work to do, they are content with that light breakfast, and will fast till the evening. They use party-coloured garments, and especially striped plaids; preferring, of all colours, the purple and blue. Their ancestors wore party-coloured plaids, variously striped, which custom some of them still retain; but, at present, many of them wear garments of a dark brown colour, almost like heath; that so, when lying among the bushes, they may not, in the day-time, be discovered by their clothes. Being rather loosely wrapped, than closely covered, with this sort of blanketing, they will endure the severest weather, even in the open air; and sometimes they sleep abroad in their plaids, though covered all over with snow. In their houses also they lie on the ground; only laying under them fern or heath, which they place with the roots downward, and the brush upwards, so prettily, that their beds are almost as soft as those made of feathers, but are far more wholesome; for heath, being naturally a great drier, doth exhaust superfluous humours, and restores vigour to the nerves, after freeing them from noxious moisture; so that they who lie down in the evening weary and faint, in the morning rise up nimble and sprightly. They are all so very regardless of their bedticks and coverlets, as to affect an uncouth slovenliness in that particular; for, if any occasion or necessity cause them to travel into other parts, when they go to rest they will throw aside the bed and blankets of their hosts, and, wrapping themselves up in their own garments, fall asleep. The reason they assign for this, is, lest such barbarous effeminacy, as they call it, should taint and corrupt their native and inbred hardiness. In war they cover their heads with iron helmets, and their bodies with a coat of mail, made of iron rings, reaching almost down to their ancles. Their weapons are bows and arrows, which for the most part are hooked, so that the iron barbs, standing out on both sides, cannot be drawn out of the body they pierce, unless the orifice of the wound be made very wide. Some of them, however, fight with broad-swords and pole-axes. Instead of a trumpet, they use a bagpipe. They are much given to music, especially on instruments peculiar to themselves; of which some have strings made of brass wire, others of gut, which they strike either with their long nails, a bow, or a quill. Their only ambition is to ornament these instruments with a profusion of silver or jewels; but the meaner sort use crystal. They chaunt songs, not inelegant, containing the eulogies of valiant men; and their bards usually treat of no other subject. They speak, with little alteration, the old Gaulish language.

The Western islands of Scotland, which use the ancient tongue, are reckoned thus: The first of them is Man, by some falsely called Mona, but by the ancients Eubonia; Paulus Orosius calls it Mevenia, or rather Menavia; for in the old language it is called Manim. The last age called the town, where the Bishop had his see, Sodor. It is a province almost equally distant from Ireland, from Galloway in Scotland, and from Cumberland in England; it is twenty four miles long, and eight broad.

The next isle rising in the Frith of Clyde is Alsa, or Ailsa, a high and precipitous rock, accessible only by one plain passage. It is uninhabited almost all the year; but, at certain seasons, a great number of skiffs and busses flock thither to fish for cod and whiting. It abounds with rabbits and sea-fowl, but especially with Soland geese. It is almost equally distant from Carrick on the south-east, from Ireland on the south-west, and from Cantyre on the north-west. Twenty-four miles from hence lies the isle of Arran, inclining towards the north; it is twenty-four miles long, and sixteen broad; it is full of high and craggy mountains, so that only the sea-coasts are inhabited; where it is lowest, the sea breaks into it, and makes a considerable bay, the entrance of which is covered by the island Molas, that is, Lamlach, or Lam-lash. Such is the height of the mountains, that, by breaking the force of the wind, the bay within is a very safe harbour for shipping; and the waters, which are perpetually calm, are so abundant in fish, that, if the inhabitants catch more than will serve them for one day, they throw them again into the sea, as into a pond, to be taken out at their pleasure.

Not far from Arran lies a small island called Flada or Fladda, which is full of rabbits. Bute isle, being eight miles long and four broad, is situated more within the Frith of Clyde, and is eight miles distant, on the north-east, from Arran. On the north-west, it is distant from Argyre about half a mile; on the east, from Cunningham, six miles. Being for the greatest part low land, it is convenient for corn and pasturage. The only town in it bears the name of the island; and there is in it an old castle called Rothsay. It hath also another castle at the bay, called, in the country language, Comes or Kames castle. On the south-west of it is the low island of Mernoch. It is fruitful enough, and well cultivated for its size, being only a mile long, and half a mile broad. Farther still, within the Frith of Clyde, are the two Cumbrara, the Greater and the Less, at a small distance one from another; the former abounding with corn, and the latter with fallow-deer.

From the promontory of Cantyre, at the distance of little more than a mile, lies Avona, now Sanda, called Portuosa, that is, fit for a port; which name it obtained from being a road for ships; for when the Danes possessed those islands, their fleets repaired thither for shelter. From the same promontory to the south-west, over against the Irish shore, stands Rathlin; and four miles from Cantyre, is another small island called Cana; not far from whence lies Gigha, six miles in length, and one and a half in breadth.

The island of Jura is distant twelve miles from Gigha, and is in length twenty-four miles. Its maritime coasts are tolerably well inhabited, but being woody in the inland parts, it abounds with several sorts of deer. Hence some think it was anciently called Dera, which in the Gothic language signifies a stag. Two miles distant from Jura lies Scarba, in length from east to west four miles, and in breadth one; it is thinly inhabited in a few scattered places. The tide is so violent between it and Jura, that there is no passage from one to the other, either with sails or oars, but at certain seasons only.

After this there are many islands of less note, dispersed up and down, as Bellach or Genistaria, Gewrasdil, Lunga, both the Fiolas, and also the three Garvillana, distinguished by respective surnames; then Culbrein, Dunconnel, Laperia, Belhac, Whoker, Gavin, Luing, Seil, and Suin. These three last, which are fruitful enough in corn and cattle, are under the jurisdiction of the Earls of Argyre. The next to these is Slata, or Sleach; so called because tiles, named slates, are here hewn out of a rock. Then follow Naosg, Eudele, Schanni, and the isle called Tyan, from a herb which is prejudicial to fruits, not unlike the water-willow, but of a paler colour. Here also are Lendich and the Rye island; then Dow, or the Black island; and the island Lquab, or of the church, and Triarach. After these follow the islands

Ard or High, Ishol, Green, Heath, as also Tree, Goat, Coney isles, and that which is called the island of the Otiosi, and Erishach; as also Lismore. This last, which was formerly the seat of the bishop of Argyle, is eight miles in length, and two in breadth; and in it are found metals, besides the commodities common to other isles. Then succeed Ovilia, and Siuna, Ilan-na-Port, and Geirach; as also Falda, the isle of Cloich, Gramry, the islands More, Ardiescara, Musadil, and Bernera, heretofore called the Holy Sanctuary, the noble Ycw-isle, Molochasgar, and Drinacha, which is all covered over with thorns, alders, and the ruins of great houses; then another isle, Drimach, that is full of wood; also Ramsay and Kervera.

The greatest of the Western islands, after Jura, is Isla; which is twenty-four miles long, and sixteen broad; it is extended from south to north; and is very fruitful in cattle, corn, deer, and lead. There is a river of fresh water in it, called Avonlaggan, as also a bay of salt water, in which are several islands; and it hath, besides, a loch of fresh water, in which is an island called Finlaggan; which formerly was the chief of all the rest, by being the residence of the prince of the islanders, who assumed the name of King. Near to that, but less, is the island called Islan-na-Covihaslup, called also the Island of Council; for there was a court in it, where fourteen of the chief men sat daily for the administration of justice, and determining matters of controversy; whose great equity and moderation procured peace, both foreign and domestic; and, as a concomitant of peace, the affluence of all things. Between Isla and Jura there is seated a small island called Rock Isle, taking its name from a heap of stones there. Moreover, on the south side of Isla lie these islands, Chournan, Maalmori, Osrin, Brida, Corshera, the island Ishol, Immersi, Bethic, Texa, Gearach, Naosg, Rinard, Cana, Terskeir, Ach-nar, the Isle More, the island resembling the figure of a man, the island Jean, and the Stachabadda. At the west corner of Isla stands Oversa; where also the sea is very raging, and not passable for ships but at certain hours. Besides the island Channard, towards the north-west are situate Usabrest and Tanast, Naomph, and the island Banni; eight miles from Isla, more towards the north, lies Oversa, next to it Porcaria, and half a mile from Oversa lies Colonsay.

Beyond Colonsay, to the north, lies Mull, twelve miles distant from Isla. This island is twenty-four miles in length, and as many in breadth; it is craggy, yet not wholly barren of corn. It hath many woods in it, and great herds of deer, and a port safe enough for ships; over against Icolmkill, it hath two large rivers full of salmon, besides other less streams not without fish; it hath also two lochs, in each of which are several islands, and castles on them all. The sea breaking into it in divers places, makes four bays, all abounding with herrings. On the south-west is seated Calaman, or the island of Doves; on the north east stands Erra; both these islands are commodious for cattle, corn, and fishing.

The island of Icolmkill is distant from them two miles; it is two miles long, and above a mile broad; fruitful in all things which that climate can produce, and famed for as many ancient monuments as could be well expected in such a country; but it was made yet more famous by the severe discipline and holiness of St. Columba. It was beautified with two monasteries, one of monks, the other of nuns; with one curia, or (as they call it) a parish church, and with many chapels, some of them built by the munificence of the kings of Scotland, and others by the petty kings of the islands. In the old monastery of St. Columba, the bishops of the islanders placed their see; their ancient mansion-house, which was before in the Isle of Man, being taken by the English. There still remains, however, among the ancient ruins, a church-yard, or burying-place, common to all the noble families which dwell in the western islands. There are three tombs in it more eminent than the rest, at a small distance one from another, having little shrines, looking towards the east, built over them. In the west part of each is a stone with an inscription, declaring whose tomb it is; the middlemost hath one to this purport,—“The tomb of the kings of Scotland;” for it is reported that no less than forty-eight monarchs were buried there: that on the right hand has this title,—“The tomb of the kings of Ireland;” for four sovereigns of that nation are said to

be interred there: that on the left side is inscribed: "The tomb of the kings of Norway;" for report says, that eight sovereigns of that nation were entombed there. In the rest of the cemetery, the eminent families of the island have their tombs apart. There are six islands adjacent to it, small indeed, yet not unfruitful, which were given by ancient kings, or princes of the islands, to the monastery of St. Columbus.

The island *Boa*, though it hath convenient pasturage for sheep, yet derives its greatest revenue from the sitting and hatching of sea-fowl, and especially from their eggs. The next to that is *Nun's island*; then *Rudana*; after that *Roringa*; to which follows *Skanny*, distant half a mile from *Mull*; it hath one parish in it, but the parishioners live mostly in *Mull*. The shore abounds with rabbits. A mile from *Skanny* stands *Eoraa*. All these are under the jurisdiction of the monks of St. Columbus's monastery.

Two miles from *Borsa* stands *Ulva*, which is five miles long, and, for its size, is fruitful in corn and pasturage. It hath an haven very commodious for galleys, long boats, or berlines. On its south side lies *Colvansa*; the soil thereof is fruitful, and it hath a wood of hazel in it. Almost three hundred paces from it, is situated *Gomedra*, two miles long and a mile broad, running out from south to north. Four miles from *Gomedra*, on the south, stands *Stafa*; and both of these last-named isles have many good havens in them. Four miles from hence, towards the north-west, are the two *Carniburghs*, the Greater and the Less, so fortified round about with precipices of rocks, and a most rapid current besides, that, their natural strength being assisted by art, they are impregnable. A mile from these, is an island whose soil is almost all black, as being cemented out of old rotten wood and moss mixed together. They dry the turf of it for fuel, and therefore it is called *Tarf-island*; for so they there call that sort of earth, which the English term moss. Then succeeds *Lunga*, two miles in length, and *Baca*, half the size.

From thence towards the west, about six miles' distance, stands *Tirey*, which is in length eight miles, and in breadth three. Of all these islands, it most abounds in the necessities of life; for besides plenty of cattle and corn, they also get much by fishing, and the breed of sea-fowl. There is in it a lake or loch of fresh water, and an old castle, as also an haven, not unsafe for galleys and long boats. Two miles from hence stands *Gunn isle*, and at an equal distance from it is *Coll*, a very fruitful isle, twelve miles long, and two broad. Not far from thence is *Calfa*, which is almost all covered with wood. After that, two islands follow, surnamed *Green*, the Greater and the Less. And as many lie, of the same surnames, over against the promontory of *Mull*. Not far from this, are two islands, called *Glassæ*; that is, sky-blue; then *Ardan Rider*, that is, the high island of the horseman; next *Luparia*, or the island of Wolves; and after this the island *More*. From the isle of *Coll*, toward the north, is extended east and west the isle of *Rum*, sixteen miles long, and six broad; but because it is inhabited only in a few places, the sea-fowl almost every where lay their eggs up and down in the fields; so that in the spring as many of them may be taken up as one pleases. Among the high rocks here, the Soland geese are caught in great abundance. Four miles from thence, to the south-east, is the island *Naich*, or of horses, and half a mile from thence is *Muick*, which, for its size, abounds with necessaries. Falcons build their nests here; and it hath also a port convenient enough for shipping. Not far from it, are *Canna* and *Egg*, which though small, are yet fruitful islands; and the latter abounds with Soland geese.

Then there is *Soavretail*, fitter for hunting than any other purposes of life. Thence, from north to south, is extended *Skye*, the greatest of all the islands about Scotland, its length being forty-five miles, and its breadth, in some places, eight, and in others twelve miles; many parts are full of mountains, which abound with woods, interspersed with pastures. The level country is also fruitful of corn and cattle; and it is particularly famous for a large breed of mares. It hath five great rivers all full of salmon; and it hath besides many lesser streams, which are not without the same fish. The sea penetrating on every side into the land, makes many bays of salt water, of which three are most eminent, besides thirteen others, all much resorted to by herding. It hath also a loch of fresh water in it, and five castles. This island.



in the old Scottish dialect, was called *Skianacha*, that is, winged, because the promontories, between which the sea makes its influx, stretch themselves out in that form. Hence by common use the whole island has obtained the name of Skye, that is, a wing.

About this are scattered some smaller islands, as Oransa, full of corn and cattle; and Nagunner, having plenty of woods and rabbits; as also Paba, infamous for robberies, where thieves, lurking in the woods, waylay travellers as they pass. Eight miles from thence to the north-west, lies Scalpa, which besides other commodities, hath great herds of deer in its woods. Near the mouth of Lochcarron lies Crouling, a safe harbour for ships; and from Scalpa, two miles towards the north, is Raasa, seven miles long, and two broad. It hath woods of beech-trees, with many deer in them. Half a mile from hence is Rona, which is quite covered over with woods and heath. It hath a port in its inmost bay, noted for piracy, being very convenient for the purpose of surprising passengers by sea. In the mouth of this bay, (which from its shallowness is called *Gerloch*.) is an island of the same name. From Rona, six miles towards the north, lies Fladda; two miles from that is Tronta, and on the south side of Skye is Oransa. A mile from thence is Little Buia, next Great Buia; and near them, five small islands of no note; after these follows Ishol, fruitful in corn; and near it is Ovia, then Askerna, and Linadel; and eighty miles from Skye, to the north-west, lie Linga, Gigamina, Bernera, Megala, Paba, Flada, Scarpa Vervecum, i. e. of wedder sheep; Sandrera, and Watersa, which last, besides other conveniences, hath a haven capable of holding many large ships; and hither, at certain seasons of the year, numerous fishermen flock together, from the adjacent countries. These nine last islands are under the government of the bishop of the islands. Two miles distant from Watersa, lies Barra, seven miles in length, extending itself from the south-west to the north-east, not unfruitful in corn, but most noted for its cod and whiting fishery: here is a bay, into which the sea makes an influx by a narrow mouth; but within it is capacious and circular. This bay hath one island in it, and therein a strong fort or castle. On the north side of Barra, riseth a hill full of grass from top to bottom; and on the summit issueth a spring of fresh water, which flowing down in a rivulet, carries with it into the neighbouring sea some small animals, which are shapeless; yet in some sort, though not very plainly, represent those shell-fish we commonly call cockles. This part of the shore, to which the borderers retire, they call the Great Sanda; because when the sea ebbs, the sand is uncovered for a mile and more. Here they dig up great shell-fish, which the neighbouring people believe to be bred out of the spawn of those shapeless fish, which the forenamed rill carries down from its fountain; and that they are either produced there, or at least grow bigger in the sea.

Between Barra and Uist lie these small islands following; Orbansa, Ovia or Eoy, Hakerset, Garulinga, Flada, Buia the Greater and Buia the Less, Haia, Heldisay, Gega, Linga, Fara, Fuda, and Heath. From these towards the north, lies Uist, thirty miles long, and six broad. The tide flowing into this island in two places, represents the appearance of three islands; but when it ebbs, it again grows into one: there are many lakes of fresh water in it, the biggest of which is three miles long. The sea, wearing away the land, hath made itself a passage into this loch; neither can it be excluded by the inhabitants, not even by a jetty or bank of sixty feet high, but insinuates itself between the stones, loosely compacted together, and there often leaves some small sea-fish behind. There is a fish taken in it, in other respects like a salmon, save that the belly is white, and the back black, and it is without scales. Moreover, there are in the island abundance of lochs of fresh water. It hath also caves in it covered with heath, which are lurking places for robbers. There are five parish-churches in it for the performance of holy duties.

Eight miles from thence, towards the east, lies Helsing Vetularum, so called, as I suppose, because it belonged to the nuns of Icolmkill. A little farther towards the north appears Halvelsch'er, to which at certain seasons many sea-calves, or seals, resort, and are there taken. About sixty miles beyond that, to the north-west, stands Hirta, very fruitful in corn, cattle, and

particularly in sheep, which are here fatter than in any other of the islands. But the inhabitants are ignorant of all arts, and especially of religion. After the summer solstice, the lord of the island sends thither his proctor or steward, to gather his rent or tribute; and, with him, he sends a priest to baptize all the children that were born the preceding year; but if the priest come not, then every man baptizeth his own infants. They pay to their lord a certain number of sea-calves, and carcasses of sheep, dried in the sun, and sea-fowl. The whole island doth not exceed a mile in length, and it is almost of equal breadth; neither can any part of it be seen from any neighbouring island, except three hills on the shore, nor can these be discerned, but from the highest places in the parts adjacent. In those hills are sheep exceedingly beautiful, but by reason of the violence and rapidity of the tide and current of the sea, they can scarcely be come at by any one.

To return to Uist: on the north promontory is situate the isle Valey, which is a mile in breadth, and two in length. Between that promontory and the isle of Harris, these islands are interjacent, small indeed, but not unfruitful, viz Soa, Stromoy, Pabaia, Bernera, Erisay, Keligera, Saga the Less, Saga the Greater, Hermodra, Searvay, Gria, Linga, Gillan, itea, Hoy, Ferelaia, Soa the Less, Soa the Great, Isa, Senna the Less, Senna the Great, Tarransa, Slegana, Tuema, and, above Harris, Scarpa; and due west are seven islands, at fifty miles' distance above Lewis which some call Flavanna, others the Sacred, or Sanctuary islands; they rise up into grassy mountains, but are quite uncultivated; neither are there in them any quadrupeds, except wild sheep, which the hunters catch, but eat them not when they have done. They make tallow of their fat, which is the most that they yield; the little flesh they have being so unpleasant, that no man will eat it, unless forced to it by the extremity of hunger.

Almost in the same tract, nearer to the north, lie Garvellan, that is, the Craggy Island, Lamba, Flada, and Kellasa, the two Berneras, the Great and the Small, Kirta, Buia the Little, Buia the Great, Vexa, Pabaia, and Sigrama the Great, or Cunicularia, so called from its plenty of rabbits, Sigrama the Less, and the island of Pigmies. In this last is a chapel, where the bordering people believe that pigmies were heretofore buried; for many strangers, digging deep into the earth, have met with, and still find, little and round heads, with the small bones of other parts of human bodies, that do not in the least differ from the ancient reports concerning pigmies.

On that shore of the island Lewis, which looks towards the south-east, two bays of the sea break into the land, one of which they call the south, the other the north loch; both yielding abundance of fish, to those who take pains to catch them, and that during the whole year. From the same shore, more to the south, stands Fable isle, then Adam's isle, then the isle of Lambs; as also, Hailin, Viccoil, Havera, Laxa, Brin, the isle of Icolmkill, Tory, Ifert, Scalpa, Flada, and Shevy. At the east side of this last island is a subterraneous passage, arched at top, and above a bowshot in length; under which vault, small boats used to shelter themselves, making to it by sails or oars, to avoid the violence of the tide, which breaks upon the neighbouring promontory with a great noise, to the extreme terror and danger of mariners. More to the east lies an island which they call Scham Castle, a place naturally fortified, abounding with corn and fish, and also affording sufficient provision to the inhabitants by eggs of sea-fowl, which there make their nests.

Opposite the shore, where Loch Brian, or Broom, opens to the land, lies the isle of Eu, which is almost all covered with woods, and good for nothing but to harbour thieves, who rob passengers. More to the north is the island Gruinorta, being also full of woods, possessed by robbers and pirates. And looking towards the same coast, is an island, named Cleirach, which, beside pasturage, abounds with the eggs of sea-fowl. Next to that is Afulla, and then Harary the Greater, with Harary the Less; and nigh this last the island of Horses, or Nastich; and near that again, the isle Mertaica. These eight islands are situate before the mouth of the bay, which is vulgarly called Loch Broom or Brian. At some distance from these islands, which lie before Loch Broom, Harris and Lewis run toward the north. They are sixty miles in length and sixteen in breadth, making but one island; for they are not dis-

tinguished by the arms of the sea that flow into it, but by the meers of the land, and the possessions of their several lairds; but that part which is exposed to the south, is wont to be called Harish. There was a monastery here, called Roadilla, built by Macleod of Harish. The soil is fruitful of corn, but it yields its increase rather by digging than ploughing. Its pastures are proper for sheep, especially one high mountain, which is green with grass to the very top. Donald Monro, a learned and pious man, relates, that when he was there, he saw sheep very old for that kind of cattle, wandering up and down without any certain owner; and the number of them is increased by the fact, that neither fox, wolf, or serpent was ever seen there; though great woods lie betwixt this part and Lewis, which breed many stags, but low and small in size. In this part of the island is a river very full of salmon. On the north part lies Lewis, inhabited enough towards the shore. It hath four parish-churches in it, one fort, seven great brooks, and twelve smaller, all of them, according to their magnitude, full of salmon; in many places the sea penetrates into the land, and there spreads itself into bays, all abounding with plenty of herrings. There are also great plenty of sheep here, which wander freely amongst the thickets and heath-bushes. The inhabitants drive them into a narrow place, like a sheep-fold, and there every year they pluck them of their wool, after the ancient custom. The level part of the country abounds with heath, among which the surface of the earth is black, occasioned by moss, that is matted as it were with rotten wood, the accumulation of many ages, even a foot in thickness. This upper crust, being cut into long and slender pieces, and dried in the sun, serves for firing instead of wood; and the following year, the naked ground, being manured with sea weed, is sown with barley. In this island are commonly so many whales taken, that sometimes, as the old inhabitants relate, twenty-seven, of different sizes, fall to the share of the priests for their tithes. Here is also a great cave, in which, when the tide is out, the water is two fathoms deep; but when the tide is in, the depth is twice as much. There multitudes of people, of both sexes, and of all ages, sitting on the rocks, with hooks and lines, promiscuously catch various kinds of fish, in abundance.

About sixty miles from Lewis, to the north-east, is Rona, a small island, low, flat, and well inhabited by a rude people, almost destitute of religion. The laird assigns a certain number of families to dwell here and till it, and allows them a sufficiency of great and small cattle, whereby they may both live well and pay their tribute. All that is above their own wants, they send every year to Lewis, to their landlord, who lives there. They commonly pay him, under the denomination of tribute or rent, a great quantity of sacks, made of sheep-skins, containing barley meal, (which grain grows plentifully among them,) also, carcasses of mutton, and sea-fowl dried in the sun, being the surplussage of their yearly provision; and if the multitude of their people increases, they send also the supernumerary persons to their landlords. So that, in my judgment, these are the only people in the world who want nothing, but have all things to satiety. And besides, having neither luxury nor covetousness, they enjoy that innocence and tranquillity of mind, which others take great pains to obtain from the precepts and institutions of wise men. And for this they are indebted to their ignorance of vice; neither doth any thing seem to be wanting to their great happiness, but that they do not understand the excellence of their condition. There is in this island a chapel dedicated to St. Ronanus, where (as old men say) a spade is constantly left, with which, if any one die, a place is always found marked out, and prepared for his grave. Moreover, in this island, besides other fish, many whales are also taken.

Sixteen miles from thence, towards the west, lies the island Suilaker; a mile long, which brings forth no grass, not even so much as heath; having only bleak rocks, some of which are covered with black moss; among which sea-fowl do commodiously lay their eggs, and hatch them. Before the young are fledged enough to fly away, the neighbouring islanders sail thither from Lewis, and spend about eight days there in collecting the birds, with which and the feathers, the flesh being dried in the wind, they load their boats. In this isle is found a rare kind of bird, unknown in other parts, called Colan,

which is somewhat less than a goose. The female comes hither every year in the spring, and here hatches and feeds her young till they can shift for themselves. About that time her feathers fall off, and, being thus left naked, she betakes herself to the sea again, and is never seen more till the next spring. It is also singular in these birds, that their feathers have no quills or stalks, but cover their bodies with a gentle down, without any hard ribs belonging to it.

Next follow the Orcaades, lying scattered in the north of Scotland, partly in the Deucalionian, and partly in the German, seas. In the name, writers, both ancient and modern, agree tolerably well; but the reason of it no man, that I know, hath explained. Neither doth it appear who first possessed these islands; for, though all say that they were of a German original, it is not said from what nation of Germany they came. If we may form a conjecture from their speech, both ancient and modern, they use the Gothic language. Some think they were Picts, induced by this argument, that the sea, dividing them from Caithness, is called the Pentland, or Pictland, Frith. The same writers judge also that the Picts themselves were of the race of the Saxons, grounding their opinion chiefly on the verses of Claudian, in his seventh panegyric, which runs thus:—

—— Maduerunt Saxone fuso,  
Orcaades: incalsuit Pictorum sanguine Thule.  
Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The Orcaades were moist with Saxon gore;  
Warm with the blood of Picts, flow'd Thule's shore:  
And whilst its head, each Scotchman's tomb appears,  
Icy Juverna all dissolves in tears.

But their error may easily be refuted, first from Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, who, affirming that the Britons sung the praises of God in five several languages, reckons the Pictish to be one; but if the Picts had then spoken the Saxon language, he would not have made the distinction; for at that period the English used the Saxon without corruption. In the next place, the error is refuted by those very verses of Claudian, where he expressly declares, that the Picts were a different people from the Saxons; for he says, that the Orcaades were the country of the latter, as Thule was of the Picts. But whatever their original was, they use, in our age, a language different both from Scotch and English, and very nearly approaching to the Gothic. In their daily fare, the common people still retain much of their ancient parsimony, and therefore they are sound in mind and healthy in body. Few of them die of diseases, but almost all of old age, and their ignorance of delights and pleasures contributes more to the conservation of their health, than the skill and diligence of physicians doth to others. The same parsimony conduceth much both to the elegance of their form, and the tallness of their stature. They have but a scanty supply of grain, except oats and barley; of which they make both bread and drink. Of gregarious animals, they have sheep, live, and goats, so that they have abundance of milk, butter, and cheese: they have also an innumerable variety of sea fowl, of which, and of fish, their diet for the most part consists. There is no venomous creature here, nor any of an odious appearance. Their horses are very small, but though in appearance contemptible, their strength is great, almost beyond belief. Neither trees nor shrubs grow here; only heath, which is owing not so much to any fault in the soil or air, as to the laziness of the inhabitants, as doth easily appear by the roots of trees, which in many places are dug out of the earth. Whenever foreigners import hither strong liquor, the people drink it greedily, even to excess. They have an ancient cup, or goblet, among them, which, to secure the greater authority to their carousings, they say, belonged to St. Columba, who first instructed them in the principles of the Christian religion. It is far exceeds the size of other drinking-bowls, that it may seem to have been a relic of the feast of the Lapithæ. With it they try an experiment upon their bishops, at their first coming to them; and he that can drink the contents at a single draught, which seldom happens, is counted an extraordinary man; and the people look upon it as a happy omen and presage, that

the crops of the following years will be superabundant. From this practice it may easily be conjectured, that the parsimony which I spoke of proceeded not so much from reason and choice, as from penury and want; and that the same necessity which produced it at first, perpetuated and transmitted it to posterity; till the neighbouring nations being corrupted by prevailing luxury, their ancient discipline was, by degrees, weakened and impaired, and they also gave themselves up to charming pleasures and delights. Being thus inclined to luxury, they were hurried on to it by their commerce with pirates; who, not daring to land on the continent, because it was full of inhabitants, took in fresh water at these islands; and there either changed their wine, and other merchandise, for the provisions of the country, or else sold them to the islanders at a low price. The inhabitants being few in number, unarmed, and dispersed also in the tempestuous sea, so that they could not convene to assist one another, and conscious of their own weakness, either did receive, or at least did not reject security, brought home to their doors, especially it being mixed with gain and pleasure, which are its usual companions. But this pollution of manners did mostly infect the great ones and the priests. Among the vulgar, many tokens of their former moderation do yet remain. The sea is there very raging and tempestuous; which is caused, not only by the violence of the winds, and the position of the heavenly constellations, but also by the meeting of contrary tides, raised up, and flowing in from the western ocean, and making such a conflict between the straits of the land, that the surges occasioned thereby, encountering one another in opposite directions, and all impetuously whirled together, cannot be passed, either with oars or sails. If any mariners dare come too near, one of these three mischiefs befalls them—they are driven back, with a forcible violence, into the sea; or else, by the rapidity of the foaming waves, they are dashed upon shelves and rocks; or, lastly, are swallowed up by the roaring vortices of the engulfing waters. There are only two seasons wherein these straits are passable; either when, upon the falling back of the tides, the conflict of the waters ceasing, the sea is thereby calmed; or else when it comes in a full channel to the height of its increase at spring-tides, that force languishes on both sides, which raised and made the waters tempestuous and stormy; so that the ocean, as it were, sounds a retreat to its storms, and thereupon the mountainous surges retire into their proper caverns and recesses.

Authors are not agreed concerning the number of the Orcaades; Pliny reckons them to be forty; others about thirty: but Paulus Orosius comes nearest the truth, in making them thirty-three, of which thirteen only are inhabited; the rest being left to feed cattle, for many of them are low, and so narrow in compass, that, if tilled, they would scarcely maintain above one or two farmers. Some of them appear to be either bare rocks, or else covered with nothing but a rotten kind of black moss.

The largest isle of the Orcaades is called by many of the ancients Pomona, though at this day they term it the Main-land, on account of its exceeding the rest so much in size, its length being thirty miles. It is well inhabited and hath twelve parish churches, besides one town, which the Danes, who were long masters of the Orcaades, called Cracoviaca; and we Scotchmen by a corrupt name, Kirkwall. In this town are two castles of a moderate size, standing near together, one belonging to the king, and the other to the bishop. Between them is a church, which is magnificent enough for such a place; and adjacent to that and the castles are buildings on both sides, which the inhabitants call two cities, one belonging to the king, and the other to the bishop. The whole isle runs out into promontories, between which the bays formed by the influx of the sea afford safe anchoring for ships, and here and there a good harbour. In six several places of this island are metals, that is, white and black lead, of so good a quality, that no better is to be found in all Britain. This island is about twenty-four miles distant from Caithness; the Pictish Sea, called Pentland Frith, running between them, of which we have spoken before.

In this narrow sea are many scattered islands, of which Stromoy, not unfruitful for the extent of it, is distant from Caithness only a mile; but they do not reckon that amongst the Orcaades, on account of its propinquity to the

British shore, and its having been always the property of the Earls of Caithness. Sailing from hence towards the north, we meet with South Ronalds, or Ronaldsay, the first of the Orkades, which is sixteen miles from Duncansby-head. Skiffs and small vessels pass over in two hours from thence to this island, when the tide is with them, though there be no wind, which is occasioned by the violence of the current. This island is five miles in length, and hath a convenient port, surnamed St. Margaret's Hope. A little to the eastward of it are two small islands, uninhabited, and left for cattle to pasture in. They call them, in their country-speech, the Holmes, that is, grassy plains, situated by water. To the north is the island Burra, and two Holmes between that and Main-land. From Burra, towards the west, there lie three islands in order, Suna, Flata, and Fara; and beyond them, Hoia, and Valis or Waes-isle, which some make two, others but one island, because about both the equinoxes, when the sea doth most tempestuously foam and rage, the tide falling back, and the lands being bared, they adhere together, and are joined by a narrow isthmus, and so make one island; but upon the return of the tide, and the sea coming again between them, they recover the form of two. In this island are the highest mountains of all the Orkades. Hoia and Waes-isle are ten miles in length, and distant from Ronaldsay eight miles; but from Duncansby or Duncansby, in Caithness, above twenty miles. On the north is the island Gramsa, situated in a very narrow arm of the sea; for Hoia is distant from the nearest promontory, which is that of Pomona, or Main-land, only two miles. These are the islands situated in the streights between Main-land and Caithness. The west side of Main-land looks to the open sea, no islands or rocks appearing there. From its eastern promontory it runs a little out into the sea; while Coupins-oy almost covers it on the north. Nearer the shore is Siapins-oy, somewhat inclining to the east, situated over against Kirkwall, two miles distant, itself being six miles long. On the west part of Main-land lies Rows-oy, six miles in length. From thence towards the east stands Eglisa, or Eglis-oy, where fame reports that St. Magnus was buried. From hence to the southward lie Wyer-oy and Gress-oy; and not far from thence, Wester-oy, eighty miles distant from Shetland. Papa and Stronsa lie also at the same distance. Almost in the middle of the passage between them lies Fara, or Fair Isle, which is equally conspicuous and visible from the Orkades and Shetland; for it rises into three very high promontories, surrounded with lofty rocks, that are wholly inaccessible, except towards the north-east, where, being a little lower, it affords an harbour safe enough for small vessels. The inhabitants thereof are very poor; for the fishermen, which sail that way every year, coming to fish from England, Holland, and other maritime countries, plunder, and carry away what they please.

The next after this is the greatest of the Shetland islands, and therefore the inhabitants call it the Continent or Main-land. It is sixty miles in length, and in some places sixteen in breadth; it spreads itself into many small promontories: two of them I shall name, the one long, but narrow, running to the north; the other broader, running to the south-east. The maritime parts of it are, for the most part, inhabited; but to the interior no animal comes except fowl. Some few years since, the inhabitants endeavoured to form plantations, farther than their ancestors had done, but the enterprise did not answer. Their wealth is from the sea, as it lies convenient for fishing on every side.

Ten miles farther, towards the north, is the isle of Zell, or Yell, above twenty miles long, and eight broad; so uncouth a place that no creature can live therein, except such as are born there. A merchant of Bremen, however, is reported to dwell in this island, who imports all sorts of foreign wares, of which the inhabitants have need, in great abundance. Between this island and Main-land lie the small islands of Linga, Orna, Bigga, and Sanctferry. About nine miles further, to the north, stands Unst, extending above twenty miles in length, and six in breadth. It is plain and level, without being any otherwise unsightly to the eye, than that it is surrounded by a very raging sea. Between this and Yell lie Via, Ura, and Linga; and beyond it, towards the west, are the two Skerryys, and Burra; on the east are Balta, Honnega, and Fotlara or Pheodoroy, which last is seven miles long, over against the

streight that separates Unst from Yell; being distant from the former seven, and from the latter eight miles. Many petty islands lie on the east side of the Main-land, as Mecla, the three eastern Skerryys, Chualsa, or Whale-oy, Nostvada, Brasa, and Musa; the west side is surrounded by the eastern Skerryys, Rotti, Papa the Less, Vonneda, Papa the Greater, Valla, Trams isle. Barra, Hara the Greater, Hara the Less; and amongst them are intermingled almost as many holmes, or plain islets, used for pasturage only.

The Shetlanders live after the same manner as the people of the Orkneys do, except that, in diet, they are a little more hardy. Their dress is after the German fashion, which, according to their abilities, is not uncommonly. They support themselves by manufacturing a sort of coarse cloth, which they sell to the Norwegians: also by extracting oil from the entrails of fish, by their butter, and their fisheries. In the latter employment they use small vessels of two oars, which they purchase of the Norwegians. Of the fish which they catch, they salt a part, and dry the rest in the wind. Out of the produce of what is sold, they raise a sum of money to pay their tribute, to provide dwelling-houses, and buy furniture. Their fisheries also supply them with a great part of their food. They who study neatness in their domestic utensils, indulge themselves with some plate in their houses. They use measures, numbers, and weights, after the German fashion; and their language is also German, or rather almost the ancient Gothic. They know not what it is to be drunk; only every month they invite one another to their houses, on which days they are innocently merry and cheerful, without those brawls and other vices which are occasioned by intoxication. This social custom, they persuade themselves, contributes much to the maintenance of mutual friendship. The healthiness of these people appeared in one named Laurence, in our time, who, after he was an hundred years old, married a wife; and when he was one hundred and forty, used to fish with his skiff, even in a rough and tempestuous sea. He died only lately, not by the shock of any grievous disease, but merely by the infirmity and languishing of old age.

## BOOK II.

My attempt to retrieve the memory of British affairs, for above two thousand years past, was opposed by many impediments; amongst which this was the chief, that there were for a long time no monuments of learning in those countries, from which the knowledge of our original was to be derived: and when letters came, though but late, into use, they were almost nipped in the bud. I may safely affirm, that all the nations which hitherto have seated themselves in Britain, even to this day, came either from Gaul, Spain, or Germany. The Gauls first received the characters of letters from the Marcellian Greeks, by which they used to make up their accounts, and communicate with each other by writing. The alphabets, or elementary figures of words, were indeed Greek; but the language itself was Gallic. As they did not commit their laws, and the rites of their religion, to writing, not even in Cæsar's time; much less did they record their exploits, which yet, it is probable, were very great. Those things which they either did, or suffered in Italy, Germany, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia, were buried in the same oblivion, so that posterity would never have come to the knowledge of them, if foreign writers had not preserved and transmitted them down to us. I confess, in Spain the Greeks had the use of letters; and before them, the Phœnicians who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean sea; but, among the Barbarians, only the Turdetani,\* as Strabo says, had any knowledge of them. As for any ancient writer, there was none of whom I have any knowledge; for Varro, Pliny, and other Romans, who touched any thing occasion-

\* The Turdetani occupied all that part of Spain which lies along the Guadalquivir, from its source to the sea.

ally concerning the first inhabitants of Spain, confirm their opinions thereon rather by conjectures than the testimony of authors. In that part of Britain which Cæsar visited, there were no ancient records; and among the inhabitants of the interior, who were still more barbarous, they were much less to be expected; so that when he asked them concerning the origin of their nation, and their early ancestors, they returned him, he says, no certain answer at all.

After him, Tacitus, an author equally faithful and diligent, though the Roman navy had then coasted about Britain, and had discovered all its inmost roads and recesses, could meet with nothing of certainty, or worthy of being transmitted to posterity. Moreover, Gildas, who lived about four hundred years after Tacitus, affirms, that what he writes was not from any monuments of antiquity, of which he could find none, but from foreign reports gathered by him beyond sea. As for Germany, that country was furnished with learning last of all; but seeing that she had nothing to produce out of old records, that could be vouched for truth, according to her wonted candour in other cases, she coined no fictions of her own, to obtrude upon the world. Therefore, they who affirm that they deduce the original of the Britons from old annals, must first tell us who was the author or discoverer of those annals; as also, where they have been concealed so long; and how they came down uncorrupted to us, after so many ages. In this case, some fly to the bards and senachies, as the preservers of ancient records, but very ridiculously; which will be more clearly understood, if I explain what kind of men those were, to whom they would have credit to be given, in matters of such great moment, and those too so obscure, and so remote from our memory. First, Strabo and Ammianus describe plainly what the bards were, both before, and also in their times. But Lucan doth it clearly and distinctly enough for our present purpose, in these verses:—

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,  
Laudibus in longum, Vates, diffunditis ævum,  
Plurima securi fudistis carmina, *Bardi*.

Ye Bards, such valiant souls as fall in war,  
Perpetuate with rhymes, and praises rare.

But the very oldest of them were altogether ignorant of letters, neither did they leave any records of ancient matters behind them.

The other were bardlings or senachies, (as they call them,) who were maintained by the chiefs of the ancient clans, and by some wealthy men besides, there being one in every great house, on purpose to commemorate their ancestors and the first of their families, in genealogies which they got by heart. But, as these had no learning, let any man judge what credit is to be given to them, whose hopes and substance totally depended upon soothing and flattering of others. Besides, though all that they delivered were most true, the advantage would be trivial to the writer of a history. Lastly, let us consider, how often the writers of the famous deeds of former times are found guilty of manifest mistakes; how often they waver, doubt, fluctuate, and are at a loss; how vastly some of them differ, not only from others, but even from themselves. If such errors then are incident even to those who seek after truth, with great labour and study, what can we hope for from persons, who being without learning, (by which they who casually mistake may be better informed, and those who mistake on purpose may be confronted,) depend wholly upon their memory? I might allege, too, that the memory is oftentimes impaired by disuse, weakened by age, or wholly lost by some disease. Besides, if the bards study chiefly to please their patrons, as is commonly the case, or, on the contrary, if they have a mind to vex them; or, if the passions of anger, hatred, or envy intervene, to pervert the judgment, who can affirm any thing for truth upon such authorities? Who would take the pains to refute it, though false? Or, who would deliver down for certain, what he received from such dubious authors? Therefore, where the old writers are generally silent concerning matters of antiquity, and were often so egregiously ignorant of things acted even in their own times, that nothing can certainly be grounded upon them, I count it more modest to say nothing on what one



knows not, than by devising falsehoods to betray a self-sufficient confidence to the prejudice of other men's judgment.

It follows then, that there was so great a want of writers amongst all the nations of the Britons, that before the arrival of the Romans, all things were buried in profound darkness and total silence; insomuch that we can get no information of what was acted, even by the Romans themselves, otherwise than from Greek and Latin monuments; and as for those things which preceded their coming, we may rather believe their conjectures, than our own fictions. For what our writers have delivered, every one concerning the original of his own sept or nation, is so absurd, that I should have counted my time lost to go about to refute it, were there not some who delighted in such fables, as if they were as true as the gospel, and took a pride to deck themselves with borrowed feathers.

Moreover, the disagreement of later writers increases the difficulty of this task; for they deliver such repugnancies, that a man cannot well tell whom to follow; nay, there is so much absurdity amongst them, that they all seem to deserve no other notice than contempt. Neither do I so much wonder at the silence of the ancients in a matter so obscure, or the discordance amongst later writers in feigning falsehoods, as I do at the impudence of a few, who write of those ages, in which all things were doubtful and uncertain, with as much pertinacity and assurance as if their design was rather to amuse the reader than to shew the least regard to truth in their narratives.

For in those early times, when tillage was not commonly used by the Britons, any more than by many other nations, all their wealth consisting in cattle, and their furniture being simple, they often shifted their habitations, either expelled by such as were more powerful than themselves; or, succeeding in driving out the weaker; or else, seeking out better pasture for their flocks and herds in wild and desert places. They easily, therefore, abandoned their dwellings; and the places to which they removed soon got new names with their new masters.

Another circumstance, which contributed to perplex ancient history, was the ambition of the wealthier people to perpetuate their memory to posterity, by calling countries, provinces, and towns, after their own names. Almost all the cities in Spain had two names; and those of the inhabitants, as well as those of the towns and countries therein, received frequent alterations. Not to speak of Egypt, Greece, and other remote countries:—

*Serpens et nomen posuit Sæternia tellus.*

*Fair Italy (says Fame)*

*Full oft hath chang'd her name.*

Add hereunto, that those nations who live in the same country, have not always the same names. That which the Latins call Hispania, the Greeks Iberia, the poets Hesperia, St. Paul in his epistles, with Theodoret and Sozomen in their history, called Spania, that is, Spain. The name of the Greeks, so celebrated by the Latins, and all nations of Europe, is more obscure than the Greeks themselves. The Hebrews and Arabians keep their old appellations of almost all nations, which were never so much as heard of by other people. Scotch and English are the common names of the British nations, which, at this day, are almost unknown to the ancient Scots and Britons; for they call the one Albines, the other Saxons. And therefore it is a wonder, if, in so great an uncertainty of human affairs, writers, who were born at several times, far distant one from another, and having different languages, and manners too, do not always agree amongst themselves in the names of persons and places. Though these things occasioned great difficulties to the ancient searchers after the originals of nations; yet some moderns, actuated by corrupt ambition, have involved all things in thick and palpable darkness. For, whilst every one of them aims to carry the antiquity of his nation as high as he can, and so endeavours to ennoble it by devised fables, this immoderate license of coining fictions serves only to obscure that which they ought to illustrate. And if at any time they speak truth, yet, by their frequent and ridiculous fabrications, they detract from their own credit; and are so far from obtaining that esteem which they expected, that their falsehoods, being

brought to light, makes them ridiculous, even to those from whom they looked for approbation.

To make this plain, I will begin, as with the most ancient nation, so with the most notorious and impudent fiction. The compilers of a new history of the old Britons, having interpolated the fable of the Danaïdes, feign, that one Dioclesian, king of Syria, had, by his wife Labana, thirty-three daughters; who, having killed their husbands on their wedding-night, were crowded all together in one ship, and, without any master or mariners, sent to sea. These women arriving in Britain, which was then a desert, lived solitarily in that cold country, on a few wild fruits; and by an intercourse with evil spirits, brought forth giants, whose race continued till the arrival of Brutus, or Brute. They say the island was called Albion from Albine, and that Brute was the great-grandson of Æneas the Trojan, and the son of Æneas Sylvius. This Brute having accidentally killed his father with a dart, all men looked upon it as a lamentable and piteous fact; yet, because it was not done intentionally, the punishment of death was remitted, and banishment either enjoined, or voluntarily chosen by him. The parricide, having consulted the oracle of Diana, and endured many perils in his wanderings through various lands and seas, at the end of ten years arrived in Britain, with a number of followers; and, after several combats, in all of which he was victorious over the giants in Albion, he gained the empire of the whole island. He had three sons, Loclin, Albanact, and Camber, amongst whom the island was divided. Albanact ruled over the Albans, afterwards called Scots; and Camber over the Cambrians, or the Welsh: but they both so governed their respective kingdoms, that Loclin had the supreme dominion; who, being ruler of the rest of the Britons, gave the name of Loegria to his part. Later writers, that they might also propagate this fabulous empire as much as they could, add, that Loclin was succeeded by his daughter Vendelina; to whom succeeded Madanus, next Menpricius, and after him Ebrancus. The latter, by twenty wives, had as many sons, of whom nineteen went to Germany, which country they conquered, with the assistance of the armies of their kinsman, Alba Sylvius. From these brothers the country was called Germany. Such are the stories which the old Britons, and after them some of the English, have related concerning the first inhabitants of the island.

Here I cannot but stand amazed at their design, who, while they might easily and without reflection, in imitation of the Athenians, Arcadians, and other famous nations, have called themselves Indigene, would rather chuse to forge an ancestry out of the refuse of mankind, whose very history must be suspected, even by the vulgar; and the truth of which no ancient writer of credit has confirmed. It would have been no disgrace to them to take an origin which Athens, the noblest and wisest city in the world, esteemed as her chief glory, particularly as the opinion could not have been refuted out of ancient documents, and has had such great examples. But if that had not pleased them, since it was free for them to have assumed honourable ancestors to themselves, out of any old book which some of the poets have written; I wonder what could induce them to make choice of those, of whom all their posterity might justly be ashamed. For what folly is it, to think nothing illustrious or magnificent, but what is profligate or flagitious? Yet some there are who pride themselves, among the ignorant, upon fables of this kind. As for John Annian,\* a man, I grant, not unlearned, he may be excused, seeing poets claim a liberty to celebrate the original of families and nations, with a mixture of figments; but I cannot think it reasonable to allow the same privilege to those who undertake professedly to write a history.

To return to my subject: what is more repugnant to belief, than that a few girls, without the assistance of men to manage their vessel, should come from Syria, through so many seas, (which voyage even now, when men have

\* Annian of Viterbo, or Giovanai Nanni, was a learned Dominican of the 15th century. He acquired a great reputation by his learning, but forfeited it by forging a number of pieces which he pretended were the genuine works of Xenophon, and other ancient authors. His *Seventeen Books of Antiquities* would have been valuable, were it not for these and other fictions.

attained, by use and custom, more skill in navigation, is yet hazardous, though with a brave and well-furnished navy,) almost to the extremity of the world, and into a desolate island too; and there to live without corn, or fruits of trees? nay, that such women, of a royal stock, should not only barely support themselves in so cold a climate, destitute of all things, but also should bring forth giants; and that by cacodæmons? As for Dioclesian, at what time, and in what part of Syria, did he reign? how happens it that authors make no mention of him, especially since the affairs of no nation have been more diligently transmitted to posterity, than those of the Syrians? How, also, came he to be called Dioclesian, a name which took its rise a thousand years after him, amongst the Barbarians, and is originally Greek, but declined after the Latin form?

The next accession of nobility, is Brute, the parricide, that he might not, in that respect, be inferior to Romulus. This Brute, whoever he was, whom the Britons make the author of their name and nation, with what forces, or by what correspondent language, could he penetrate so far into Britain? especially in those times, when the Roman arms, even in the most flourishing state of their commonwealth, and after conquering almost all the world besides, could scarcely succeed. For it is needless to mention how, before Rome was built, the affairs of Italy were at a very low ebb; and how the inhabitants thereof were averse to all peregrination and travel. Neither need I inquire whether he came by land or sea? The Alps, till that time, were passable only to Hercules; and the Gauls, by reason of their natural fierceness, were as yet unacquainted with the converse of foreigners. As for voyages by sea, the Carthaginians and Greeks, who inhabited Marseilles, hardly dared to venture into the ocean but very lately, and when things were well settled at home; and, even then, their voyages were rather for discovery than conquest; much less can we believe, that Alban shepherds, a wild sort of people, would undertake so bold an enterprise. Besides, all men, who are not ignorant of Latin, know, that the name of Brutus began to be celebrated under Tarquin the Proud, almost five hundred years after the fabulous Brutus; when Lucius Junius, a patrician, laying aside his rank, condescended to a state of things far below himself, on purpose to avoid the cruelty of the tyrants; and, in pretending idiocy, took that new surname to himself, and transmitted it to his posterity. But the monk, who was the forger and deviser of the fable of Brutus, appears to have seen the absurdity of the invention himself; yea, he thought to stop all men's mouths with the pretence of religion in the case, and would have all people believe that they obeyed the oracle of Diana. Here I will not be particular in inquiring how this oracle came to be unknown to posterity, when the oracles of Faunus, of the Sibyls, and the Prænestine lots,\* were then in such great credit.

I will only ask, in what language did Diana answer? If they say, in Latin; I demand, how Brutus acquired a knowledge of a tongue which began nine hundred years after his time? For, since Horace, whose learning was great, doth ingenuously confess that he did not understand the Saliar rhymes, which were made in the reign of Numa Pompilius, how could this Brutus, who died so many years before the priests called Sali were instituted, understand verses made long after the age of Horace, as the tenor of their composition doth shew? Besides, how could the posterity of Brutus so totally forget the Latin tongue, that not the least footsteps of it should remain amongst them? And whence got they that language which they now use? Or, if it be granted, that their supposititious gods, as well as men, then spoke British in Italy, yet surely it was not the tongue which the Britons now make use of; for that is so patched up of the languages of the neighbouring nations, that several countries may know and own their own words upon the first hearing. But, if they say that those ancient Latins spoke British, how could the monk understand so old an oracle as that, which was delivered 2000 years before? But why do I prosecute these things so minutely, since it appears by many other arguments also, that the same monk forged this whole

\* A species of augury, used at Præneste, in Italy. It consisted of square pieces of wood, like dice, with letters on them; which, when thrown, gave the required answer.

story, and begat such a Brutus (in his own brain) as never was in nature; and also devised the oracle of Diana too? I shall add the verses themselves, that the vanity of such cunning sophisters may be set in the fullest light:—

## BRUTUS'S ADDRESS TO THE ORACLE.

*Divæ, potens nemorum, terra silvestribus apris,  
Cui licet, anfractus ire per æthereos,  
Infernasque domos; terrestria jura resolve,  
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.  
Dic certam sedem, qua te venemur in ævum,  
Qua tibi virginis templa dicabo choris.*

*Goddess of groves, and wild boars' chase,  
Who dost th' æthereal mansions trace,  
And Pluto's too; resolve this doubt,  
Tell me what country to find out,  
Where I may fix, where temples raise,  
For virgin-choirs to sing thy praise.*

Diana answers in verses of the same kind, (so that they must needs be made by one and the same poet,) not perplexed and ambiguous ones; or such as may be interpreted divers ways, but clear and perspicuous, wherein she promiseth that which she could never give, namely, the empire of the whole world:—

*Brute, sub occasum solis, trans Gallica regna,  
Insula in oceano est, undique cineta mari:  
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,  
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.  
Hanc pete; namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis;  
Hæc set natis altera Troja tuis:  
Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, et illis  
Totius terræ subditis orbis erit.*

*Beyond proud Gallia's wide extended lines,  
Where sets the sun, but large its glory shines;  
An isle does in the circling ocean stand,  
And giants once inhabited the land;  
Now desolate, it wants a regal guest,  
And courts thy people to a seat of rest.  
Go, Brutus, go, and make that realm thy own,  
Where endless empire greets thee to the throne;  
There thy long offspring shall behold, with joy,  
A rising nation, and a second Troy;  
And to that height promote their scepter'd sway,  
The vanquish'd world shall willingly obey.*

I suppose, by these verses, compared with the history, the whole forgery will be discovered, and that plainly. For, besides the vain promises on both sides, the rhymes say, that the island was not then inhabited, but desolate, though it had been inhabited before. But where, I pray, were those portentous men Gogmagog and Tentagol, and other frightful names, invented, shall I say, for terror, or, rather for sport? What will become of those combats of Corineus, and others, the companions of Brutus, against, not the earth-born, but hell-born giants? Thus far concerning Brutus and his oracle.

Though these be such manifest fictions, posterity is so little ashamed of them, that, a few years ago, a writer, of no mean name amongst them, impudently feigned, that the Trojans spoke the British language. This audacious assertion is amply refuted by Homer and Dionysius Halicarnassus: for the one gives Greek names to all the Trojans; and the other, in a long and serious disputation, maintains, that the Trojans were originally Greeks themselves. I pass by the consideration, how Brutus, when he arrived in England with no great train, could, within the space of twenty years, establish three kingdoms; and how they, who, altogether at first, could scarcely make up the number of one mean colony, should, in so short a time, people an island, the largest in the whole world, and furnish it, not only with villages and cities, but with all the properties of an empire; nay, who a while after, it seems,

grew so numerous, that Britain could not contain them, but they were forced to transport themselves into a more extensive country on the continent; where, overcoming the inhabitants, they compelled them to assume their own name, which was not a British, but a Latin one; and so from those nineteen brothers, or rather half brothers, each having a separate mother, that the country should be called Germany! I have related this fable, as absurd as it is, not to take the pains to refute it, but to leave it to the Germans themselves for sport and ridicule.

Thus much, in general, concerning the fables of the Britons. But the intent of those who devised them, seems not very obscure to me; for that monstrous fiction of devils lying with virgins, seems to have this tendency, that they might either prove an alliance between their Brutus and two of the greatest neighbouring nations; or else, that they might vie with them in the nobility of their original. For, Cæsar says, the Gauls affirmed that they were descended from Pluto; and so did the Germans, according to Tacitus. The cause of devising this figment concerning Brutus, seems to be similar. For seeing the Bathrotii in Epirus, several people in Sicily; the Romans, Campanians, and Sulmonenses, in Italy; the Averni, Hedul, Sequani, and last of all, the Franks in Gaul, celebrated, I know not what, Trojans as their founders; the writers of British affairs thought it likewise conducive to the advancement of the grandeur of their nation, if they also derived its original from the very archives of antiquity, and especially from Troy; either because of the renown of that city, which was praised by almost all nations; or else, on account of its alliance with so many nations, which are said to have started up, as it were, out of the shipwreck of that town. Neither did they think themselves guilty of an effrontery in the falsehood, if they shared a little of the pretended nobility, which grew, by the same artifice, common to so many nations besides themselves. Hence arose, as I judge, the fiction of Brutus, and other fables of an older date, which were as impudently devised, as they were foolishly received; of all which it will, perhaps, be enough to shew the vanity, to put the reader in mind, that they were unknown to ancient writers; that when learning flourished, they dared not peep abroad; that they were coined in its decay, recorded by unlettered flatterers, and entertained by ignorant and too credulous persons, who did not understand the frauds of such deluding authors. For impostors like these do not seek the public good by writing a true history, but, for some private advantage, make use of adulation; so that when they seem most highly to praise, they do, in fact, nothing but jeer. For what do they else, who, pretending to advance the nobility of a nation, for its greater splendour, fetch it from the off-scouring of nature? And yet there are credulous, or rather, I should say, sottish persons, who pride themselves on the pretended dignity of their origin, for which none of their neighbours will envy them.

Those who have written of the Scottish affairs, have delivered down to us a more creditable and noble origin, as they think, but one no less fabulous than that of the Britons. For they have adopted progenitors for us, taken not from the Trojan fugitives, but from those Greek heroes, whose posterity conquered Troy. Observing that, in those ancient times, two nations of the Greeks were chiefly celebrated, the Dorians and the Ionians; and that the princes of the Dorians were the Argivi; and of the Ionians the Athenians, the Scots make one Gathelus to be the chief founder of their nation; though whether he were the son of Argos, or of Cærops, they leave in doubt. That they may not be, however, inferior, on this account, to the eminency of the Romans, they have given Gathelus a strong band of robbers, with which he went into Egypt, where he performed gallant exploits, and after the departure (would you think it?) of Moses, was made general of the king's forces in that land. After this, he, with his wife Scots, the daughter of the king of Egypt, sailed about the whole coast of Europe, adjacent to the Mediterranean sea; and having passed through so many countries, which were desolate in that age, or else inhabited thinly, and that in few places, as Greece, Italy, France, and the whole coast of Africa, (not to mention the numerous islands of that sea,) some will have him to land at the mouth of the river Iberus, or Ebro; but leaving that country, which he could not keep, they draw him on farther to Galicia,

a region still more barren. Some land him at the mouth of the river Douro, being the first of all men, as I suppose, who adventured into the ocean with a navy of ships; and there he is said to have built a large town, which is now called from his name *Portus Gatheli*, or *Port-a-Port*; whence the whole country, which, from *Lusus* and *Lusa*, the children of *Bacchus*, was a long time called *Lusitania*, took the denomination of *Portugal*. After this, *Gathelus* being forced to pass into *Galæcia*, there built *Brigantia*, now called *Compostella*; besides which, he founded also *Braga*, at the mouth of the river *Munda*, in *Portugal*.

These are the fables invented by the Scots, concerning the original of their nation. In feigning of which, how uncircumspect they were, we may gather from hence, that they did not give so much as a Greek name to the Grecian *Gathelus*, who was indeed unknown to the Greek writers; that they allotted a Latin name, from the word *Portus*, to the city built by him, rather than a Greek one, especially in those times, when Italy itself was known to few Greeks; and that they doubt whether he were the son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*; seeing *Argus* lived almost an hundred years before *Cecrops*: that he, who had arrived at such a figure by his prudence, even amongst the most ingenious persons in the world, as to enjoy the next place to the king, and to be put in the room of *Moses* after his departure; and besides being a stranger, to be honoured with the marriage of the king's daughter; that he, I say, leaving the fruitfullest country upon earth, and passing by the lands of both continents, to the right and left, and also so many islands all fruitful in corn, and some of them famous for the temperature of the air, as *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, (which at that time were rather possessed, than cultivated, by a wild sort of people,) should launch out into the main ocean, the very name whereof was formidable, especially since men had then but small skill in maritime affairs; or, that he built the city of *Port-Gathelus*, or *Port-a-Port*, at the river *Douro*, the name of which city was never heard of till the *Saracens* obtained the dominion of *Portugal*; also that he should build *Braga*, at the mouth of the river *Munda*, seeing the distance is so great from them, and that two famous rivers also lie betwixt them, viz. the *Douro*, and *Vouga*, or *Vaca*; and that *Braga* itself is not altogether a maritime place. Moreover, I may well ask, how *Gathelus*, a Grecian, born of a noble family, and, besides, eminent for famous deeds, seeing he was of a most ambitious nation, after passing with a great train into the extreme parts of the world, which, as matters then stood, were almost rude and barbarous, having, to commend his name to posterity, built towns, did neither give them his own, nor so much as one Greek appellation! For the name of *Portugal*, or, as some will have it, the *Port* of *Gathel*, being unknown to so many ancient writers, who have professedly undertaken to describe the names of countries and places, began only to be celebrated about four hundred years ago. And the silence of all the Greeks and Latins, concerning the coming of *Gathelus* into Spain, makes it much suspected, especially since the ancients so frequently mention the *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, *Carthaginians*, *Iberians*, *Gauls*, and the companions of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who went into that country. But our fabulists, as I think, never read the monuments of the ancients; for if they had, seeing it was free for them to assume an author and founder of their nation and nobility, out of any of the famous Grecians, they would never have picked up an ignoble person for their founder, to the exclusion of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who were celebrated amongst all nations, and whom they might have chosen, as well as any other, for the founders of their race.

These are the things which our writers have delivered, concerning the rise of our nation; and, if I have prosecuted the subject more largely than was necessary, it must be imputed to those who pertinaciously have defended the fable, as though it were a *Palladium* dropped down from heaven. He that considers the matter, will, no doubt, by reason of the obstinacy of my adversaries, be more favourable to me. Concerning the other nations, which came later into these islands, and fixed their habitation here, as *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, because their history doth not contain any monstrous absurdity, I shall speak of them hereafter, in a more proper place.

But the two nations which I have mentioned, seem to me to have deduced

their origin, from the Gauls, and I will give you the reasons of this my judgment, when I have first premised a few things, concerning the ancient customs of the Gauls. All the country, fruitful as it is in corn, is said to be, and indeed is, more abundant in men; so that, as Strabo relates, there were three hundred thousand of the Celtæ alone who were able to bear arms, though they inhabited but a third part of Gaul. Such, indeed, was the increase of the population, that various expedients were adopted to lessen it. When, however, owing to the poverty of the soil, the children became still too numerous and burdensome, sometimes by public edicts, and sometimes by private resolutions, they sent out many colonies into all the neighbouring lands, to prevent an excess of people at home.

In the first place, they sent their colonies so thick to Spain, that Ephorus, as Strabo relates, extends the length of Gaul, even to the Gades, or Cadix. and, indeed, all that side of the kingdom towards the north, by the name of the people and nations inhabiting them, hath long since evinced a Gallic origin. The first we meet with, are the Celtiberi:—

— Profugique a gente vetusta :

Gallorum, Celtæ, miscentes nomen Iberiæ.

The wandering Celts in Spain their dwellings fix'd,

And with Iberians there their names they mix'd.

These people enlarged their bounds so far, that, though they inhabited a craggy country, and one not over-fruitful, yet Marcus Marcellus exacted from them six hundred talents, as a tribute. Moreover, from the Celtæ or Celtiberi, the Celtici derive their original dwelling along the Anas, by Ptolemy surnamed Bœtici; and also other Celts in Portugal, near to the same river; and if we may believe Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, the Celts do inhabit from the mouth of the river Douro, as far as the promontory, which they call Celticum or Nerium, that is, Cape Finisterre. These are distinguished by their surnames, as the Gronii, Præsamarci, Tamarici, Nerii, and the rest of the Gallaci, which appellatives shew their Gaulish origin. On the other side, there passed out of Gaul into Italy, the Ligurians, the Libii, the Sallassi, the Insubri, the Cenomani, the Boii, and the Senones; and, if we may believe some ancient writers, the Veneti. I need not mention what large dominions these nations had in Italy, because every person who is the least versed in history, cannot be ignorant in that point; neither will I be too minute in inquiring what troops of Gauls made their seats in Thrace; or, after having subdued Macedonia and Greece, passed into Bithynia, where they erected the kingdom of Gallo-Græcia in Asia; since that matter doth not much concern our present purpose.

My discourse, therefore, hastens to Germany; and concerning the Gaulish colonies therein, we have the most authentic evidences of Julius Cæsar, and Cornelius Tacitus. The first, in his commentaries of the Gallic war, writes, that at one period the Gauls were esteemed more valiant than the Germans, and therefore that the Tectosages possessed the most fruitful part of Germany about the Hercynian forest; and the Bohemians, as the other affirms, shew plainly by their names, that their founders were the Boii. Sometimes the Helvetians possessed the nearer places between the rivers Maine and Rhine, the Decumates beyond the Rhine, were of Gallic original, and also the Gothini near the Danube, whom Claudian calls Gothunni; though Arrian, in the Life of Alexander, calls them Getini; and Flavius Vopiscus, in the life of Probus, Gautunni. But Claudian reckons even the Gothunni amongst the Getæ; and Stephanus is of opinion, that the Getes are called Getini, by Ammianus; so that perhaps the Getes themselves may acknowledge a Gallic original; it being certain, that many Gallic nations passed over into Thrace, and resided there in that circuit which the Getes are said to have possessed. Tacitus writes, that, in his time, the Gothini used the Gallic language; and the Cimbri, as Philemon says, and, if we believe Tacitus, the Astiones too, dwelling by the Swedish sea, where they gathered amber, did speak British, which language was then the same with the Gallic, or not much different from it. Many are the signs and marks of Gallic colonies, through all Germany, which I would willingly recite, but that I have already alleged enough for my purpose, to shew how widely France extended her colonies round about Britain.

What then shall we say of Britain itself, which did not equal those nations either in greatness, strength, or skill in military affairs! What did she, that was so near to the valiantest of the Gauls, and not inferior to the neighbouring nations, either in the mildness of the air, or the fruitfulness of the soil? Did she, I say, entertain no foreign colonies? Yes, many, as Cæsar and Tacitus affirm; and, as I hold, all her ancient inhabitants were such. For it is manifest that three sorts of people did, in times of old, possess the whole island, the Britons, Picts, and Scots; of which I will discourse in their proper order.

To begin, then, with the Britons, whose dominion was of the largest extent in Albion. The first that I know who hath discovered any certainty concerning them, was Julius Cæsar. He thinks, that the inmost inhabitants were aborigines, because, after diligent inquiry, he could find nothing of their first coming thither; neither had they any monuments of learning, whence he could receive any information. He says, that the maritime parts of the island were possessed by the Belgians, who were allured thither, first by the hope of plunder, and detained by the fruitfulness of the soil and mildness of the air. He thinks this a sufficient argument to confirm his opinion, that many retained the names of the cities whence they came, and that their buildings were like those of the Gauls.

Cornelius Tacitus, an author of great credit, adds, that their manners were not unlike, but that they were equally bold in running into dangers, and equally in a dread, and quite at a loss how to get out of them; that there were great factions and parties among them both; and, lastly, that Britain, in his time, was in the same state as Gaul was before the coming of the Romans. Pomponius Mela adds farther, that the Britons used to fight on horseback, in chariots, and cars, in Gallic armour. Add to this, that Bede, who lived before any of those who have written such fabulous things of the origin of the Britons, and is therefore of greater authority than all of them, affirms, that the first inhabitants of the island came out of the country of Armorica. Some dramatists of the Greeks differ much from the above-mentioned authors; for they say, that the Britons received their names from Britannus, the son of Celto. They assuredly agree in this, that they would be thought to derive their original from the Gauls. Of the later authors, Robertus Cænalis, and Pomponius Lætus, in the life of Dioclesian, (an author not to be despised) subscribe to this opinion; both of them, as I suppose, being convinced by the power of truth. Yet both seem, to me, to mistake in this point, that they deduce them from the peninsula of the Bretons, which is now called Britany, on the river Loire, especially since the maritime colonies of Britain, as Cæsar observes, testify by their very names from what place they were transplanted.

It follows, that we speak of the Gallic colonies sent into Ireland. I shewed before, that all the north side of Spain was possessed by Gallic settlers. And there are many reasons to be assigned, why they might pass out of Spain into Ireland: for, either the nearness of the country, and easiness of the passage, might be a great inducement; or else, the Spaniards might be expelled out of their habitations by the excessive power and domination of the Persians, Phœnicians, and Grecians; who, having overcome the Spaniards, rendered them weak and obnoxious to their oppression and violence. Moreover, there might be causes amongst the Spaniards themselves; for they being a people packed together, and made up of many nations, and not well agreeing among themselves; the desire of liberty, and of avoiding servitude, in the midst of civil feuds and new tumults, arising amongst a people intent upon war, might make them willing to separate. He who weighs these causes of their departure, will not wonder that many of them should prefer a mean, but free, condition abroad, before a bitter slavery at home; and that when they once arrived there, the state of Spain growing daily more and more turbulent, should make them willing to continue where they were; for sometimes the Carthaginians, and sometimes the Romans, made the conquered Spaniards taste all the miseries of a servile life, and so compelled them to avoid those evils by a flight into Ireland; there being no other neighbour nation into which, either in their prosperity they might so well transport their crowds



of people; or else, where in adversity, they could find a surer shelter from their calamities. Besides, the clemency of the air was one occasion of their stay; for, as Cæsar says, the air of Britain is more temperate than that of France; and Ireland exceeds both in goodness of soil, and also in the temperature of its climate. And what is still more, when men, born and educated in a barren region, and given to laziness, as all Spaniards are, had the happiness of being transplanted into almost the richest pastures of Europe, it is not to be wondered at that they should willingly withdraw from domestic tumults, into the bosom of a peace beyond sea. Notwithstanding all that I have said, however I would not oppose the assertion of any nation, concerning their ancestors, provided the same be supported by probable conjectures, and ancient testimony.

For Tacitus, upon sure conjectures, as he thinks, affirms, that the west side of Britain, or Albium, was inhabited by the posterity of the Spaniards. But it is not probable, that the Spaniards should leave Ireland behind them, being a country nearer, and of a milder air and soil, and first land in Albium; but rather that they first arrived in Ireland, and from thence transplanted their colonies into Britain. And that this also happened to the Scots, their annals testify, and Bede, (lib. i.) affirms. For all the inhabitants of Ireland were first called Scots, as Orosius shews; and our annals relate, that the Scots passed more than once out of Ireland into Albium: first of all, under their leader Fergus, the son of Forchard, but after some ages, being expelled from thence, they returned into Ireland; and again, under their general Reutharus, they returned into Britain. And afterwards, in the reign of Fergus II., great succours of Irish Scots were sent hither, who had their quarters assigned them in Galloway. And Claudian, in his time shews, that auxiliaries were carried over from thence in transports against the Romans; for he says,—

— Totam cum Scotus Iernam,  
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

When the fierce Scot rous'd all Ierne's isle,  
And Thetis foam'd with hostile sailors' toil.

And in another place,—

Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Whole heaps of Scots cold Ireland did lament.

But in the beginning, when both people, that is, the inhabitants of Ireland and their colonies sent into Albium, were called Scots; that there might be some distinction betwixt them, some were named Irish Scots, and others Albin Scots; till, by degrees, their surnames came to be their only appellatives; so that the ancient name of Scots was almost forgotten, and not to be retrieved from common speech, but only from books and annals. As for the name of Picts, I judge it not to have been their ancient and country name, but that it was occasionally given them by the Romans, on account of the marking and painting of their bodies with artful incisions, as the verses of Claudian evince:—

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,  
Edomavit, Scotamque vago macrone secutus,  
Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

He, nimble Moors and painted Picts did tame,  
With far-stretch'd sword the Scots he overcame,  
And did with oars the northern waves divide.—

And elsewhere,—

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,  
Quæ Scotos dat frænes truci, ferroque notatas,  
Perlegit exanimæ, Picto moriente, figuras.

The legion came, the utmost Britons guard,  
Which the fierce Scot did curb with bridle hard,  
And read the marks in skins of dying Picts,  
Insculp'd with iron.

Herodian also makes mention of the same nation, but conceals their name, and says plainly, that they painted their bodies; though he doth not affirm

that they did it with iron. They are not unacquainted (says he) with the use of apparel, but they wear iron round their bodies and necks, thinking that metal to be an ornament and sign of riches; as other barbarians esteem gold. Farther, they have likewise a way of marking their persons with various pictures, and animals of all shapes, on which account they will not put on garments, lest they should hide these representations. By what name they called themselves, is a thing so ancient that it is hard to determine. It is certain, however, that neighbouring nations do not agree concerning their name; for the Britons call them Pictiades; the English, Pichti; the old Scots, Peachti. And, besides, the names of some places, which were heretofore under the jurisdiction of the Picts, but are now possessed by the Scots, seem to infer a different appellation from them all. For the hills called Pentland-hills, and the Pentland bay, or frith, seem to be derived from Penthus, not from Pictus. But, I verily believe, those names were imposed, in after-times, either by the English, or else by the Scots who used the English tongue; for the ancient Scots did neither understand nor use them. As for the name of Picts, whether the Romans translated a barbarous word into a Latin one of a like sound; or, whether the Barbarians applied each a Latin word to his own country tone and declension, is alike to me uncertain, and of no consequence. The name is admitted, and, it being confessed by all writers, that the people came from the eastern parts into Britain; from Scythia, say some; from Germany, say others; it remains, that, tracing their footsteps by conjectures, we come as near the truth as we can. Neither do I perceive any surer foundation of my disquisition, than that which is grounded on the painting of bodies. Now this painting, which was used by the Britons, the Arii in Germany, and the Agathyrsi, that they might appear more terrible to the enemy in war, was done only with the juice of herbs. But seeing the Picts marked their skins with iron, and decorated them with the pictures of divers animals, the best way will be to inquire what nations, either in Scythia, Germany, or the neighbouring countries, did use that custom of painting their bodies, not for terror, but ornament. And, first, we meet in Thracia with the Geloni, according to Virgil, of whom Claudian speaks in his first book against Rufinus:—

*Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxiæ, Gelonus.*

The Geloni love to print  
Their limbs with iron instrument.

We meet also with the Getæ in Thrace, mentioned by the same poet;—

*Crisaigri sedere patres, pellita Getarum  
Curia, quæ plagis decorat numerosa cicatrix.*

Skia-wearing Getes consult, with hair unshorn,  
Whose marked bodies num'rous scars adorn.

Therefore, seeing the Geloni, as Virgil writes, are neighbours to the Getes, and either the Gothunni, or Getini, according to Arrian, are numbered amongst the Getes; and seeing the Gothunni, as Tacitus says, speak the Gallic language; what hinders but that we may believe the Picts had their origin from thence?

But, from whatsoever province of Germany they came, I think it very probable that they were of the ancient colonies of the Gauls, who seated themselves either on the Swedish sea, or on the Danube. For the men of a Gallic descent, being counted foreigners by the Germans, (as indeed they were,) I judge their name was used in a way of reproach, because the word *Walch*, with them, signifies a Gaul, a stranger, and a barbarian. It is, therefore, very credible, that the ancestors of the Picts, either being expelled by their neighbours, or driven up and down by tempests, were easily reconciled to the Scots; nay, were befriended and aided (according to report) by them, as a people who were related to them, having almost the same language, and their religious customs not unlike. So that it might easily come to pass, that thereupon they might mix their blood, and thus, by marriages, coalesce, as it were, into one nation. For otherwise I do not see how the Scots, who then possessed Ireland, being a fierce and rude people, should so easily enter into an

affinity and friendship with strangers, who were necessitous, and destitute of all things, whom they never saw before, and with whom they had no commerce, in point of laws, religion, or language.

But here the authority of Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, stands a little in my way. who is the only writer I know of that affirms the Picts used a different language from the Scots. Speaking of Britain, he says, that it did search after, and profess the knowledge of the highest truth, and the sublimest science, in five languages, the English, British, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. But, I suppose, Bede calls five dialects of one and the same tongue, five languages, as we see the Greeks did, in the like case; and as Cæsar doth, in the beginning of his Commentaries of the Gallic war. For he says, that three parts of Gaul used different languages and customs. But Strabo, though he grants that the Aquitains used a different language from the other Gauls; yet affirms, that all the rest of the Gauls spoke the same language, with only a little variation. The Scots also do not differ from the Britons in their entire language, but rather in dialect, as I shall shew hereafter. Their speech, at present, doth so far agree, that it seems of old to have been the same; for they differ less than the inhabitants of some provinces of France do, who yet are all said to speak French. Therefore other writers express not the least suspicion of a different language being spoken by the Scots and Britons: who, while both kingdoms were in being, as if they had been people of one nation, did always contract marriages one with another; and as they were mixed in the beginning, so afterwards they regarded each other as neighbours, and oftentimes as friends, until the destruction of the Picts.

Neither did the remainder of them, who, when their military race was extinct, yet must needs be many, in any degree corrupt the Scottish tongue: nor indeed are there any footsteps of a foreign language in the places and habitations which they left. For all the countries of the Picts, and particular places too, still retain Scottish appellations, except a very few; which, upon the prevalence of the Saxon tongue over our country language, had German names imposed upon them.

Neither is this to be omitted, that, before the coming of the Saxons into Britain, we never read that the British nations used interpreters to understand one another. Wherefore, seeing the Scottish, English, and German writers unanimously agree, that the origin of the Picts was from Germany; and since it is also manifest, that the Gothunni, or Getini, were colonies of the Gauls, whose language they used; and that the Æstii, living near the Swedish, or Baltic sea, spoke British; whence may we most rationally fetch the descent of the Picts? Or, whither should they, when expelled from their native habitations, go, but to their own kindred? or, where were they likely to obtain matrimonial alliances, but among a people of affinity with them in blood, language, and manners?

But if any one deny that the Picts were descended from the Gothunni, or Æstii, or Getæ, being induced to that persuasion by the great distance of those countries from Britain; let him only consider, how many and great migrations of people were made, even in all parts of the world, in those times when the coming of the Picts into Britain is recorded to have happened, and also for many ages after; and then he may easily grant, not only the practicability but facility of such things. The Gauls did then possess great part of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain, by their colonies; they proceeded as far as Palus Mæotis and the Cimmerian Bosphorus with their depredations; and after they had wasted Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, they fixed their seats in Asia.

The Cimbri, Ambrones, and Teutones, having wasted Gaul, penetrated into Italy: while the Geloni whom Virgil places in Thrace, are, by other writers, said to dwell near to the Agathyrsi, in Scythia.

The Goths, though long an obscure nation, did in a short time spread over Europe, Asia, and Africa, like a flood. And, therefore, inasmuch as for many ages after, those who were lords, and more powerful than others, challenged to themselves the seats of their inferiors; the weak being exposed to the oppressions of the strong, left a country, which they could not keep; it is no great wonder among the wise, if men, after long combating with adverse

fortune, tossed up and down by many peregrinations, and destitute besides of any certain habitation, should at length betake themselves to remote, or far distant countries.

Further, we see that the Roman writers place two ancient nations within those limits which bounded the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, namely, the *Maiatæ* and *Attacottæ*. Of these, I suppose, the *Maiatæ*, mentioned, of all the authors that I know, by Dion alone, were of the Pictish race, seeing he places them in the countries nearest to the Caledonian sea; and it is certain that the Picts did inhabit those provinces. As for the *Attacottæ*, it appears, from Marcellinus, that they were the progeny of those, who, having been formerly excluded by Adrian's wall, but afterwards enlarging their dominions as far as the wall of Severus, were comprehended within the Roman province; because I find, in a book of the Romans concerning camp-discipline in their colonies, that, among the foreign auxiliaries, there were some troops of the *Attacottæ*, as well as of the Britons. This puts me at a stand, whether of the two I should most admire in Lhwyd, his boldness, or stupidity; his boldness, in affirming, that the *Attacottæ* were Scotch, but without any certain author, or probable conjecture; his stupidity, that, in the very place of Marcellinus cited by him, he sees not, that the Scotch are plainly distinguished from the *Attacottæ*. For Marcellinus says, the Picts, Saxons, Scotch, and *Attacottæ*, harassed the Britons with perpetual miseries. Of the same stupidity he is guilty, when he affirms that the Caledonii were of the nation of the Britons; whereas it is plain they were Picts, which Lhwyd himself clearly demonstrates by a testimony out of a panegyric spoken to Constantine, which he produces against himself. For, says the author of that oration, "the woods of the Caledones, and of other Picts:" that testimony (such was his folly) he produces for himself, not observing, (such was his stupidity), that it makes against him. If we look to the word itself, it is Scotch; for Caiden, in that language, is the tree called the hazel: whence, I judge, came the name of the Caledonian woods, and the town of the Caledonians, situated by the river Tay, which is yet called Duncalden, that is, the Hazel-hill town. And if I dared to indulge myself with so much liberty, as to disagree from all the books of Ptolemy, for the Duncaldonian I would write the Duncaledonian sea; and for the Dicaledones in Marcellinus, Duncaledones; both the sea and the nation being surnamed from the town, Duncalden. What I have written may satisfy any candid reader; yet I shall add other testimonies, which Pliny thinks to be manifest signs of the originals of nations; namely, the religion, language, and names of towns.

First, it is manifest, that the bond of religion, and the identity of sentiment as to the imaginary deities, hath been always held the strictest tie of obligation and alliance amongst nations. Now, the Britons and Gauls maintained the same worship; they had the same priests, or Druids, generally, the like of whom were in no other country, and whose superstition so prevailed in both nations, that many have doubted which of the two first learned that sort of philosophy one from the other. Tacitus also says, that they had the same sacred rites and superstitious observances. And the tomb which was erected near New Carthage, called *Mercurius Teutates*, as Livy writes, doth shew, that the Spaniards, the greatest part of whom drew their original from the Gauls, were not free from those rites. Also, the same kind of priests, or sacristi, called by both of them Bards, were in great honour, both amongst the Gauls and Britons. Their function and name do yet remain amongst all those nations which use the old British tongue; and so much honour is given to them in many places, that their persons are accounted sacred, and their houses sanctuaries; nay, in the height of their enmities, when they manage the cruellest wars one against another, and use their victories as severely; yet these Bards and their retinue have free liberty to pass and repass, at their pleasure. The nobles, when visited by them, receive them honourably, and dismiss them with gifts. They make verses, and those not inelegant ones, which the rhapsodists recite, either to the better sort, or to the vulgar, who are very desirous of hearing them; and sometimes they sing them to musical instruments. Many of their ancient customs yet remain; particularly in Ireland, where they have undergone the least change,

except in their ceremonies and religious rites. This for the present concerning their religion. It remains now that we should speak concerning their ancient language, and the names of their towns and people. But these points, though oftentimes distinct, shall yet be promiscuously handled by me; because oftentimes one depends upon another, as its foundation; especially, since a proper name, either by its origin or declination, proves, or at least gives some indication of the country from whence it comes. Yet, though these things are interwoven, and do mutually confirm one another, I will, for the reader's instruction, take occasion to treat of them severally, as much as I can.

First of all, Tacitus, in the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, affirms, that the Gallic tongue differed little from the British; whence I gather, that they were formerly the same; but, gradually, either by commerce with foreign nations, or by the importation of new commodities, unknown before to the natives; or by the invention of new arts; or by the frequent change in the form of garments, arms, and other furniture, a speech, or language, that was very flexible of itself, might be much altered, sometimes augmented, sometimes adulterated, many new words being found out, and many old ones corrupted. If a man only thinks with himself, how much the inconstancy and caprice of the vulgar doth assume in this particular, and how ready men are, and always were, to despise present things, and to study innovations; he will find the judgment of the best of poets, and the only censor, in these cases, to be most true.—

*Ut silvis foliis promos mutantur in annos,  
Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit ætas,  
Et, juvenum ritu, florent modo nata, vigentque.*

HORACE.

*As from the trees old leaves drop off and die,  
While others sprout, and a fresh shade supply;  
So fare our words—through time worn out and dead,  
A fresher language rises in their stead.*

And a little after,—

*Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque  
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,  
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.*

*Many words shall fall,  
Which now we highly prize:  
And words, which now have fallen,  
Shall hereafter rise;  
Use, or custom, rules this thing.  
And governs language, as a king.*

It is true he spoke this of the Latin tongue, which, by the great care of the Romans, was kept uncorrupted, and which all the nations, contained within the large bounds of their empire, did diligently learn. And therefore it is no wonder, if a language (even before colonies were sent into all parts, out of Gaul,) which already had different dialects at home, and also was afterwards polluted by the mixture of divers nations, being in itself somewhat barbarous at first, and neglected by those who spoke it; and after it had again re-entered, from a foreign soil, into Britain, which was then divided into kingdoms, for the most part obnoxious to strangers; it is no wonder, I say, if under all these prejudices, it did not prove consistent with itself. For, at first, the Celtæ and the Belgæ used a different dialect, as Strabo thinks. Afterwards, when the Celtæ sent abroad great colonies into Spain, as the names of Celtiberi and Celtici declare, and the Belgæ made their descent upon the maritime parts of Britain, as may be collected from the names of Venta Belgarum, of the Atrates and Icenæ; it must needs follow, that on one side the Spaniards, and on the other the Romans, the English, the Danes, and the Normans, must bring many strange words with them, and so vitiate the vernacular tongue. Nay, I rather judge it a matter of much more wonder, that while the languages of neighbouring nations were adulterated by the influx of so many strange people, and in a great part changed by the speech of neighbouring countries; the Britons should, for so long a time, differ in their whole tongue

only in certain idioms and dialects. For, if any one hears a man of another nation speak British, he may observe the sound of his own language, and may understand many words, though he does not comprehend the whole discourse. Neither ought it to appear strange to us, that the same words do not signify the same things in all nations, when we consider what alterations commerce with neighbouring countries daily makes every where in the popular speech; and how great a change of phrases must needs be owing to a daily conversation with foreigners; how many new words are coined to express things newly invented; how many are imported with wares and traffic, even from the farthest parts of the world; how many obsolete words are disused; how many are lengthened by the addition of letters and syllables; and how many are shortened by contrary abbreviations; while some also are new vamped and refined, as it were, by the mutation or transposition of letters. I will not inquire, in how short a time, and how much, the Ionic speech degenerated from the Attic, or how much the other Greeks differed from them both. Let us only observe the speech of the noblest nations in Europe; how soon did the French, Italian, and Spanish tongues, all derived from the same root, degenerate from the purity of the Latin? Yet, in the mean time, they differ no less amongst themselves, than the old Scottish and the British tongues do. Nay, if we look over all the provinces of France, (I mean those who are supposed to speak true Gallic or French,) what a great difference shall we find between the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonensis and of Gascony? And how vastly do the people of the Limosin, of Perigord, and of the Auvergne, though neighbours to both, yet differ from them in their speech? And how much do the rest of the provinces of France differ even from all of them? But, to come nearer home, the English laws of William the Norman, established five hundred years ago, were written in French; yet now no Frenchman can understand them without an interpreter. Nay, if those old men who have lived long in the world, will but recollect how many words are grown obsolete, which were in use when they were children; and what words, unheard of by our ancestors, have succeeded in their places; they will not at all wonder, that the same original language, in length of time, should be changed, and seem wholly different from itself; especially amongst nations far remote, and also often warring one against another. On the other side, when I see that concord (lasting so many ages rather than years) in the British language, and that even amongst nations, either very distant one from another, or else maintaining mutual animosities against each other, as is hardly to be found amongst the many tribes and people of France, who yet have long lived under the same kings and laws; I say, when I recollect within myself such an agreement in speech, which as yet preserves its ancient affinity of words, and no obscure marks of its original, I am easily induced to believe, that, before the coming of the Saxons, all the Britons used a language fundamentally the same. It is probable, also, that the people on the Gallic shore used the Belgic tongue, from whose limits a good part of the Britons, bordering on France, had transplanted themselves, as Cæsar informs us. But the Irish, and the colonies sent from them, being derived from the Celtae, who inhabited Spain, it is probable that they spoke the Celtic tongue. I suppose, that these nations returning as it were from a long pilgrimage, and possessing themselves of the neighbouring seats, and almost forming one people, did confound the idioms of their several tongues into a medley that was neither altogether Belgic, nor Celtic, nor yet wholly unlike either of them. Such a mixture we may observe in those nations which are thought to speak the German tongue, and yet have much declined from its ancient phraseology: I mean the Danes, the maritime Saxons, those of Friesland, those of Flanders, and the English; amongst all of whom it is easy to find some letters, sounds, and inflections, which are proper to the Germans only, and not common to any other nation. Besides, I suppose that a surer symptom of the affinity of languages may be gathered from the sound of letters, from the familiar way of each nation in pronouncing particular ones; and from the judgment of the ear thereon; and likewise from the composition and declension of words, than from the signification of single or remarkable words. We find examples of this in the German letter *W*, in the composition of the words *Moremarusa* and *Armoricus*,

of which I have spoken before; and in the declension of those words, ending amongst the French in *ac*, of which there is a vast number; but amongst the Scots the form is diminutive; and so it was amongst the ancient Gauls. From *drix*, which amongst the Scots signifies a brier, is derived *driusac*, i. e. a briertling, or little brier-bush. And from *brix*, which signifies a rupture or cleft, *brisac*, which now the French pronounce *brisec*. For, what the Scots pronounce *brix*, that the French call *bresche*, even to this very day, there being no difference at all in the signification of the words. The cause of the different writing is, that the ancient Scots, and all the Spaniards to this day, do use the letter X for double SS. And therefore the old Gauls, from *brix*, called a town of the Cœnomani, *Brixia*; and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiacum*, now commonly *Brisac*. After the like form, *Aureliacum*, i. e. Orilhach, is derived from *Aurelia*, i. e. *Orleans*; and, from *Eboræ*, which is called *Cerealis*, or *Eboræ*, named, by the Spaniards, *Felicitas Julia*, *Eboracum*, i. e. York, is derived; as the Brigantes have declined it, (who had their origin from the Spaniards,) retaining, in the declension thereof, the propriety, of the French tongue. Furthermore, besides those things which I have mentioned, all that coast of Britain which is extended to the south-west, retains the sure and manifest tokens of a Gallic speech and original, according to the plain testimony of foreigners themselves. First, on that coast, is *Cornuwallia*, i. e. Cornwall, as many call it, but by the ancients it was named *Cornavia*, and by the vulgar *Kernico*; even as in Scotland, the *Carnavii*, placed by Ptolemy in the most northern district of that country, are commonly called *Kernics*; so that *Cornuwallia* is derived from *Kernico* and *Valli*, as if you should say *Kernico-Galli*, i. e. Cornish Gauls. Moreover, *Vallia*, i. e. Wales, another peninsula on the same side, doth avouch its ancestors both in name and speech. They who come near in language to the sound of the German tongue, pronounce it by *W*, a letter proper to the Germans only; and which their neighbours, who use the old tone, can by no means pronounce; nay, if you should put them to the torture to make them pronounce it right, the Cornish, Irish, or Highland Scots could never do it. But the French, when they speak of *Vallia*, do always prefix *G* before it, *Gualia*; and not in that word alone, but they have many others also, which begin with *G*. For they who, by reason of the propinquity of the countries, do Germanize, call the French tongue *Walla*; and besides, in a multitude of other words, they use this change of letters. On the other side, that country which the English call Wales and North Wales, the French term *Gales* and *Norgales*, still closely adhering to the primitive sounds of their ancient tongue.

But Polydore Virgil pleaseth himself with a new fancy, of which he claims the invention; whereas no man, though meanly skilled in the German tongue, is ignorant, that the word *Walsch* signifies a stranger or foreigner; and that therefore the *Valli* were called foreigners by them. But he reckons, as we say, without his host; for, if that name were derived from one's being foreign, I think it would agree better to the Angles, or English, as an adventitious people, than to those, whom, by reason of their antiquity, many of the ancients have thought to be the first inhabitants. Or, if that name were imposed upon them by the English, they might with better reason have given it to the Scots and Picts, than to the Britons, because with the former they had less acquaintance and very rare commerce; and if the English called them *Valli* in reproach, would the Britons, think we, who for so many ages were the deadly enemies of the English, and now made more obnoxious to them by this affront, own that name? Yet this they do not unwillingly, by calling themselves in their own tongue *Cambri*. Besides, the word *Walsch* among the Germans doth not primarily signify a stranger or barbarian; but, in its first and proper acceptation, a Gaul. And therefore, in my judgment, the word *Vallia* is changed by the English from *Gallia*; they agreeing with other neighbouring nations in the name, but observing the propriety of the German tongue in pronouncing the first letter by *W*, namely, *Walla*. The ancient inhabitants of that peninsula were called *Silures*, as appears out of Pliny; which name in some part of Wales was long retained, in succeeding ages. But Leland, a Briton by birth, and a man very diligent in discovering the monuments of his own country, affirms, that some part of Wales was fur-

merly called Ross, which word in Scotland signifies a peninsula; but the neighbouring nations seem, in speaking, to have used a name or word which shewed the original of the people, rather than one that demonstrated the site and form of the country. The same hath happened in the name Scots; for for whereas they call themselves Albini, a name derived from Albium; yet their neighbours call them Scoti, by which term their original is declared to be from the Irish, or Hibernians.

On the same side and western shore, follows Gallovidiæ, that is, Galloway; which word, it is evident, both with Scots and Welch, signifieth a Gaul, as being Gallus with the one, and Wallus with the other; for the Valli, or Welch, call it Wallowithia. This country yet useth for the most part its ancient language. These three nations comprehend all that tract and side of Britany which bends toward Ireland; and they as yet retain no mean indications, but rather strong and convincing marks of their Gallic speech and affinity; of which the chief is, that the ancient Scots divided all nations inhabiting Britania into two sorts; the one they call Gael, the other Galle, or Gald, that is, according to my interpretation, Galæci and Galli. Moreover, the Galæcians please themselves with that title, Gael; and they call their language, as I said before, Galæcian, and do glory in it, as the more refined and elegant, undervaluing the Galli as barbarians in respect of themselves. And though originally the Scots called the Britons, that is, the most ancient inhabitants of the island, Galli; yet, by degrees, it became a custom with them to denominate all the nations who afterwards fixed their seats in Britain by that name; which they used rather as a contumelious than a national appellation; for the word Galle, or Gald, signifies the same amongst them as Barbarian doth amongst the Greeks and Latins, and Walsch among the Germans.

Now at last we are come to demonstrate the community of speech, and thereupon an ancient affinity between the Gauls and Britons, from the names of towns, rivers, countries, and other evidences. This is a tender subject, and to be warily handled; for I have formerly proved, that a public speech or language may be altered on many accounts, and though it be not changed altogether, or all at once, yet it is in perpetual fluctuation, and doth easily follow the inconstancy of innovators, by reason of its natural flexibility. The truth of this appears chiefly in those ranks of things which are subject not only to the alterations of time, but also to every man's pleasure or caprice; such as are all particular things invented for the daily use of man's life, whose names either grow obsolete, or are made new and refined, for light and trivial causes. But the case is far different in those things which resist time, and so in a manner are perpetual; as the heavens, the sea, the earth, fire, mountains, countries, rivers; and also in those, which, by their durability, as far as the infirmity of nature will permit, do in some sort imitate those permanent and uncorrupted bodies; such are towns, which are built as if they were to last for ever. So that a man cannot easily give new appellations to, or change the old names of nations or cities; for they were not rashly imposed at the beginning, but in a manner by the general wise advice and consent of their founders, whom antiquity did greatly reverence, ascribing divine honours to them; and did as much as lay in their power to render them immortal. Therefore these names are deservedly continued, and can receive no alteration without making a great disturbance in the economy of things: so that, if the rest of a language be changed, yet these are religiously retained, and are never supplanted by other names, but, as it were, with unwillingness and regret. And the cause of their original imposition contributes much to their continuance. For those, who, in their peregrinations, were either forced from their old seats; or, of their own accord, sought new ones; after losing their country, retained its name, and were willing to enjoy a sound most pleasing to their ears; and by this shadow of nominal representation, such as it was, the want of their native soil was somewhat alleviated and softened unto them; so that, by this means, they judged themselves not altogether exiles or travellers, far from home. And, besides, there were not wanting some who, being religiously inclined, conceived a holier and more just representation in their minds, than could be seen in walls and houses, and did sweetly embrace, as it were, that image and delightful pledge of their



former country, with a love more than native. And, therefore, a surer argument of affinity may be taken from this sort of words, than from those which on trivial causes, and oftentimes for none at all, are given to, or taken away from ordinary or changeable things. For though it may accidentally happen, that the same word may be used in several countries, yet it is not credible, that so many nations, living far asunder, should agree by mere chance in the frequent imposing of the same name.

In the next place, those names succeed, which are divided from, or compounded of the former primitives. For, oftentimes, the similitude of declination and composition doth more certainly declare the affinity of a language, than the primitive words themselves; for these are, frequently, casually given, but the other, being declined after one mode and form, are directed by one fixed example, which the Greeks call analogy. And, therefore, this certain and perpetual manner of nominal affinity, as Varro speaks, doth, after a sort, lead us to an affinity of stock, and an old communion of language. Moreover, there is a certain observation to be made in all primogenial words, as *philosophia*, *geometria*, and *dialectica*, which, though often used by Latin writers, have scarcely any Latin word of kin to them, or derived from them, from whence they may seem to take their original; so, on the other side, the words *paradisi* and *gaza* are used by the Greeks; and yet it appears by this, that they are perfectly foreign, because they cannot shew any words from whence the same were originally derived, nor any that were afterwards derived from them, in the genuine Greek tongue.

The same observation may also be made on other languages, which will help us to judge, what words are domestic, and what are adventitious, or foreign. Let it suffice to have spoken thus much in general; therefore we will now propound examples concerning every part. Where, first, we meet with those words which end in *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*; Strabo, (lib. vii.) with whose opinion Stephens concurs, says, that *bria* signifies a city; and, to confirm their opinion, they produce these names, derived from that one word, *Polymbria*, *Brutobria*, *Mesembria*, and *Selymbria*. But the place by them called *Brutobria*, is named by others *Brutobrica*; and the places which Ptolemy makes to end in *Briga*. Pliny closes with *brica*; so that it is probable, that *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*, signify the same thing. But that they have all their original from Gaul, appears from this, that the Gauls are reported, anciently, to have sent colonies into Thrace and Spain, and not these into Gaul; and, therefore, amongst proper classic authors, we usually read the following words:

*Alobrica* in Pliny, in the circuit of Braga.

*Amalobrica* in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus.

*Arabrica*, Pliny, in the Bracaraensian circuit.

*Arabrica*, different from the preceding mentioned by Ptolemy, in Lusitania, or Portugal.

*Arcobrica*, by Ptolemy, amongst the Celtiberians, i. e. the New Castilians.

*Arcobrica*, amongst the Lusitanian Celts, noticed also by Ptolemy.

*Arcobrica*, a third, in the Caesar-Augustan province.

*Artobrica*, Ptolemy, in the Vindeliciis country.

*Augustobrica*, Pliny and Ptolemy, in Portugal.

*Augustobrica*, another; Ptolemy; in the Vectons country.

*Augustobrica*, a third; Ptolemy; in the Pelendons country.

*Arabrica*, Pliny, of the Lusitanians.

*Bodobrica*, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire; in High Germany.

*Briga*, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, in Britany.

*Briga*, in Strabo, a town by the Cottian Alps.

*Brutobrica*, in Strabo, between the Turduli and the river Bætia.

*Calibrica*, Ptolemy, of the Cælerini, i. e. people in Portugal.

*Cæsarobrica*, Pliny, in Portugal also.

*Catobrica*, of the Turduli, in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus.

*Corimbrica*, Pliny, in Portugal: but, if I mistake not, corruptly from *Comimbrica*, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus, which city as yet keeps its ancient name, by the river Munda, in Portugal.

- Cotteobrica*, Ptolemy, in the Vectons' country.  
*Deobrica*, Ptolemy, among the Vectons also.  
*Deobrica*, Ptolemy, another, among the Antrigones.  
*Deobricula*, Ptolemy, of the Morbogi.  
*Dessobrica*, not far distant from Lacobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus.  
*Flaviobrica*, Pliny, at the port Amanus. Ptolemy, in the Antrigons, calls it *Magnus*; but I know not whether *Magnus* ought to be read in Pliny, or no.  
*Gerabrica*, in the Scalabitan province, which Pliny writes *Jerabrica*.  
*Julibrica*, in Pliny, and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, of the Cantabrians, or Biscayners, heretofore called *Brigantia*.  
*Lacobrica*, in the Vaccæans' country, in Pliny, Ptolemy, and Festus Pompeius.  
*Lacobrica*, at the Sacred promontory, in Mela.  
*Lancobrica*, of the Lusitanic Celti, Ptolemy.  
*Latoorigi*, near to the Swiss, Cæsar.  
*Medubrica*, surnamed *Plumbaria*, by Pliny, in Portugal: this, if I mistake not, is called *Mundobrica* in the Itinerary of Antoninus.  
*Mereobrica*, surnamed *Celtica*, in Portugal; Pliny, and Ptolemy.  
*Mirobrica*, in the country of the Oretani.  
*Mirobrica*, another, in Beturia, or in the country of the Turdetani Boetici; Pliny, and Ptolemy.  
*Nemetobrica*, in the country of the Lusitanic Celts; Ptolemy.  
*Nertobrica*, in the Turdulis country of Boetia; Ptolemy.  
*Nertobrica*, another, in the Celtiberians' country; Ptolemy; which, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is called *Nitobrica*.  
*Segobrica*, in the Celtiberians' country; Pliny; but Ptolemy counts it the head city of Celtiberia.  
*Talabrica*, in Lusitania; Pliny and Ptolemy.  
*Turobrica*, in the Celts' country of Boetia; Pliny.  
*Tuntobrica*, amongst the Bracæan Galæci; Ptolemy.  
*Vertobrica*, surnamed *Concordia Julia*; Pliny; in the Celt-Boetia's country.  
*Volebrica*, of the Nemetes; Ptolemy.

Many of the towns and nations seem to belong to this class, in all the provinces throughout which the Gauls distributed colonies. For, as Burgundus and Burgundio seem to be derived from Burgo; so doth Brigantes from Briga. The nominative case of this word, in Stephens, is Brigas, whence we decline Brigantes; as we do Gigantes, from Gigas. The Brigantes, according to Strabo, are situated by the Cottian Alps; and, in the same tract, is the village or town Brige; and the Brigiani, in the trophy of Augustus, are reckoned amongst the Alpine nations. Brigantium is an Alpine town; and the Brigantii are in the country of the Vindelici, according to Strabo; and Brigantia, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the mountain Briga of Ptolemy, are near the fountains of the Rhone and the Danube. Also Brigantium in Rætia, of Ptolemy, is the same town, I suppose, which, in the book of the knowledge of the provinces of the people of Rome, is called Brecantin, and the Brigantine lake. And in Ireland are the Brigantes, so named by Ptolemy. There are likewise Brigantes in Albium, according to Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Seneca; and in the Itinerary of Antoninus was the town Brige, or Brage, and Isobrigantium. Besides these, there is the town Brigantium, in Orosius, by the Celtic promontory, and Flaviobrigantium, or Besançon, in Ptolemy, in the great port; and a later Brigantia, or Braganza, now in the kingdom of Portugal.

There is also another class or rank of words, which either begin or end in *Dunum*; which is a Gallic name, as appears by those heaps of sand of the Morini, still called Duni, or the Downs; and those in the sea over-against them on the English shore, which retain the same appellation. Yea, Plutarch, (I mean he who wrote the book of rivers,) in declaring the original of Lugdunum, that is, Lyons, acknowledges Dunum to be a Gallic word. And, indeed, in expressing the names of villages and towns, there is scarcely any one word or termination more frequent than that, amongst the nations who yet preserve the old Gallic tongue almost entire; I mean the Britons in Gal-

lia Celtica; and the ancient Scots in Ireland and Albium; and the Valli or Welsh; the Kernicovalli, or Cornish, in England; for there is none of those nations which does not challenge that word or termination for its own; only with this difference, that the old Gauls did end their compound words with dunum, while the Scots ordinarily placed it at the beginning of words. Of this sort there are found,

## IN FRANCE.

*Augustodunum*, of the *Ædii* or Burgundians.

*Castellodunum*, of the Carnotensian province, i. e. of Chartres.

*Melodunum*, by the river Sequana, or Seine.

*Lugdunum*, at the confluence of the rivers Arar and Rhone.

*Augustodunum*, another Autun, of the Arverni, or Auvergeois, and Clermontians; Ptolemy.

*Lugdunum*, of the Conveni, or Comingeois, near the river Garonne; Ptolemy.

*Noviodunum*, in the Tribocci's country; Ptolemy.

*Uxellodunum*, in Cæsar.

*Juliodunum*, in the Pictons' country, i. e. Poitiers.

*Isodunum*, and *Regiodunum*, of the Bituriges, i. e. inhabitants of Berry.

*Laodunum*, or *Laudunum*, in the county of Rheims.

*Cæsarodunum*; Ptolemy; of the Turones, i. e. Tournois.

*Segodunum*, of the Ruthenians; Ptolemy.

*Velannodunum*, (or St. Flour) in Cæsar.

## IN SPAIN.

*Caladunum*; Ptolemy; of the Bracari, or Braganzians.

*Sebendunum*, Ptolemy.

## IN BRITAIN.

*Camulodunum*, of the Brigantes country; Ptolemy.

*Camulodunum*, a Roman colony; Tacitus.

*Dunum*, a town of the Durotriges, or Dorsetshire men; Ptolemy.

*Maridunum* Demetarum, i. e. Caermarthen, of the Demetæ; Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus.

*Rigodunum*, of the Brigantes; Ptolemy, i. e. Ribchester in Lancashire.

*Cambodunum*, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, i. e. ruins near Almonbury in Yorkshire.

*Margidunum*, in the same Itinerary, i. e. Margeverton in Leicestershire. near Belvoir castle; or, as some say, Leicester itself.

*Sorvidunum*, or *Sorbiodunum*, in the same Itinerary; i. e. Old Sarum in Wiltshire.

*Segodunum*, i. e. Seton in Northumberland; and *Axeledunum*, i. e. Hexham. in the same county, both mentioned in the book of the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, or Knowledge of the Roman Empire, &c.

## LATER TOWNS IN ENGLAND.

*Venantodunum*, i. e. Huntingdon.

*Dunelmum*, i. e. Durham.

## IN SCOTLAND.

*Dumcaledon*, called also *Caledonia*, i. e. Dunkeld.

*Deidunum*, i. e. Dundee, or rather Taodunum, by the river Tay.

*Edinodunum*, which word the ancient Scots yet retain; while they who Germanise, would rather call it *Edinburg*.

*Dunum*, a town in Ireland, called *Down*.

*Noviodunum*, or New Down, i. e. Dunmore castle, in Cowal.

*Brittannodunum*, i. e. Dunbritton or Dumbarton, at the confluence of the Clyde and Leven.

And at this day there are innumerable names of castles, villages, and hills, compounded with *Dunum*.

IN GERMANY, these names are read in Ptolemy.

*Lugdunum*, i. e. Leyden; *Segodunum*, i. e. Nuremburgh; *Teredunum*, i. e. Friburg; *Robodunum*, i. e. Brin; *Carrodunum*, i. e. Crainburgh.

## IN THE ALPINE COUNTRY.

*Ebrodunum* and *Sodunum*.

In the VINDELICI, or country of the Bavarians, in RHÆTIA, the GRISONS country, and NORICUM.

*Cambodunum, Corrodunum, Gesodunum, Idunum, and Noviodunum*; and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, *Parrodunum*, i. e. Partenkirk.

In SARMATIA and DACIA, according to Ptolemy.

*Corrodunum, Singindunum*, by the Danube; *Noviodunum* at the mouth of the same river; together with another *Noviodunum*.

And there are, in the same provinces, not a few words declined from *Dur*, which among the old Gauls and Britons signified water, and still retains the same signification in some places, as

#### IN FRANCE,

*Durocotti* in the Rhemish circuit, Ptolemy; we read them also *Durocorti*; moreover, Cæsar makes mention of *Divodurum*, of the Mediomatrics. Tacitus has *Divodurum*, near Paris; and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is *Batavodurum*, amongst the Batavi—Ptolemy, Tacitus. *Breviodurum* is in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus. *Gannodurum*, according to Ptolemy, is near the Rhine; and *Gannodurum* in the country of the Helveti. *Octodurum*, or *Octodurus*, according to Cæsar, is amongst the Veragri.

In RHÆTIA, the VINDELICES' country, and NORICUM.

*Bragodurum, Carrodurum, Ebodurum, Gannodurum, and Octodurum*; (Ptolemy.) *Venazamodurum*, and *Bododurum*, are in the book of the knowledge of the provinces.

#### IN SPAIN.

*Octodurum* and *Ocellodurum*, (Ptolemy :) the river *Durius* flowing into the ocean, and *Duria* into the Mediterranean sea; and in Ireland is the river *Dur*; (Ptolemy.)

#### IN BRITAIN.

*Durocobrivæ, Duroprova, Durolenum, Durovernum, Durolipont, Durotriges, Durocornovium, Durolitum, Duronovaria, Lactodurum*.

Perhaps the two Alpine rivers, Doria the Greater and the Less (the one running into the Po, through the Salassians' country; the other through the Piedmontese,) belong to the same original; and also Issidorus, and Altissidorus, cities of France, so called (as I judge) from their situation near rivers; to which *Dureta* may be referred, which word in old Spanish signified a wooden throne, as Suetonius says in the Life of Augustus. The like may be observed of *Domnacus*, the proper name of a man in Cæsar, which seems to be corrupted from *Dunacus*; for *Dunach* may signify *Dunan* and *Dunensis* both; as *Romach* doth *Romanus*. *Dunacus*, or rather *Dunachus*, is yet used for the proper name of a man, which those who are ignorant of both tongues, the Latin and the British, wrongly render sometimes *Duncan*, and sometimes *Donat*.

The old word *Magus* also, in all the provinces in which the public use of the Gallic tongue obtained, is very frequent in expressing the names of cities; which shews that it was of a Gallic original. But of the derivatives from it, we may rather guess, than affirm for certain, that they were wont to signify a house, city, or any building. We read in the book of the knowledge of the empire of the people of Rome, that the prefect of the *Parcensian* levies was in garrison at *Magi*; and also in the same book, of the tribune of the second cohort being placed at *Magni*; and we read likewise of *Magni* in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Though I dare not positively assert, whether it be one town or many, I incline rather to think that they were different.

Towns ending in *Magus* are these, *Noviomagus* in Ptolemy, amongst the *Santons*; *Noviomagus* of the *Lexovii*; *Noviomagus* of the *Vadecassii*; *Noviomagus* of the *Nemetes*; *Noviomagus* of the *Tricassini*; *Noviomagus* of the *Bituriges*; *Juliomagus* of the *Andegavi*; *Rotomagus* of the *Venolocassii*; *Cæsarmagus* of the *Bellovaci*; *Rotomagus* of the *Nervii*; *Borbetomagus* of the *Vangiones* in High Germany; *Vindomagus* of the *Volci Areconici*. Also in the Itinerary of Antoninus, *Argentomagus*; and in High Germany, *Noviomagus*. In the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, *Noviomagus* of

Belgica Secunda; in Rhætia, Drusmagus; Ptolemy. In Britain, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Cæsaromagus; Sitomagus; Noviomagus of the Regni. Vacomagi; Magiovinium; Vicomagi, part of the Picts country, Ptolemy.

There are also other names of places, common to many of these nations, but not so frequently used, nor so far extended, as the former; such as are Hibernia, i. e. Ireland, amongst the Romans, the name of an island, called by Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, and Juvenal, Juverna; by Strabo, Claudian, and the inhabitants thereof, Ierna. That which some call the Nerian promontory, Strabo calls Ierne; Jernus, or Jern, a river of Gallæcia, Mela calls Jerna; Jernus is also a river of Ireland; but in Ptolemy, it is reckoned a river of Scotland, falling into Tay. Another of the same name glides through Moray, and the country adjacent to both is called Jerna.

We read of the city Mediolanum, in Ptolemy; as one Insubrum, of the Santones; another of the Auleri Eburaci; another by the Loire, i. e. Meuse; a fourth by Sequana, or the Seine, now, as I think, named Meulan, or Melun; another in High Germany, called Asciburgium; another by the Danube; another in Britain, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Also Marcolica, a town in Spain; Macolica, in Ireland; Vaga, a river in Portugal; and another of Wales, in England. Avo, in Mela, Avus, in Ptolemy, a river of Gallæcia, as yet retains its name. In Argyle there is also a river of the same name, flowing out of the Loch Awe. One Promontorium Sacrum is in Spain, and another in Ireland. Ocellum is a promontory in Britain; Ocellum is also in Gallæcia, in the Lucensian district; Ocelli are mountains in Scotland; Ocellum is the last town of Gallia Togata; Cæsar mentions Uxellum, a town in Britain, perhaps for Ocellum; for Martianus, in explaining the ancient names of the cities of Gallia, says, that the word is variously written, Ocellum, Oscela, and Oscellum; hence, perhaps, comes Uxellodunum, which is also sometimes written Uxellodurum. So there is Tamar, a river of Gallæcia—Ptolemy; Tamaris, in Mela, Tamarici, a people of Gallæcia; the river Tamarus, Pliny; and Tamara, a town in Britain.

Sars, a river of Gallæcia, Ptolemy; Sarcus in Scotland, Mela.

Ebora, a town of Portugal, called Liberalitas Julia, in Pliny and Ptolemy Eburia; that which is Cerealis in Bætica, in Pliny is Ebora; Ptolemy mentions Auleri Eburaci in Gallia Celtica; and also Eboracum, i. e. York, of the British Brigantes.

Deva, now Dee, a river of England; and three in Scotland, so called, one in Galloway, another in Angus, the third divides Mearns from Marr.

The Cornavii in England are in the farthest part of the west; but the Cornavii in Scotland are the farthest north. Both are now called Kernici; and there seems also to have been a third sort in Scotland, at the mouth of the river Avenus, or Avon, which is the boundary between the coasts of Lothian and Stirling; for Bede places the monastery of Abercorn at the end of the wall of Severus, where the ruins of the castle of Abercorn still appear. Avon is often met with, as a river, both in England and Scotland; for Avon is Scottish, as well as Evon in Welsh, signifies a river.

Of the three nations which first inhabited this island after the coming of Cæsar, the Britons were subject to the emperors of Rome successively, little less than five hundred years; but the Scots and Picts were under their own kings. At length, when all the neighbouring nations conspired for the destruction of the Romans, the armies of the latter were recalled from the most remote provinces, to maintain their empire at home. Thus the Britons, being left destitute of foreign aid, were miserably vexed by the Scots and Picts. Inasmuch that they craved help from the Saxons, who then roamed the seas as pirates. But this invitation cost the Britons dear; for the Saxons, after repelling the Picts and Scots, being tempted by the fertility of the country, and the weakness of the inhabitants, resolved to make themselves masters of the island. After various successes in war, seeing that they could not gain what they aimed at by force, they resolved to attempt it by fraud. Their stratagem was this. There being a conference or treaty, agreed upon at a set day and place, between the nobles of both parties; the Saxons having a sign given them by Hengist their captain, slew all the British nobility, and drove the common people into rugged and mountainous places; after which

they possessed themselves of all the open country, and divided the fruitfulest part of the island between them, into seven kingdoms. This was the state of affairs in Britain, about the year 464. And whereas three German nations originally undertook expeditions hither, two of them by degrees obtained the name of Englishmen. But neither the peace made with the Britons, nor with the English amongst themselves, was ever faithfully observed for 317 years together. At length, the Danes, being formidable at sea, molested England with piratical incursions; and though valiantly repulsed, yet about thirty-six years after they came in greater force, and made a descent into the country with a potent army. At the first conflict they were victors, but afterwards they fought the English with various successes, till in the year 1012, Sweyne, having wholly subdued the Britons, by their public consent obtained the kingdom, which, however, remained but a few years in his family; for the Saxons again elected kings of their own, who continued to reign over the nation about twenty-four years after, when they were overcome by William the Norman, most of their nobility being slain, and their lands divided among the invaders. By this means the common people were kept in a miserable slavery, till the reign of Henry VII., who, easing part of their burdens, made the condition of the people a little more tolerable. But those who are in royal favour, or who affect an illustrious and noble lineage, do all pride themselves in being descended from the Normans.

These are the discoveries which I have been able to make, out of ancient writings, and other evidences not obscure, concerning the original, customs, and language of the three most ancient nations in Britain; all which induce me to believe, that the old natives, and other inhabitants, were derived from the Gauls, and did originally use the Gallic speech; of which many signs plainly appear, both in France and Britain. Neither ought it to seem strange, that, in language, which admits of a continual change, many things should receive different names in divers places, especially in a long current of time. Nay, we may rather wonder, that the same foundations of language, (if I may so speak,) and the same manner of declension and derivation, should yet continue amongst people widely remote one from another, and so far from agreeing together in the converse of life, as to be often at mortal enmity with each other.

Concerning the other three nations, the Angles, Danes, and Normans, we need make no particular inquiry; seeing the times and causes of their coming are known almost to all. But I have entered upon this task, in order to regain our ancestral rights; and if in this I have succeeded, I have no reason to repent of a little labour, though far from being spent in a great concern. If I have failed, they who differ from me in opinion, will not, I believe, find fault with my design. And I am so far from grudging or taking it ill, to have my judgment refuted, that if any man can discover greater certainty, and convince me of my mistake, I will return him thanks for his pains.

I had resolved here to put an end to this disquisition concerning the original of the nations of Britain, if Lhwyt had not called me back, even against my will, by maintaining, that the Scots and Picts came but lately into Albion. Now though I might, without any offence, pass by the empty vanity and ignorance of the man; yet, lest an unlearned tribe should pride themselves in such a patron, I shall, in a few words, abate his confidence, and that principally from those arguments and testimonies which he himself hath produced against us.

First, I will speak concerning his manner of reasoning, and afterwards of the matter itself.

He says, that neither Julius Cæsar, nor Cornelius Tacitus, writers of great exactness; nor Suetonius, Herodian, or other Romans, who have written of British affairs, have, in any part of their works, made mention of Scots or Picts; who, therefore, could not have been settled in Britain in that age. Will you accept of this condition, Lhwyt, that because no ancient writer hath mentioned a nation by name, no such nation ever had existence? If you assert this, see how many nations will be struck out of history and expunged in one or two lines? How great a table of proscriptions will you make? Nay, what great persons will you annihilate, as, for instance, Brutus, Albanaotus,

and Camber? What nations will you wholly eradicate, as the Loegri, the Cambri, the Albani, according to your decree, who art both a tyrant in history and in grammar, as deriving *Albanus* from *Albanactus*? But if this condition do not please,—

— Quia te gallinæ filius albæ,  
Nos viles pulli, nati infœlicibus ovīs:  
Since you're the brood of pullets with white legs,  
Plebeian chickens are hatch'd of refuse eggs;

I will propound another to you, and such an one too, as you ought not, and I think, dare not, refuse. There is a certain kind of evidence to be drawn from fragments, by which, if you harden your forehead a little, you may prove any thing. I am the more inclined to make use of this method, because you seem to love it most of all, as proving out of a fragment, known, I believe, to be one else, that an innumerable multitude of the Cimbri issued forth to destroy the Roman empire. Now I will shew you, out of another fragment, that the Scots and Picts were in Britain before Vespasian's reign, which you deny. In that book, to which you have given the title of *Fragmentum Britannicæ Descriptionis*, i. e. A fragment of the description of Britain; for this special reason, I believe, because you thought yourself to have sufficiently proved, out of one of the two fragments, that the island was rather to be called *Prætania*, than *Britannia*; and out of the other, that you had disgorged such a multitude of Cimbri, as your Britain could not contain: for this cause, you thought that your fragment would get credit enough on that single account. In this book you write, that the names of Scots and Picts, together with the Franks and English, or Angles, were well known to the Roman world; and, as a witness for this opinion, (a meet one indeed,) you produce Mamertinus in the panegyric spoken by him to Maximianus. But this witness, if I understand him aright, makes against you; for Mamertinus, speaking of the first coming of Julius Cæsar into Britain, hath these words: "Moreover, the nation, as yet rude, and *soli Britanni*, accustomed to none but the arms of the Irish Picts, their half-naked enemies, did easily yield to the power of the Romans." See, I pray, what Lihwyd would infer out of this testimony: first, that the Britons alone did then inhabit the island; next, that the people there named Hiberni or Irish, were afterwards called Scots. But the author of the panegyric neither asserts the one nor the other; for he affirms, that, before the coming of Cæsar, the Britons waged war against the Scots and Picts of the British soil, that is, the enemies dwelling in the land; so that *soli Britanni* is the genitive, not the nominative, case. The other he falsely assumes to himself; for I think I have sufficiently demonstrated out of Orosius, a Spaniard, and Bede an Englishman, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were anciently called Scots; and that at length, when they sent colonies into Albion, the name Scots being almost extinguished at home, began to grow famous abroad. In another place Lihwyd contends, that the Caledonii were called Britons, grounding his assertion on no other argument than that of a simple name, which was a common appellative for all the inhabitants of the same island. But I have shewn before, out of that part of the panegyric quoted by him, that the Caledonians were Picts. Marcellinus affirms as much, for he says, that there were two sorts of Picts, the Dicaledones, or, as I think it ought to be written, the Duncaledones, and the Vecturiones. But the Caledonii, or Caledones, dwelt in Britain before the reign of Vespasian, neither were they unknown to the Romans, as Lucan plainly shews, who died in Nero's time:—

Aut vaga cum Tethys, Rutæpinaque littora fervent,  
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.  
When raging seas on Sandwich shores do beat,  
They never shake the Caledonian seat.

But why do I trouble myself to procure foreign witnesses, seeing we have a clear and convincing one at home; I mean Bede, the writer of the ecclesiastical history of England; for he takes notice of the order, and almost of the very moments of time, wherein foreign nations came into Britain. These are

his words in his first book. "First, the island was inhabited by Britons, whence it hath its name, who from the Armoric tract, as it is reported, sailing over into Britain, possessed the fourth part of it, and having seized upon the greatest portion of the island, beginning from the south, it happened that the nation of the Picts, coming (as it is reported) out of Scythia, and entering into the ocean, with long ships or galleys, but not many, were, by stress of wind and weather, driven beyond all the bounds of Britany into Ireland." And a few lines after, he says, "Wherefore the Picts, coming into Britain, began to settle themselves in the north parts of the island: the southern being possessed by the Britons." And at length, after a few lines more, he adds, "In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, took in a third nation of Scots, as part of the Picts." Then, after many passages, he subjoins, "But the same Britain was inaccessible and unknown to the Romans, until the time of Julius Cæsar." Now observe, reader, I pray, whence, at what time, and in what order, this author, much more ancient and grave than Lihwyd, doth affirm that these nations entered Britain. Bede says, that the Britons from the Armoric tract entered first, but that the time is not certain; that the Picts, out of Scythia, came next into those parts of Britain which were yet uninhabited, and that this was soon after the entrance of the Britons, who were not as yet increased into such a multitude as to be able to occupy the whole island. What then becomes of the Scots? When came they into Britain? In process of time, observes Bede, the Picts granted them the uninhabited seats in their districts, so that they came after the two former. Thus the Britons, as Bede affirms, came into this island out of Armorica in France, and, not long after, the Picts out of Scythia; both of them seized on the vacant and uninhabited places: at last, the island being divided betwixt them, the Scots entered not by force, but were admitted into the portion and lot of the Picts, and that long before Britain was known to the Romans. Here, how will you deal with Lihwyd? who produces Gildas and Bede as witnesses to his fables, namely, that the Scots and Picts did first of all fix their habitations in Britain, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Honorius, in the year 420; of which two, Gildas makes nothing for him; and Bede doth evidently convict him of falsehood. But let the reader believe neither Lihwyd nor me, but examine for himself, and diligently weigh the passages of each writer. But (says he) Dion calls the Caledonians Britanni; I grant he does, so doth Lucan, as I noticed before, and also Martial, in that verse;—

Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos:

The Caledonians, which in Britain be,  
Quintus Ovidius is about to see.

But none of them therefore deny them to be Picts; yet they have good reason to call them Britains: for, as the whole island is called Britain, all its inhabitants are properly so denominated. For, as all the people of the isle of Sicily were generally called, by the Romans, Sicilians, without any difference, though they themselves called one another, some Sicilians, and others Siceliotæ; so the possessors of Britain are, by foreigners, all called Britains; but they themselves often call the ancient inhabitants Britons, and the other people of different nations living there, sometimes by the private names of the countries whence they came, and sometimes by the common name of Britains. Wherefore the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots, are sometimes called each by their own national name, yet all of them, not seldom, by the general term Britains. But Britons, as far as I remember, no man ever called them.

There is also another difference amongst them, to be observed in the word Britannia; as there is amongst the Greeks and Latins in the word Asia. For Asia sometimes denotes the third part of the habitable world, and sometimes it is taken for that part of the greater Asia which is situated on this side the mountain Taurus, and is wont to be called Asia the Less. So Britain is sometimes used for the name of the whole island in general; and at other times only for that part of it which was subjected to the Romans, and which was bounded sometimes by the river Humber, sometimes by the wall of Adrian, and sometimes by the wall of Severus; and the inhabitants of this part are, by British writers, more usually called Britons than Britains; but



the other persons living in the island, i. e. the Scots and the Picts, were called by Bode sometimes *Britains*, and sometimes *strangers* and *foreigners*. We may also find the same remarkable difference in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury. And therefore the Caledonians will not be counted Britons the less, for being styled Britains by Dion, Martian, Lucan, or any other good author, than the Brutians will be Romans, though both of them are Italians. If Lhwyd had taken notice of these things, he would never have involved himself in such dark labyrinths, nor so rashly and inconsiderately have made a positive determination in a point so obscure, neither would he have denied the Caledonians to have been Picts, because they are termed by Dion, Britains. Neither hath Lhwyd any just cause to wonder, that no writer more ancient than Ammianus Marcellinus, and Claudian, should have made mention of the Scots and Picts, though they lived so many ages in Britain. For, not to speak of the Valli, Cambri, and Loegri, names lately known to the world, I may ask him, why, since so many Greek and Latin writers have written of the affairs of Greece, yet no Grecian once names his countrymen Græci; nor any Latin author calls them Hellenes? Why did the names of the nations just mentioned, and which our Welshman will have to be very ancient, creep so late into history? If you ask any Englishman of what country he is, none will answer, that he is a Saxon; yet the Scots, Picts, Irish, both the Britons, i. e. those that inhabit Britain, and those who dwell in France, still unanimously call them by that name. Why do not the old Scots, even to this day, acknowledge and own the name of Scots? It ought not then to seem absurd to any man, if, when the Romans asked their captives of what nation they were, one said a Moesian, another an Attacottian, a third a Caledonian; and the names which foreign nations received from them they still retained, and used in their common discourse; neither, as I judge, will it seem incredible, that some names are more known to historians and strangers, and others to the inhabitants of the country. Though the premises make it sufficiently appear, that the coming of the Scots and Picts into Britain, was not only more ancient than Lhwyd will grant it to be; nay, that it was but a little later than the coming of the Britains themselves into it; yet I shall add other, and those no contemptible conjectures. The Brigantes, a great and powerful nation, who were seated beyond the river Humber, in Yorkshire, and possessed the whole breadth of the island between the two seas, came probably not from the tract of France, which was nearest; for no Brigantes are said to have inhabited there; but out of Spain, first into Ireland, and from thence into Britain, as being a neighbouring island to it. Neither doth this differ from the conjecture of Tacitus, which he makes concerning the ancient inhabitants of the Isle. If the Brigantes came from Ireland, then they must be of Scottish race, as all the rest of the inhabitants of that island were. Seneca also seems to confirm this opinion, in that elegant satire of his, concerning the death of Claudius, in these words:—

*Ille Britannos ultra noti littora ponti,  
Et Cærules Soutabrigantes dare Romuleis  
Colla cæcis jussit, et ipsam nova Romanæ  
Jura securis tremere oceanum.*

*He, Britons, which beyond known seas did dwell,  
And blue Soutabrigantes did compel  
Rome's yoke to bear. The ocean widely spread  
His government, and his new laws did dread.*

In these verses Joseph Scaliger, the son of Julius, is of opinion, that for Soutabrigantes, we ought to read Sootobrigantes. Of how great learning and judgment that young man is; of what industry in comparing ancient writers; and of what acuteness in finding out the meaning of obscure passages, the works that he has published evince. At present I shall only say, that having undertaken to illustrate the affairs of Britain, I thought his criticism was not to be omitted; and I will declare in few words, why I think it true. Since we read in Cæsar, and other authors, eminent for accuracy and knowledge, that the Britons were wont to paint their bodies with woad; and in Herodian, that they used narrow shields in war, (such as Livy ascribes to

the Asiatic Gauls,) and no great ornament in their arms; it seemed absurd to make mention of the shield which was not painted, and to omit noticing the body which was so. Now the old Britons were painted, not for comeliness, as several other nations were; but that their blue appearance might render them more awful to their enemies in battle; though how this colour could appear terrible in a narrow shield, I do not understand. Therefore it is very probable, that though Seneca was a learned man, and, according to Dion, kept the whole island of Britain under the oppression of usury, yet being ignorant of its history, he wrote the word *Scotobrigantes*, to distinguish these people from the other Brigantes, both Spanish and Gallic. It makes also for the same purpose, that in those verses he divides the Britons and Brigantes into two different nations; which is also done by some British writers, who denominate the Humber as the boundary of Britain. This matter not being well considered by Hector Boetius, as I judge, led him into a mistake; for, having somewhere read, that the Silures and Brigantes were called *Scoti*, as deriving their origin from Ireland, he placed them in part of the kingdom of the Scots, or in Albium. His mistake, though it might justly offend others, yet ought not to have been so severely censured by Lihwyd, who has committed as great errors of the same kind; for he makes the *Cumbri*, or (as they call themselves) *Cumri*, to issue out of a corner of Britain, to plunder the whole world. He concludes from one or two words, which were common to both, that the *Cimbri* and *Britanni* were of one nation. These words are *Moremarusa* and *Trimarchia*: where it is worth while to take notice of the man's sententiousness in disputing, and of his subtilty in drawing inferences. *Moremarusa*, says he, is a British word, but it was once a *Cimbric* one, and of no other nation but that which dwelt near the Baltic sea. Now, since our countrymen use the same word, and are called by the same name with those other *Cimbri*; therefore, both must have been of the same stock and nation.

In this matter, first, Lihwyd affirms falsehoods for truths, and takes uncertainties for realities. For it is a manifest untruth, that both of them are called *Cimbri*, even allowing Lihwyd himself to be a witness, who affirms, that all his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Cambria*, were so called from their king, *Camber*, and he calls himself a *Cambro-Briton*. I could also prove the falsehood of this opinion, by the testimony of all his countrymen, who do not call themselves *Cimbri*, but *Cumri*. As that is false, so this is uncertain, whether other people living by the Baltic sea did not use that word which you attribute to the *Cimbri* alone; especially, since it appears from Tacitus, that many nations, in that tract of Germany, spoke the Gallic tongue, and I have before proved that word to be Gallic. But suppose that both assumptions were true, what then? Did you never read that the soldiers of Pompey, when he waged war in Asia, were saluted as brethren by the *Albans* who inhabited *Caucasus*, because both of them had the same name? Neither do I doubt but that if a man had observed both tongues, he might have found one or two words signifying the same thing in both; but they wanted such a man as Lihwyd there, who, because both people had certain words common between them, would have proved that both were of the same nation; and yet the purblind man seems to be sensible of the weakness of his conclusion, when he adds that the *Cimbri* were called *Æstiones* by the Germans; though, to make that out, he should have shewn at what time, and upon what grounds, the *Cimbri* were transformed into *Æstiones*, and the *Æstiones* again into *Cimbri*. He speaks not a syllable of this, but only cites a British history, collected out of the Milesian fables of the Gauls; and he also quotes a certain fragment, whence, being now degraded from an antiquary, to be either a botcher, or compiler of useless relics, or (if I may so speak) a fragmentary, he doth piece up new kingdoms and new nations for us. All this he doth with great labour, and yet with no colour of probability, where yet it was very obvious to him (unless perhaps it was above the poor man's reach) to find out the causes, why the name *Cimber* was communicated to the *Cimbri* and the *Welsh* too; for Plotarch says, that it was not the name of a nation, but of an occupation or employment, and that robbers were so called by the Germans. Suidas, no contemptible grammarian amongst the Greeks, understands the word in the same sense; and Festus Pompeius, amongst the Latins, writes,

that the Cimbri were called robbers by the Gauls. If we follow these men's opinions, it will not be difficult to find out why the Cimbri, whom Lhwyd places in Britain, came by that name, especially since their neighbours, the Angli, or English, affirm, that even in this age, their manners shew them too much inclined to the same dishonest practices. Sure I am, that Livy calls the slave who was sent to kill Marius in the prison of the Minturnæ, a Gaul; while Lucan calls him a Cimper; but no writer of credit styles him a Briton. If Lhwyd had examined these things, or if, after consideration, he had chosen rather to remember them, than to frame new monsters to himself; there was no necessity for him, in a moment, or rather with one falsehood, to have the whole of Britain almost destitute and forsaken, all its military young men exhausted, and 600,000 of them drawn out of it at one single draft.

I will not here minutely inquire, to what male children the Welsh are wont to give the names of the Cimbric kings; for this diligent writer brings in that also as an argument of their ancient pedigree.

If I mistake not, the Latin, German, and Syriac names, are the chief which he will find. But if a solid argument may be brought from the proper names of men (which are oftentimes arbitrarily imposed by parents, or vain-gloriously adopted out of some history) then Lhwyd might rather persuade us, that his countrymen are Jews, Romans, or Germans, than Cimbri; or, if he would advise his compatriots to give baptismal names, drawn from history, to their children, within a few years he might transform them into what nation soever he pleased. But with regard to the names of the Cimbric kings, which, he says, were accustomed to be given to children, I would willingly ask from what oracle he received it? unless I knew beforehand, that he never wants some fragment, out of which he can prove what pleases himself. Of this Cimbric expedition, I cannot but admire, how, since all their military men were sent abroad, that within the space of forty years (for it was about that interval between the Cimbric war and Julius Cæsar's arrival in Britain your country of Wales should soon become so populous; especially since after Maximus had drawn forth a far lesser number out of Britain, when it was in its most flourishing state, the Britains could never again hold up their heads, but were brought into bitter servitude by the Saxons; and I wonder also, why Cæsar, who lived early enough to remember the Cimbric war, when he came into Britain, being a learned man, and a great favourer of the party of Marius, did find out nothing concerning this expedition. Lastly, I desire to know, whether Lhwyd spoke in jest or in earnest, when he added, that the affinity of both the Cimbri might be inferred from their equal contempt of gold and silver? Here I would ask of him, whether he spoke in earnest, when he calls those Cimbrians very moderate, and content with a little, who did not only vex and plunder Gaul, and a part of Spain too, but in a manner wholly wasted and destroyed both; after which they hastened to Italy, in quest of a richer booty: whose opulency, got by robberies, the Helvetians emulating, they also became plunderers, as Strabo relates in his seventh book. Dare you call such men frugal and temperate? But that it may appear that the Cimbric name is truly assigned to your nation, you make Welshmen emulous of those ways to which the Cimbrians were addicted; and yourself, in chief, who ravage all nations to steal from them a little glory. For, not content to have arrogated the deeds of the Cimbri to your countrymen, you add, with as impudent and fictitious an untruth, that the Sicambri were also of your stock. And because, in the name of both nations, there is a certain similitude of letters, from that affinity of words you feign a conjunction of blood. At this rate, by their descent from the Sicambrians, the Franks, and their children's children, to all generations, will be allied to you; and so, by a series of lies, you will raise a bridge to bring back the fugitive Brennus, of which, one, who took Rome, lived about a hundred years before the other, who besieged Delphi; but you jumble and compact them together into one body, that so you might dress up a new monster out of a dead and living man pieced together; as if it were difficult to prove, by other arguments, that monsters are born in that very country which brought forth such a person as yourself. "But," says Lhwyd, "no writer acknowledgeth that there were two Brennus's, besides Polydore Virgil." Surely, Lhwyd, thy reason hath for-

saken thee, or else thou hast never read the fourth book of Strabo, where he writes, "that the Brennus who besieged Delphi, is thought by some to be Prausus." Nay, not Strabo alone, but every man who believes that Rome was taken by one Brennus, and that above an hundred years after, Delphi was besieged by another, doth acknowledge that there were two of that name; since both enterprises could not be performed by the same man. But if we believe the monk, who compiled the British history, Brennus, the brother of Belinus, preceded these two Brenni three hundred years; if therefore he led his army into Italy at that time, he must have fought with Numa Pompilius, or with Tullus Hostilius, and not with the free people of Rome. But, to omit these things, whence doth this new logician gather that Brennus was a Briton? Truly, from only one word, Trimarchia, which is yet common to the Scotch, Gauls, and Welsh. Pausanias, whom you quote partially, that so he may make for your purpose, calls Brennus and his companions Gauls, and acknowledgeth that word to be Gallic. But you only, shamefully, and against the credit of all Greek and Latin historians, nay, and in spite of Minerva and all the Muses, strive to prove him a Briton. Perhaps I have prosecuted this argument further than either the obscurity of the matters, or the unskillfulness and inconsistency of Lhwyl, deserved; but I have done it, not out of desire to carp at or blame others, (which I am far from,) but to check the petulance of a man who abounds in abusive language, and that I might reduce him from a wild and extravagant rage, which makes him speak evil of almost all writers, and bring him, at last, to acknowledge his error. To omit others at present, he attacks with great scurrility Hector Boetius, a man not only uncommonly skilled in the liberal arts, for the age in which he lived, but also endued with singular humanity and courtesy; but Lhwyl so falls upon him, as to blame nothing in him, of which he himself is not far more guilty. Hector places the Brigantes in Galloway, in which he was wrong; for I have no design to defend his mistakes: but Lhwyl brings out great forces of the Cimbri, from one corner of Britain; how truly, let the learned judge. Hector attributes things performed by others, against the Romans in Britain, to his countrymen, the Scotch. And Lhwyl falsely affirms, that Rome was taken, Macedonia vexed, Greece afflicted, the noblest oracle of the world sacrilegiously violated, by his countrymen, the Britons; nay, that Asia itself was compelled to pay tribute to a few vagabonds. He blames Hector, but falsely, for making Gildo, who raised great commotions in Africa, a Scot; and yet he converts the same Gildo, who was indeed a Moor, into a Goth; because Gildus and Gildo are names almost alike. Let me ask you, are they more alike than Luddus, Lydus, and Ludio? This is certain, that Gildus is an old name in Scotland, as the ancient clan of the Macgilds, or Macgills, doth shew; of whose posterity there are yet families remaining of good account, both in Scotland and in England. But since Lhwyl hath such an intemperate tongue, that he cares not what he says, provided he may abuse others, I shall leave him, and conclude this book, with giving him a caution, that—

*Loripedem rectus deridet, Ethiopem albus.*

Let the well-shap'd deride the crooked back,  
And the fair-featur'd woman scorn the black.

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### BOOK III.

THOUGH I have sufficiently demonstrated, in the two former books, how fabulous, and like mere prodigies, the memoirs are, which the writers of the British affairs have delivered concerning their ancestors; and though I have also shewn, by plain and cogent evidences, that the ancient Britons had their original from the Gauls; yet seeing I have to do with such men as may be rather said to contend obstinately for a manifest falsehood, than to have fallen into a mistake by rashness or ignorance, I have thought it worth while to

borrow proofs from writers who bear a great authority amongst all learned men, that I might take off the edge from the boldness of those conceited disputants; and, by that means, supply the lovers of truth and virtue with arms to restrain their daring effrontery. In the rank of such classic authors, I judge Julius Cæsar to deserve the first place, both for his diligence in searching, his certainty in knowing, and sincerity in declaring things to others. In the fifth Book of his Commentaries, concerning the Gallic war, he says:—"The interior of Britain is inhabited by those who are said, by themselves, to be natives of the soil. The sea-coast is peopled by Belgians, who came thither for war and plunder. These last, passing over from different parts, and settling in the country, still retain the names of the states whence they descended. The island is very populous, and their houses are much like those of the Gauls. They have a great store of cattle; and use brass for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certain rate. The remote parts abound in tin, and near the sea-coasts iron is found, though but in a small quantity. Their brass is imported from other nations. All kinds of trees grow here, as in Gaul, except the beech and fir. They deem it unlawful to eat hares, fowls, or geese, notwithstanding which they breed them all for pleasure and diversion. The climate is more temperate, and the cold less severe, than in Gaul. The island is triangular; one side faceth Gaul, and the extremity, towards Kent, whence is the nearest passage to that country, points to the east. The other side, which looks to the south, extends about five hundred miles. Another side, to the west, lieth toward Spain; and ever against it is Ireland, which is an island half as large as Britain, and separated from it by a strait similar to that which divides the latter from Gaul. Between England and Ireland is the isle of Mona; with many smaller islands, of which some write, that in the winter, for thirty days together, they have a continual night. Of this, however, we learned nothing by inquiry; only we found, by the hour-glass, that the nights were shorter than in Gaul. The length of this side is computed at seven hundred miles. The last side faceth the north-east, and is exposed to the open sea, pointing a little toward the German coast. This side is thought to contain eight hundred miles. Thus the whole island comprehends a circuit of two thousand miles. Of all the inhabitants, those of Kent are most courteous and civil, because their country borders upon the sea, and they differ little from the Gauls. The inland people, for the most part, sow no corn, but live upon milk and flesh, and are clothed with skins. All the Britons have their faces painted with woad, which gives them a blue colour, to make them terrible in battle. They wear their hair long; but all the rest of the body is shaven, except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve live together, having their wives in common; especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the issue is always accounted his to whom the mother was first given in marriage."

And a little after, he says,—“By these it was understood that the capital of Cassibelanus was not far off, situated amidst woods and marshes, and well stored with men and cattle. A town among the Britons, is nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and rampart, to make it a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies. Thither Cæsar marched with his army, and, though the place was strong both by art and nature, he assaulted it in two several places. The enemy, after a short stand, were obliged to give way at last, and retire by another part of the wood. Vast numbers of cattle were found in this place, and many of the Britons either lost their lives or were made prisoners.”

*Tacitus, in the Life of Julius Agricola.*

“I design here to give a clear account of the site of Britain, and of its inhabitants, though they have been already described by several writers. This I do, not to compare either my care or ingenuity with theirs, but as it was then first thoroughly subdued, so such things as our ancestors, without perfect discovery, have merely illustrated by their pens, shall now be faithfully set down upon knowledge. Britain, the greatest of all the islands known to the Romans, coasteth by the east upon Germany, by the west towards Spain, and bath France on the south; while to the north no land lies against it, but only a vast

and broad sea beating upon its shore. Livy, and Fabius Rusticus, two most eloquent authors, one among the ancients, and the other among the moderns, have compared the figure of Britain to an oblong scuttle, or two-edged axe; and such indeed is the form and shape of that part on this side Caledonia, from whence the report of the whole being so made seems to take its rise; but there is, besides, a vast tract of ground, which stretcheth out even to the farthermost point, growing narrow and sharp like a wedge. The Roman fleet, by the orders of Agricola, sailed round this extremity, and thus first discovered Britain to be an island. In this expedition also, the isles of Orkney were found out and subdued. Thule, which had lain concealed and unknown in the depth of winter, and covered with snow, was at the same time explored. The sea thereabout is said to be a sluggish mass, and yields with difficulty to the oar; nor is it liable to the agitation of winds, probably because in those parts there are not any very high lands and mountains, which commonly disturb the air, and occasion tempests.

"But an examination into the nature of the ocean and its tides, does not properly belong to this work, and many have done it before. One thing I will add, that the sea hath no where in the world a more large and free dominion, now receiving the waters of many rivers, and again driving their current back to the original source. Nor is it on the coast only that the flux and reflux of the tide is felt; for the sea forces itself into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the very heart of the country, and foaming amidst hills and mountains, as in its natural channel. Now, what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britain were, whether originating in the country, or imported from afar, cannot be ascertained, since they are a very barbarous people. Their complexions vary, whence some conjectures may be formed; for the red hair and strong limbs of those who inhabit Caledonia, indicate a German descent: while the coloured countenance of the Silures, and their hair being commonly crisped, besides their situation over against Spain, renders it probable that the old Iberians passed the sea, and possessed those places. Those nearest to Gaul likewise resemble the people of that country, either because they retain something of the race from which they descended; or, that in countries which are near and opposite each other, an exposure to the same atmospherical influence may give their bodies a similar cast of complexion. But, generally speaking, it is most likely that the Gauls, being the nearest, peopled the island. In their ceremonies and superstitious persuasions, there is an apparent conformity; nor do they differ much in language. They are alike bold to challenge, and forward to run themselves into dangers; though when those evils come, they are equally affrighted, and anxious to be rid of them. Indeed, the Britons make more show of courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the Gauls also were once, as we read, renowned in war, till, by giving themselves up to an idle pacific life, they became effeminate, and lost their manhood and liberty together. And so it befell those Britons who were subdued of old; but the rest retain the character of the ancient Gauls. Their military strength consisteth in foot; but the inhabitants of some parts make war in chariots. A person of the first rank guides the machine, while his attendants maintain the combat. They were formerly governed by kings, but now they are divided under petty princes, into parties and factions: and this is our principal security against those nations who would be much more formidable, were they not disunited in their counsels; it seldom happening that the people of two or three places will meet and concur to resist a common danger; thus, by fighting separately and in small parties, they are all subdued. The sky is very cloudy, and much given to rain, without extremity of cold. Their days are longer than in our part of the world; the nights light, and, in the farthermost part of the island, so short, that between the going out and coming in of the day, the space is hardly perceived; and when clouds do not come in the way to hinder it, they affirm that the solar light may be seen at midnight, and that it neither setteth nor riseth, but passeth along, the extreme and plain parts of the earth projecting a low shadow, which is but a little elevated above the horizon, and obscures not the atmosphere so far as to make the night very dark. The soil, with the exception of the olive, vine, and other trees which are proper to warmer countries,

is very prolific in all kinds of grain, which shoot up quickly, and ripen slowly, owing to the excessive moisture of the ground and air. Britain produces gold and silver, and other metals, which make it worth a conquest. The ocean bringeth forth pearl also, not equal indeed to that of the East, but of a dusky and pale colour, which proceeds, as some suppose, from the want of skill in the collectors. In the Red Sea the fish are taken alive from the rocks, but in Britain they are thrown up by the waves, and so are gathered. I rather believe, however, that it is the nature of the country not to yield pure pearl.

"The Britons endure levies of men and money, and all other burdens imposed by the empire, patiently, if unaccompanied by injuries; but indignities they cannot endure, considering themselves subjects, and not slaves.

"The first Roman that entered Britain with an army, was Julius Cæsar, who, though he landed and terrified the inhabitants with a battle, yet may seem rather to have shewn the place to posterity, than to have gained possession of it. In the civil wars that ensued at Rome, and long after, Britain was forgotten, and so continued to be even in peaceable times. This was the policy of Augustus, and especially of Tiberius.

"That Caius had a design to invade Britain, is certain; but his changeable humour, and chiefly his fruitless projects against Germany, frustrated his purpose.

"Claudius was the first who did any thing effectually, by transporting thither legions and auxiliaries; and employing Vespasian, who here laid the foundation of that grandeur to which he afterwards attained. Some countries were subdued, kings were led captive, and Vespasian thus became known to the world.

"The first lieutenant-general was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius Scapula both excellent warriors; and so, by degrees, the nearest part of the island was reduced to a province; and a colony of old soldiers was established there. Certain cities were also given to King Cogidunus, who remained most faithful even in our days, according to the old custom of the Romans, to use even sovereigns themselves as the instruments of subjugating their countries.

"Then Didius Gallus succeeded; who kept what his predecessors had gained, and built a few castles farther in land, that he might obtain the reputation of having made some improvement.

"After Didius succeeded Veranius, who died within a year. Then Sertorius Paulinus governed fortunately two years, reducing other places, and establishing garrisons in them. At last, confident of success, he went against the isle of Mona, which had afforded succours to those who resisted the Roman authority. In this enterprise he left the country behind him open, and unprotected. The Britons taking advantage of his absence, began to deliberate about the miseries of slavery, and their common injuries, which they aggravated by constructions and inferences, saying that their patience, instead of doing them good, had drawn heavier burdens upon them, as men willing to bear any oppression; that whereas in former times they had only one king, now they had two, the lieutenant to suck their blood, and the procurator to drain their property. If these disagreed, their difference was the torment of those under them; and if they concurred, it was their utter ruin; the one barbarous them to death with soldiers; the other vexing them by wrongs and indignities. These two oppressors, by their covetousness and lust, laid hold of all without exception. It was observed also, that though men commonly give way, when contending with braver men in the field; yet that the Britons were for the most part dispossessed of their houses, robbed of their children, and obliged to serve cowards, as if they were a people that could die for any other, and were only ignorant how to do it for their own country. A comparison was also made between the small number of the invaders, and that of the people whom they kept in bondage. The Belgians, said they, have shaken off the yoke, though they have no ocean, and only a river for their defence. The Britons therefore should follow the example, for their wives and children, their parents and country. Here was a glorious cause; while the Romans had no other than that of ambition and rapacity: whence it was natural to believe that they would doubtless depart, as Julius Cæsar had done, if the Britons would imitate the

virtues of their ancestors, and not be dismayed by one or two skirmishes. Besides the consideration that men in misery were impelled by a vehement spirit and an invincible courage to undertake great attempts, there was reason to believe that the gods had interested themselves for the suffering Britons, in sending away their oppressor, and confining the army to another island. Now, therefore, being assembled to advise and consult together, they had achieved the most difficult point of all; since, under these circumstances, it was more dangerous to be taken while deliberating, than in action. With these and the like speeches, inciting one another, by common consent they resolved to take arms under the direction of their princess, Boadicea; for in concerns of governing they make no distinction of sex. They began with attacking the soldiers who lay in garrison, and after taking the fortresses, they proceeded against the colony itself; where they omitted no kind of cruelty, which anger, or the rage of victory, could induce a barbarous people to practise. In this state Britain would inevitably have been lost, had not Paulinus, on the intelligence of the revolt, hastened back, when, with one prosperous battle, he restored it to obedience. A few, however, still remained in arms, whose guilt either excluded them from all hope of pardon, or who apprehended the private displeasure of the governor. He, though otherwise an extraordinary man, yet carried himself too haughtily and severely to those who surrendered themselves, and thus, in a manner, he seemed to gratify personal revenge. On this account Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place, a man of more liberality, and being a stranger to the faults of the Britons, more ready to receive their repentance. Having composed the troubles, and not caring to attempt any thing farther, he resigned his post to Trebellius Maximus.

"This man, though unacquainted with a military life, yet, by adopting a courteous and mild system, managed to keep the country in peace. For now the Britons had learned to endure a courtly tyranny, which indulged them in their favourite vices; and the fear of creating fresh disturbances furnished the governor with a plausible excuse for doing nothing. The soldiery, however, being accustomed to warfare, grew wanton with ease, and began to be mutinous. Trebellius at first absconded, to escape their fury; but soon after he returned to his post, though with only a nominal authority, acting entirely as the army dictated.

"Vectius Bolanus succeeded him not only in his place, but in his laxity of discipline; the civil wars continued the same, with equal negligence in regard to the enemy, and the same licentiousness in the camp. Yet Bolanus, being a honest easy man, contrived to acquire popularity; and if he did not secure the obedience of the people, he at least possessed their good opinion.

"But when Vespasian, to his other achievements, added that of Britain, great captains and good soldiers were sent thither, by whose means the hope of the enemy was extremely abated. Immediately Petilius Cerealis struck a terror into them at his first coming, by invading the Brigantines, the most populous state of the province. Many battles were fought, some of which were very bloody, and the greatest part of the enemy were either conquered or dispersed.

"Cerealis was succeeded by Julius Frontinus, a great man, who closely imitated his predecessor, and sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Silures; though, besides the valour of the enemy, he had many straits and difficulties to encounter from the nature of the country."

*Cicero, to Trebatius, in the Seventh Book of his Familiar Epistles.*

"I hear, that in Britain there is neither gold nor silver. Now, if this be the case, I would fain persuade you to gather all you can, and return speedily to us. But if we can attain our desire, without the help of Britain, do you conduct yourself so as to be reckoned amongst my familiar friends."

*Paulus Orosius, speaking of Ireland, hath these words.*

"Ireland, which is very near to Britain, is narrower in circuit or space of ground than that island, but more commodious for the goodness of the soil



and temperature of the air. It is inhabited by Scottish families. The island of Anglesey, or rather Man, which lies near to it, is pretty large, and fertile. This place also is peopled by the Scots."

In another place, the same author says:—"The conqueror Severus was drawn into Britain by the revolt of almost all his dependencies there. After fighting many great and signal battles, he judged it best to separate and divide that part of the island which he had regained from the unsubdued nations, for which end he made a great trench, and a strong wall, fortified above with many towers, for the space of one hundred and thirty-two miles from sea to sea." Ado, archbishop of Vienna, gives a similar account, but both err in the length of the wall, by writing thirty-two, for one hundred and thirty-two.

*From the 25th Chapter of Solinus.*

"Britain is surrounded by many isles, and those not inconsiderable ones, of which Ireland is the nearest to it in size. It is a rude country, on account of the savage manners of the inhabitants; but, otherwise, so full of pasturage and cattle, that if their herds, in summer time, were not now and then restrained from feeding, they would be in danger of over-eating themselves. They have no snakes, and but few birds. The people are inhospitable and warlike. After defeating their enemies, they besmear their faces with the blood of the slain, and make no discrimination between right and wrong. If a woman is delivered of a man-child, she lays its first meat upon her husband's sword, and putting it softly into the infant's mouth, gives him the food upon the very point of the weapon, praying (according to the manner of the country) that he may come to no other end than in battle. They who wish to be fine, ornament the hilts of their swords with the teeth of sea-calves, which are as white and clear as ivory. The men chiefly glory in the beauty of their armour. There is not a bee among them; and if a man carry from thence some dust or little stones to any other place, and strew the same among hives, the swarms will forsake their combs. The sea between Ireland and Britain is stormy and rough most part of the year; so that it can only be crossed in the summer. They sail in boats made of wicker, covered over with hides: and let their passage be ever so long, the people abstain from meat all the while. Those who have thoroughly examined the breadth of this narrow sea, judge it to be one hundred and twenty miles. A tempestuous frib also divides the island of the Silures from the coast inhabited by the Britons; the men of which island adhere still to their old customs. They know not the use of money, but barter one commodity for another. They worship their divinities very devoutly; and the women, as well as the men, boast of their knowledge of future events. The Gallic ocean beats upon the isle of Thanet, which is divided from Britain by a narrow strait. It is happy in corn-fields, and the soil is rich and healthful, not only to its inhabitants, but to strangers. No snakes breed here, and what is more extraordinary, the very earth of that island, to what place soever it is carried, will kill those reptiles."

*From the Third Book of Herodian, as translated into Latin by Politian.*

"Severus contrived delays on purpose, that he might not make a mean entrance into Rome; for being desirous of victory, and of getting the surname of Britannicus, he sent the ambassadors home before he had accomplished his object. In the mean time, with great diligence, he prepared all things necessary for war: his principal care being to erect bridges over the marshy places, that his soldiers might pass in safety, and fight as well as upon firm ground; for many parts of Britain are swampy, on account of the frequent overflowings of the sea. The barbarians themselves wade through these bogs naked up to the middle, not regarding the mud; for they are ignorant of the use of garments, but gird their bodies and necks with iron, which they value as others do gold. They mark their skins also with various pictures, and the figures of different animals. They are a warlike nation, and fond of slaughter, but content themselves generally with a narrow shield and lance. They wear also a sword hanging down by their naked bodies, but they are wholly ignorant of coats of mail or helmets, which, in their estimation, would

be a hinderance and incumbrance to them in passing over the marshes, the vapours of which, being exhaled by the heat, cause almost always a dark and misty air."

*Out of the Twentieth Book of Ammianus Marcellinus.*

"This was the state of affairs throughout Illyricum, and the eastern parts, till the tenth consulship of Constantius, and the third of Julian, when Britain, by the inroads of those barbarous nations the Scots and Picts, was so much disturbed, that the peace was broken, and the places near the borders laid waste, which caused a general panic throughout the provinces. Cæsar, who had then his winter-quarters in Gaul, where he was distracted with many cares, could not go to the assistance of the Britons, lest he should leave the country which required his presence, exposed to the Germans, who were eagerly bent on cruelty and war. On this account he was pleased to send Lopicinus thither, who was a commissary-general of the army, a bold man, and very skilful in military affairs, but too vain of his post, so that being very supercilious and haughty, he spoke in a lofty tone, and strutted like a tragedian in his buskins, leaving it doubtful whether he were more covetous or cruel. Having caused the Heruli, Belgians, and many of the Mœsici to march, he came to Boulogne in the depth of winter; and embarking all his soldiers in the ships which he had provided, sailed to Sandwich, and from thence proceeded to London, to be in readiness to act according to emergency."

Again the same writer, in his 26th book, says, "The Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti, vexed the Britons with perpetual miseries."

*Also in his Twenty-seventh Book.*

"It is sufficient for me to say, that at that time the Picts, who were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones, and the Vecturiones; and also the Attacotti, a warlike people, and the Scots, ranging several ways, committed many ravages. The Franks and Saxons, when they had opportunity to make inroads by land or sea, plundered the Gallician tracts near them, and carried off great booty, burning every thing before them, and putting to death all those who fell into their hands. Our warlike commander, to remedy this evil by the favour of fortune, came into these extreme parts, from Boulogne, which is divided from Britain by a narrow strait. The sea here is wont to be raised by high tides, and again levelled in a calm, like a plain, without any prejudice to the mariners. From thence he easily passed over to the opposite harbour of Richborough; whence being followed by the Batavi, Heruli, and Jovii, trusting to their conquering numbers, he came to the old town of London, since called Augusta, where, dividing his troops, he set upon the predatory bands of his enemies, and, as they were laden with spoils, he quickly overcame them, and putting them to flight, rescued from them the captives whom they drove bound before them, and their cattle, and all the prey which our poor tributaries had lost. He restored every thing to the sufferers, except a small part bestowed on his wearied soldiers. Thus he triumphantly re-entered the city, which was before forlorn, but now relieved by him. Elated by this prosperous success, he designed greater matters, and intended to follow safe counsels, for which, however, he took time, having learned, both by prisoners and deserters, that such scattered troops of sundry nations, and those fierce ones too, could not be conquered but by stratagem or surprise. In consequence of this, he made edicts, and offered impunity, by which means he called in stragglers and deserters. Hereupon many returning, he being moved thereby, and anxiously careful, required Civilis to be sent over to govern Britain, a man of sharp wit, and very just and honest, with whom was associated Dulcitus, a very skilful commander in warlike affairs."

*Out of the Thirty-ninth Book of Dion.*

"Cæsar, the first of the Romans who passed the Rhine, sailed afterwards into Britain, which island is extended 450 stadia at least beyond the Morini. It fronts the rest of Gaul, and almost all Spain, stretching out into the sea.

It was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans, and their posterity doubted whether it was insular or a continent; different writers, ignorant of the truth, and speaking only by conjecture, calling it one or the other, according to their fancy. But in process of time, when Agricola had the chief command in Britain, and afterwards in the time of Severus the emperor, it was clearly ascertained to be an island. Cæsar, when he had settled things in Gaul, and subdued the Morini, being desirous to go thither, transported his foot where it was most convenient, though he did not disembark where he ought to have done; for the report of his coming being spread abroad, all the Britons had seized the passages. Cæsar then sailing beyond a prominent rock, made his descent in another part, and having repulsed those who opposed him, landed his men before the rest of the Britons could unite to oppose his troops. Not many of the barbarians, however, were slain; for as they fought on horseback, and in chariots, they easily escaped from the Romans, who had no cavalry. Notwithstanding this, the Britons being intimidated by the boldness of the invaders, sent some of the nation of the Morini, their friends and allies, on an embassy to Cæsar, who demanded hostages, which were promised by the Britons; but afterwards perceiving that the vessels of the Romans were shattered by tempests, they changed their minds, yet did not openly set upon them, because their camp was well guarded. Having surprised some of the Romans, who were sent in a peaceable manner to procure necessities, they put almost all of them to the sword, the rest being speedily rescued by Cæsar. Soon after this they assaulted his camp, but were repulsed, without doing any mischief. The defeats which they sustained did not intimidate them, and they continued to hold out against Cæsar, who on his side had no inclination to make a league with them. As however winter was drawing on, his forces were diminished, and the Gauls were taking advantage of his absence, he thought it best to conclude a treaty with the Britons in the best manner he could. Accordingly, having received a few hostages, he sailed back again to the continent, where he quelled the mutiny that had arisen, and settled affairs; thus neither reaping any public or private advantage from Britain, worth his labour, save only the reputation of having made a descent upon the island; for which reason he was much pleased himself, and his friends extolled him greatly at Rome. These persons magnified the discovery of places hitherto unknown, and converted their hopes into enjoyments. Thus anticipating success, and rejoicing as if they had already obtained a conquest, they decreed supplications to the gods for twenty days."

*Out of the First Chapter of the First Book of Bede.*

"The islanders profess one and the same theology, and that in five tongues, viz. of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins; which, by the study and meditation of the scriptures, is made common. But in the first place, the Britons only inhabited the island, from whom it took its name; who coming hither, as it is reported, out of the Armoric country, seized upon the southern parts of it. And while they gained a great part of the island, beginning from the south, the nation of the Picts ventured to sea with a few galleys, as is reported, from Scythia, and being driven by the wind beyond the coasts of Britain, landed in Ireland, where they penetrated to the northern extremity, and finding the nation of the Scots, desired from them an allotment for their habitation, but could not obtain it."

Again, the same author, in the fifth chapter of his Ecclesiastical History, says, "Severus, an African, born at Labeda near Tripoli, the seventeenth from Augustus Cæsar, obtained the empire, which he held seventeen years. He being of a fierce disposition, and vexed with continual wars, governed the commonwealth bravely, but with great labour. After quelling the civil commotions, which were very grievous in his time, he was called into Britain upon the revolt of almost all his dependants; where, after many severe battles, he gained part of the island, and divided it from that which was unconquered, not, as some think, with a wall, but with a trench only. For a wall is made of stones, but a trench, wherewith camps are fortified to repel the force of enemies, is made of turf cut out of the earth; yet it is built like a wall, high

above the ground, so that there is a ditch before it, out of which the turfs are dug and heaped up with pallisadoes made of strong wood. Severus having formed this great work with a firm trench, and fortified it with many towers from sea to sea, died at York."

In the 12th chapter of the same book, Bede says, "Afterwards Britain, being despoiled of all her military, and the flower of her valiant youths, who were carried away prisoners by the severity of tyrants, and never returned again, became, by its defenceless state, an object of plunder; particularly to two transmarine nations, the Scots from the south, and the Picts from the north; under whose yoke it groaned many years. I call these transmarine nations, not because they had their habitations out of the island, but because they were remote from the residence of the Britons, two creeks of the sea dividing them, one from the east, and the other from the west running far within land, though they do not reach from one to the other. The eastern part hath in the midst of it the city Guidi; the western, above, that is, on the right hand of it, hath the city Alcluth, which in their tongue significeth a rock; for Cloth is situated by a river of the same name. In consequence of the incursions of these nations, the Britons sent ambassadors to Rome with letters, craving aid with mournful supplications, and promising perpetual subjection if their enemies were driven out. Upon this a legion was despatched for their assistance, which force proved victorious in defeating the invaders, and driving them beyond the borders. Having delivered the Britons from their enemies, the Romans advised them to build a wall within the island, between the two seas, to serve as a safeguard to them for the future; and then, in great triumph, returned home. Agreeable to this advice, the wall was erected, not so much with stones as turf; but having no artificers fit for such an undertaking, the work proved good for little. They formed it between the two seas or bays already mentioned, for many miles in length; that so, where the waters were not a defence, there, by the advantage of the wall, they might secure the borders from the inroads of their troublesome neighbours. The manifest marks and footsteps of this high wall and work remain to this day. It begins about a mile from the monastery of Kebercurnig, toward the west, in a place called, in the language of the Picts, *Penuachel*, but in the English, *Penneltum*, and bending against the west, is terminated by Alcluth. But the old enemies of the Britons, as soon as the Roman soldiers were departed, fitted out a fleet, and broke into the borders, killing and spoiling all before them; and, as if they were corn ready for the sickle, mowed, trampled upon, and destroyed them. The Britons upon this sent a second embassy to Rome, with new complaints, desiring help for their miserable country, which, though honoured as an imperial province, was now in danger of being totally destroyed. Accordingly another legion was sent, which, arriving in autumn, made a great slaughter of the invaders, and drove all that made their escape beyond the seas. Then the Romans told the Britons, that they could come no more on such chargeable and toilsome expeditions for their defence, but advised them to arm themselves, and fight with their enemies; over whom they might easily prevail, if they would exert their natural strength. Previous to their departure, however, they drew a wall from sea to sea, where Severus had made a trench for the defence of the towns, and to prevent the incursions of the foe. This wall they built of stone, at both the public and private expense, being assisted in the labour by a company of Britons. It was eight feet broad, and twelve high, in a direct line from east to west. Both this wall, and that of Severus, are yet to be seen. When this work was completed, they gave instructions to the inhabitants in the art of defence, and afforded them examples for their training in arms; but on the south shore, where their ships rode at anchor, because from thence the irruptions of the barbarians were most to be dreaded, they erected towers at proper distances, overlooking the sea; and so they took their departure, never to return."

And a little after, Bede describes the Britons as flying, and dispersed, leaving their cities and wall, while their enemies follow, and make a more cruel slaughter than before. "For as lambs are devoured by wolves, so were the poor inhabitants torn in pieces by their foes; inasmuch that being driven out of their habitations, and in danger of being starved, they practised robbery

and rapine, to keep themselves alive. Thus they increased slaughter by domestic broils, till the whole country was quite despoiled of food, except what might be got by hunting."

Similar to this is the account given of the same times by Gildas, in his Epistle:—"The Romans built a wall between the two seas across the island, that it might be a terror to enemies, and a defence to the inhabitants. But afterwards the people sent again lamentable letters to Ætius, a man of great authority in Rome, beginning thus: 'To Ætius, thrice consul, the Groans of the Britons;' and a little after they complain, 'The barbarians force us to the sea, and the sea beats us back to the barbarians. Between these two kinds of death, we are either killed on land, or drowned in the ocean, neither have we any fence or relief against one or the other.'"

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## BOOK IV.

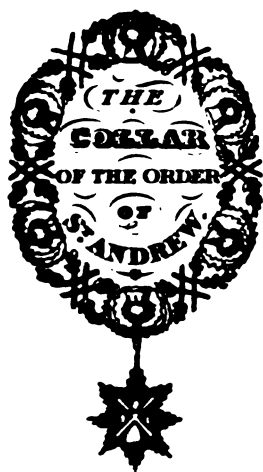
WHEN I undertook to write the history of our nation, I thought proper, in order that the series might appear more plain to the reader, to introduce, as in the preceding books, a few ancient memoirs; especially those which are freest from fabulous vanities, and supported by authors of established credit.

It is currently reported, and there are many evidences to confirm it, that a multitude of Spaniards, either driven from home by their powerful lords, or else voluntarily departing on account of a redundant population, transported themselves into Ireland, and there seized upon those places which were nearest to them. Afterwards, the salubrity of the air, and the richness of the pasturage, invited many others to follow them; besides which, the domestic troubles in Spain, and the inroads of foreigners, to which that country was always subject, led many to wander in search of a quieter habitation. On all these accounts, the first settlers in Ireland drew after them numbers, who were thus encouraged to undertake a voyage to an island already possessed by their own people, and which became, by that means, their second country. Thus stock of Spaniards did so flourish and increase, in a region fit for propagation, that now they were not contented within the bounds of Ireland, but made frequent migrations into the lesser islands adjacent.

In the mean time, while the Scots, which was the general name of the whole nation, extended their bounds through the islands of *Æbude*, and formed themselves into separate tribes and kindreds, without either a king or fixed government; a German, or, as Bede writes, a Scythian fleet, arrived upon the coast of Ireland, being driven thither probably by stress of weather; since they had neither their wives nor children with them. These people being very poor, and having nothing left them after so long a voyage but their arms, sent messengers to the Scots, desiring permission to dwell amongst them. The answer returned by them, was, that they were themselves compelled to seek a residence in those small islands; which, from the poverty of the soil, were very unfruitful; and that, if they were not so, the whole of them together would not be sufficient to entertain so great a multitude, even were the present inhabitants to quit them for the accommodation of the strangers. In pity, however, of the common miseries of mankind, and particularly affected with their condition, whom Providence had so grievously afflicted, and who did not seem to be wholly strangers to their lineage, as appeared by their language and customs, they gave them their advice; and, as far as they were able, offered to assist them in the execution of what they recommended. Their counsel was, to sail to the neighbouring island of *Albium*, which was large and fruitful, and in many places uninhabited; while the other parts were very weak, owing to the condition of the few people that were in it, and who were governed by several princes at strife with each other. Under these circumstances, they observed, that, amidst such discords, it would be easy for them, by supporting the feebler side, to make themselves masters of that large country; towards accomplishing which, they would afford them their assistance.

## THE ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF SCOTLAND.

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*Fergus, the first King of Scotland, began his reign before Christ, 330.*

The Britons, being enemies to both parties, gladly seized this opportunity of fomenting their dissensions; and freely offered aid to the Picts, even before they desired it, against the Scots; which, when the latter perceived, they applied elsewhere for assistance, and procured a foreign king to assist them against the threatened danger. The commanders of the islanders being almost all of equal authority, and disdaining to elect a chief from among themselves; *Fergus*, the son of *Ferchard*, was sent for with forces out of Ireland, as the most eminent person among the Scots, both for advice and action. By the public consent of the people he was chosen king, but while preparations were making for a battle, if need required it, a rumour was dispersed abroad, which came to the ears both of the Scots and Picts, that the Britons were acting a treacherous part, laying plots and counterplots equally pernicious to both nations; and that in the event they would turn their arms upon the conquered and conquerors alike, in order to destroy both, or drive them out of the island, that they might themselves enjoy the whole. This report made both armies doubtful what course to take; and for a time kept them within their respective trenches. At length this brought on a treaty, and the secret fraud of the Britons being made manifest, peace was concluded, and the three different armies returned home. The Britons failing in their first project, had recourse to another stratagem. They sent in robbers secretly amongst the Picts, to drive away their cattle; and when the injured party demanded restitution, they were told to seek it from the Scots, who were accustomed to thieving and plundering, and not from them. Thus their messengers were sent away without satisfaction, and the affair was treated as a matter of derision. The fraud of the Britons being thus fully discovered, the late reproach incensed the hearts of both nations against them, more than the remaining grudges and resentments for their former conduct; and therefore levying as great an army as they could, the two kings invaded their coasts in different directions; and after ravaging the country with fire and sword, returned home with a great booty. To revenge this loss, the Britons



penetrated into Scotland, as far as the Don; and having filled that part of the country with greater terror than loss to the inhabitants, pitched their tents upon the bank of the river. Fergus first sent the women and children, with every kind of moveable property, into the mountains, and other places of security, after which he guarded all the passes, till the Picts came up, with whom he at length joined his forces, and, communicating counsels one with another, they resolved to make a diversion, and lengthen out the war, by making an incursion with their troops into the enemy's country; and so weary them out. But Coilus, the king of the Britons, understanding by his spies the cause of their delay, sent five thousand men before to lie in ambush in the upper grounds, while he determined to lead the rest of his army directly against his opponents. The Picts, however, being made acquainted with this movement, again consulted with the Scots, and, by way of prevention, it was agreed, to assault the camp of the Britons by night. Accordingly, drawing out their forces, the Scots in the front, the Picts in the rear, they attacked their enemies before day; and, by this means, made a great slaughter of the Britons, who were taken by surprise between sleeping and waking. In this battle Coilus himself fell, with the greatest part of his army, and the place, from him, became famous under the name of Coyle, or Koylesfield. The Scots hailed Fergus as a conqueror, and settled the regal government upon him, and his posterity, by the solemnity of an oath. After settling the country in peace, he went to Ireland, to quell some commotions there; but on his return a sudden tempest arose, and he was drowned, not far from the port called after him Fergus's Rock, Knock-Fergus, or Carrick-Fergus, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Historians say, that his coming into Albion was at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon; which was about three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ.

*FERITHARIS, the second King of Scotland, began to reign in the year before Christ, 306.*

Fergus at his death left two sons, Ferlegus and Mainus; but as neither of them was yet able to undertake the government, the chiefs of the clans met together to appoint a successor. This produced great contentions amongst them; some urging the late oath, by which they had bound themselves to preserve the sceptre in the Fergusian family; and others alleging the great hazards they should run under an infant king. At last, after long dispute, a medium was found out; whereby neither the son under age, and unfit for the government, should actually reign, nor their oath be violated. It was therefore settled, that, whilst the children of their kings were infants, one of the kindred, deemed most accomplished for the office, should act as regent; and on his death, the succession pass to the sons of the former king. This law prevailed for almost 1274 years, until the days of Kenneth III., of whom I shall speak in his place. By virtue of this regulation, Feritharis, the brother of Fergus, obtained the kingdom, and managed it fifteen years, with an equity and moderation that gave universal satisfaction to his subjects, while the orphans or pupils, for whom he acted, experienced in him a faithful guardian. But though, by his conduct, he procured peace abroad, and gained the love of his people at home; he could not allay the ambition of his kindred. For Ferlegus, being inflamed with the desire to reign, first communicated his design to the most turbulent of the soldiers, particularly those who were fond of innovation; and having secured them in his interest, he came to his uncle, and demanded of him the crown, which he held, as he alleged, not as his own, but in trust only for him. Feritharis, instead of being disturbed at this rash undertaking of the young man, called an assembly of the states together, and declared to them that he was ready to resign the regal sceptre, adding also many words in commendation of his nephew; with regard to himself, he said he had rather freely and willingly resign the kingdom, with which he was entrusted, now, than wait until death, which was near at hand, should deprive him of it; that so his fidelity towards his relatives might appear to be more the effect of good-will than of necessity. But such was the respect and love which all bore to Feritharis, that they utterly disapproved of this inordinate desire of

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the kingdom in Ferlegus, and manifested it by the severity of their looks, and loud acclamations of the whole convention. Notwithstanding this discovery of the treachery of Ferlegus, in conspiring against his uncle, for which he was judged worthy of death; yet the convention, out of respect to the memory of Fergus, and by the desire of Feritharis, did not proceed to that extremity. It was deemed proper, however, to place guards and spies over Ferlegus to watch his actions, and prevent any evil designs which he might entertain. Impatient of this restraint, he contrived, with a few associates, to elude the vigilance of his keeper, and escape first to the Picts, but finding no encouragement in his purposes from them, he passed over to the Britons, where he lived an obscure, and consequently an ignoble, life. Feritharis died a few months after, but whether by disease or treachery is uncertain. The former ambition of Ferlegus, the detection of his conspiracy, and his late flight, raised such suspicions against him of being privy to the death of his uncle, that he was unanimously condemned in his absence. This happened about the fifteenth year after his father's decease.

*MAINUS, the third King, began to reign B. C. 290.*

Ferlegus being condemned, Mainus was chosen third king of the Scots; a man more like his father and uncle, than his brother. He confirmed and settled peace with his neighbours abroad, punished the wicked and profligate at home, and constantly performed religious exercises; whereby he procured such a character for justice and piety, that both foreigners, as well as his own subjects, held him in great reverence, insomuch that he was better guarded by this opinion of his sanctity, than by his military forces. After reigning twenty-nine years, he died greatly lamented by all good men.

*DORNADILLA, the fourth King, began his reign B. C. 261.*

He left behind him a son and successor, called Dornadilla; who, in point of equity resembled his father, but was very unlike him in the other parts of his life. For he spent much of his time in hunting, as judging that exercise to be not only proper and healthful in a time of peace, but also very beneficial to harden the body for war. By this exercise, the mind indeed receives the purest pleasures, and is mightily strengthened against covetousness, luxury, and other vices, which spring from idleness. Report says, that the laws about hunting, which the old Scots observe to this day, were of his institution. He died in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.

*NOTHATUS, the fifth King, began his reign B. C. 233.*

After his death, the people placed his brother, Nothatus, on the throne; because his own son Reuther was too young for such a charge. This Nothatus changed the form of government, which till then had been moderate, and bounded with laws, into an arbitrary domination; and, as if his subjects had been given him to prey upon, not to defend, he punished high and low, promiscuously, with forfeiture of goods, banishment, death, and every kind of misery, so that scarcely any addition could be made to his cruelty. By these severities most of the people were rendered abject; which made one Dowal, of Galloway, an ambitious man, think it a seasonable opportunity to advance himself, particularly as he knew that his own life was insidiously aimed at by the king. Accordingly, having prepared every thing for his purpose, and being accompanied by a great number of his vassals and friends, he presented himself before the tyrant, and openly upbraided him with having murdered the nobility, confiscated their goods and estates, and enslaved the commonalty; at the same time demanding of him the surrender of the kingdom, which he was unable to manage, to the right heir. Nothatus, though thus unexpectedly insulted, was not confounded, but answered peremptorily, that he would maintain what he had done, by his kingly prerogative; adding, that if he had carried it somewhat despotically, it was to be imputed not to his own disposition, but to the contumacy of his subjects, who had compelled him thereto.

These taunts increased the animosities between them, so that at last it came to blows, and Nothatus was slain by Dowal and his partisans, after he had reigned cruelly and avariciously twenty years.

REUTHER, *the sixth King, began his reign B. C. 213.*

This done, Reuther was made king by the party of Dowal, without the suffrages of the people. The nobles hearing of it, though they judged Nothatus to have merited the worst of punishments, yet did not approve so bad an example; which they resented the more, because, instead of calling a public convention, the choice of the chief magistrate had been assumed at the will and pleasure of one man. Besides, they thought it wrong in him thus to advance a young man to the chief power, who was as yet unfit to rule. Some, however, who had more penetration than the rest, saw that only the name of king would be given to Reuther, while the whole power would reside in Dowal. Perhaps, indeed, it did not much concern the people, whether Nothatus or Dowal were king, unless they hoped for a more tolerable life under him; who, being a private man, durst venture to murder his king, and so deliver over the sceptre to another in a covert manner, than under one who was not so extreme or cruel in his government, till, availing himself of their permission, he should become powerful, and possessed of an army. The kindred of Nothatus, in consequence of the reports which were spread abroad, insinuated themselves into the company of those who were disaffected at what was going on; and at last prevailed so far, that war should be declared against Dowal; and that Ferchard, the son-in-law of Nothatus, should be general of their army. Dowal was not backward on his part, but fought two battles in one day; in the last of which he was unsuccessful, and though superior in number, yet his followers were beaten and put to flight, more being slain in the pursuit than in the action. Dowal himself fell with the chief of his faction, and also Gethus, the king of the Picts, with many of his men. Reuther, the new king, was taken prisoner, and pardoned, out of respect to his youth, the memory of his father, and the royal blood which ran in his veins. Neither was the victory unbloody, even to the conquerors, almost all the chiefs of the clans being slain, together with many of the soldiers. This conflict reduced the interests of the Scots and Picts to such a low state, that the survivors fled into desert and mountainous places, and even into the neighbouring islands, lest they should become a prey to the Britons; who, having now got the opportunity which they had long thirsted after, penetrated into the country, as far as Bodotria, now called Forth, without any resistance. After making a little settlement there, they went forward against the Caledonians, and having dispersed those who had collected to oppose them, they seized upon the plain countries of the Picts, wherein they placed garrisons; then, thinking the war to be at an end, they returned home with their army. In the mean time, the scattered Scots and Picts, who had retired to the mountains, woods, and other inaccessible places, harassed the governors of castles and garrisons by robbing them of their cattle and sustenance; and being increased by the accession of greater forces from the islands, they sometimes burnt villages, and plundered far and near, so that the ground was left without tillage in many places. The Britons, either being detained by internal dissensions, or not thinking it prudent to lead their army into such difficult and almost inaccessible places, where the force of the enemy was equal to their own, did, by these slow proceedings, increase the boldness of their opponents. The Scots and Picts were thus miserably afflicted twelve years, during which period a new race of warlike youths grew up, inured, by the great straits which they had undergone, to a hardy life. Messengers were now despatched in various quarters, calling upon the people to fresh exertions. Reuther, in consequence, crossed from Ireland into the *Æludæ*, and thence into Albium. Having landed his forces in the bay now called *Loch Brien*, he there joined with his brother-in-law Gethus, the son of the elder Gethus, and these two consulted together concerning the management of the war. In the issue of this conference, it was deemed best to approach the enemy secretly, whilst unprepared. When they encountered each other, the service was so hot, and the fight so sharp, that neither army had reason to boast; so

that both of them, being wearied with slaughter, made peace for some years. Reutha, or (as Bede calls him) Reuda, returned to his ancient seat of Argyle; and the Scots were, a long time after, from him, called Dalreudini; for Daal, in the old Scottish language, signifieth a part, as some say, or a meadow or plain, as others affirm. From thence this chief made a farther progress, and in a short time enlarged his dominions to their ancient bounds. After a reign of twenty-six years, he died, leaving by his wife, the third daughter of old Gethus, a son named Thereus.

*REUTHA, the seventh King, began his reign B. C. 187.*

As Thereus was yet hardly ten years old, and therefore too young to undertake the kingdom, according to the established law of succession, his father's brother Reutha was declared king. This prince, being free from wars abroad, endeavoured to reduce the people, who were grown almost wild by their former sufferings, and also insolent upon their late victory, though a bloody one, into a milder carriage and deportment. Accordingly he enacted many public and profitable laws, of which not a few yet remain amongst the Scots. After reigning so well seventeen years, revered and beloved by all; either for want of health, as he alleged, or else fearing the ambitious nature of his nephew Thereus, he resigned the government. The people, however, were with difficulty brought to give their consent to this measure; and on his retirement from the regal state, there was a large panegyric made in his praise.

*THEREUS, the eighth King, began his reign B. C. 170.*

Thereus was substituted in his stead. In the first six years of his reign, he so managed the government, that Reutha's predictions concerning him seemed to be true. But at the expiration of that time, he ran headlong into all manner of vice, putting the nobles to death upon false charges, and suffering lewd fellows, without fear, to range over all the kingdom, committing rapine and robbery at their pleasure. The Phylarchi, or chiefs of the clans, lamenting the deplorable state of the country, determined to proceed judiciously against Thereus, of which being apprized, he fled to the Britons; among whom, without any hope of a return, he ended his days in contempt and ignominy. In the mean time, Conan, a prudent and regular person, was elected viceroy; who restored and strengthened what the other had impaired and weakened. He also checked the licentiousness of robbers; and put affairs into as good order as he could. While thus engaged, the intelligence arrived of the death of Thereus, upon which, in a public assembly or convention of the states, he abdicated the magistracy, about the twelfth year after the accession of that prince.

*JOSINA, the ninth King, began his reign B. C. 161.*

On the death of Thereus, Josina, his brother, was raised to the seat of government. He did nothing memorable in any other way than that of patronizing the practitioners of medicine; because, when he was banished with his father into Ireland, persons of that profession had been his chief companions. In consequence of this, the nobility followed the humour of the king, so that for many ages there was scarce a person of distinction in Scotland who was not skilled in the art of curing wounds; there being then but little call for the other parts of physic amongst men who were educated parsimoniously, and inured to labour and toil. This king died in a good old age, having reigned twenty-four years.

*FINNAN, the tenth King, began his reign, B. C. 137.*

His son Finnan succeeded him, who walked in his father's steps, and endeavoured principally to accustom his subjects to a just and moderate government. He laboured to maintain his regal authority more by good-will than force; and in order to cut up the root of tyranny, he made a decree, "That kings should determine or command nothing of great concern or importance without the authority of their great council." He died beloved both by his subjects and foreigners, after a reign of thirty years. He is said to have been much devoted to the Druidical superstitions.

*DURSTUS, the eleventh King, began to reign B. C. 107*

Nothing so much aggravated the loss of Finnan, as the prodigate and debauched life of his son Durstus, who succeeded him. In the first place, he banished from his presence the friends of his father, as the troublesome controllers of his pleasures; then he made the most corrupt youth his familiar associates, and gave himself wholly up to wine and women. He also repudiated his wife, the daughter of the king of the Britons, and even prostituted her to his minions. At length, perceiving that the nobility were conspiring against him, he seemed to awake out of a deep sleep; but, aware that he was not safe at home, nor knowing where, if banished, to find a secure place abroad, in regard he was so hated both by his subjects and strangers too, he thought it his best course to pretend a repentance of his former evil life, by that means thinking he might retain the regal government, and in time be also revenged of his enemies. Accordingly, in the first place, he recalled his wife, thinking thereby to make friends of the Britons. He next assembled the chiefs of his subjects, and, under a solemn oath to do so no more, he obtained an amnesty for what was past. He also committed notorious criminals to prison, as if he had reserved them for farther punishment; and religiously promised, that for the future he would do nothing without the counsel of his nobles. When, by these arts, he had made others believe that he was a true convert, he celebrated this reconciliation and concord with plays, feasting, and other entertainments proper for public rejoicings. Thus while all men's minds were elated, he invited the nobility to supper; and then, having secured them in one place, unarmed and fearing nothing, he sent in his ruffians, who destroyed every one of them. This perfidy, instead of daunting the rest with fear, raised and inflamed their anger; wherefore, gathering a great army, they all conspired to rid the earth of so foul a monster. Durstus perceiving that all other hope failed him, now resolved to try his fortune in a battle, assisted by a few who had been led to join him from the fear of punishment for the wickedness of their former lives. In this fight Durstus was slain, after he had reigned nine years; and though all orders and estates were justly incensed against him, yet they paid so much deference to the regal character, and the memory of his family, that they interred him with his predecessors.

*EVENUS, the twelfth King, began to reign B. C. 98.*

After this there was a very great contest, in a public assembly of the nobles, some alleging, that, according to their oath made to king Fergus, the ancient custom was to be observed; others fearing, that if they made any one of the kindred of Durstus king, either the similitude of manners would incline him to the same wickedness, or else the propinquity of blood would induce him to study revenge. At last, Evenus, cousin-german, by the father's side, to Durstus, on account of his character, and his extreme hatred against that tyrant, to avoid whom he had sought an asylum among the Picts, was sent for, and unanimously elected king. He is said to have been the first who made his subjects take an oath of allegiance to him, which custom is yet retained by the heads of the clans. Evenus, that he might rectify the manners of his subjects, which were depraved by the former king, brought back the youth to the ancient simplicity in diet, apparel, and conversation; thinking that thereby they would be more valiant in war, and obedient in peace. He diligently visited all parts of his kingdom, administering justice with great moderation, and punishing offenders according to their demerits. He assisted the king of the Picts with aid against the Britons, betwixt whom was fought a long and cruel battle till night parted them; the victory being so uncertain, that both armies separated with equal slaughter and fear. The Britons returned home, while the Scots and Picts retired into the adjacent mountains. But the day after, perceiving, from the high grounds, the flight of their enemies, they came and gathered up the spoils, which they carried away as if they had been the conquerors. Evenus having repelled his enemies, again betook himself to the arts of peace; and that his successors might not have the trouble to travel over the country so often for the administering justice, as

was then the custom, he divided the kingdom into circuits, and settled ordinary judges to do that work. He also appointed informers to bring in accusations against the guilty; but that office being found odious, was either abrogated by a law, or became obsolete by custom. He died in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving a base-born son, called Gillus, a man of craft and ambition.

*GILLUS, the thirteenth King, began his reign B. C. 79.*

There were at this time living of the blood-royal, two legitimate twins, Dochamus and Dorgallus, the sons of Durstus. Though their age could not be the cause of the difference, yet there arose a deadly feud between them concerning the kingdom; which was also farther increased by the fraud of Gillus. The matter being referred to the arbitration of their kindred, such was the obstinacy of the factions, that nothing could be determined. Gillus advised each of them to kill his rival, but finding that his secret counsel took no effect, he assembled the chief of the nobles and his kindred, under the pretext of settling the difference; but while they were deliberating, certain persons planted there for the purpose contrived to raise a tumult, and the two brothers were slain. Gillus, counterfeiting fear for his own life, implored the aid of all that were present, and afterwards fled to Evonium, a place that had been fortified by king Evenus. Having garrisoned this fort with some of the nobility, and other persons, he from an elevated place in the castle made a long oration to the people, who in great multitudes were gathered about him, concerning the rashness and obstinacy of the two brothers; and at the same time inveighing also against the assassins by whom they were killed. In the conclusion he told them, that he was left by Evenus guardian of the kingdom, as well as of his domestic affairs, till a new sovereign should be chosen. When the people heard this, though they believed it false, yet when they saw him so strong, for fear of a greater mischief, they instantly swore fealty to him, and declared him king. But though he had secured the consent of the people, still, not thinking himself safe from the posterity of Durstus, as long as any of them were alive, he resolved to destroy his nephews. Of these children of Dochamus, the son of Durstus, there now remained three, whose names were, Lismorus, Gormachus, and Ederus. These youths were educated in the Isle of Man, whither Gillus went, on pretence of bringing them home; and to the two elder he behaved with great reverence and respect, carrying them with him into Albium, under the artful plea, that as they were of a royal stock, they should be brought up in his court, suitable to their princely quality. As for Ederus, the younger, he left him guarded by soldiers, who were to kill him on an appointed day. But the disposition of Gillus being well known to all, the nurse, suspecting treachery to be hatching against the child, conveyed him by night secretly into the country of Argyle, where she bred him up for some years privately in a cave under ground. Gillus being exasperated by his disappointment, put the two eldest brothers, together with their keepers, to death: but on being informed that Ederus was conveyed to Ireland, he gave over making any farther search after him. His cruelty, however, rested not here; for though he had slain the nephews of Durstus, yet, not judging himself sufficiently secure as long as any one of the royal progeny was left alive, he caused all those who bore any alliance or friendship to them to be also put to death. The nobles, grieved at this state of affairs, and thinking that what was bad at present, would gradually become worse, entered into a combination against him, and carried the matter with so much secrecy, that a war was begun against Gillus, before he had notice that any preparations were making towards it. But in levying an army against his opposers, he soon perceived how inconstant the fealty of man is toward wicked and flagitious princes: for there were very few who came to him at his summons; and those who did were such dissolute characters as were afraid of peace, on account of the wickedness of their former lives. Gillus, therefore, distrusting his forces, left his army, and passed in a fishing-boat over to Ireland. In the mean time, the Scots, that they might not be without a legal government, made Cadwal, the chief of those who had combined against Gillus, their



viceroy; to whom, upon an accommodation, the forces of his enemy submitted, and were received into his protection. When Cadwal understood that Gillus was about to renew the war, and, in order to it, was raising as many debauched persons as he could, he resolved to prevent him before he could gather an army, and so to pursue him wheresoever he fled. The first thing he did was to sail into the Æbudæ, or Hebrides; where he caused Ederus, the only branch of the family of Durstus then alive, to be brought to him, and gave orders for his liberal and royal education. Gillus, on hearing this, returned again into Ireland; and there engaged the clans of that nation to attempt his restoration, promising, in case of success, to give them the Æbudæ islands for their reward; by which allurements he collected a great army. Cadwal in the mean time having prepared all things for his enterprise, was suddenly called back, to clear himself from a false suspicion of affecting or aspiring to the kingly government.

*EVENUS II. the fourteenth King, began his reign B. C. 77.*

Under these circumstances, Cadwal in the first place exerted himself in procuring the election of Evenus, an eminent person, and the son of Doval, brother to king Finnan, to the regal title. Evenus having accepted the government, caused all places which were exposed to his enemies, especially those on the coast, to be filled with strong garrisons, that so his enemies might not without resistance make a sudden descent into his kingdom. Gillus, apprized of this, altered his resolution, and sailed to the isle of Isla, where he wasted the country all around with fire and sword, and then returned into Ireland. Evenus sent a great army thither, under the command of Cadwal, that so he might cut the enemy off at the fountain head. Gillus on his part was not inactive; but being deserted by his men, who followed him for booty rather than affection, he changed his apparel, and, with a small company, fled into a neighbouring wood. The rest of the army, being thus deserted both by their general and fellow-soldiers, yielded to Cadwal. After the battle was ended, they sought a long time for Gillus, and at last found him in a dark cave, where he was slain, the third year after the commencement of his reign, and his head was brought to Cadwal. But though matters were thus happily settled in Ireland, Cadwal was far from fortunate in his passage, for being tossed up and down in a grievous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his army, and all the spoils they had gotten. This misfortune affected his spirits to such a degree, that not long after he died of grief. The king endeavoured in vain to comfort him, by extolling him for his valour and success in war, and casting all his miseries upon the perverseness of fortune. The new monarch, elated by this success, renewed a peace with the Picts; and, to secure it, took to wife the daughter of Gctus, the third king of that nation. But the sudden arrival and landing in Albium of the people of Orkney, quickly disturbed the public joy. Evenus, however, fell suddenly upon them, drove them out of the field to the mountains, and from thence to the sea; where in their fright and hurry, whilst crowding and hindering one another in endeavouring to embark again, they all perished; and Belus, their king, despairing to obtain quarter, slew himself. Evenus, having finished the war, returned to the work of peace, and founded two towns for trade in convenient places, namely, Inverlochy and Inverness, both of them receiving their names from rivers running near them; for *Baner*, amongst the ancient Scots, signifies a place where ships may come to land. Evenus also subdued the inhabitants of the Æbudæ, who, by reason of their long wars, were grown extremely licentious and quarrelsome. After reconciling their animosities, and appeasing their disturbances, the king soon after died, having reigned seventeen years.

*EDERUS, the fifteenth King, began his reign B. C. 60.*

On the decease of Evenus, Ederus, the son of Dochamus, was made king, who, whilst he was reaping the sweet fruits of peace, which had been established both at home and abroad, and giving himself up, according to the ancient custom of the nation, to the sports of the field, received the sudden news, that one Bredius, an islander, related to the tyrant Gillus, had landed with a great army,

and was plundering the country. Upon this, Ederus presently collected his forces in considerable numbers, with whom he marched as silently as he could in the night, and having passed by the camp of his enemies, set upon their ships in the road, which, by this surprise, were easily mastered, and burnt. In the morning, he led his army against the camp, which he easily took, for the soldiers being negligent, and in disorder, many were slain on the spot, hesitating whether to fight or fly; while the rest, having their escape by sea prevented by the burning of their ships, were taken and executed. Where the booty could be ascertained, it was restored to the owners. A few years after this, another of the kindred of Gillus, and from the same island, raised a similar commotion, with the like event and success; for his army was overthrown, his fleet burnt, and the plunder recovered. Thus having settled a firm peace, Ederus, being very old, fell sick, and died in the 48th year of his reign.

*EVENUS III. the sixteenth King, began to reign B. C. 12.*

He was succeeded by Evenus III. a son unworthy of so good a father, for not content with one hundred concubines of the noblest families, he published his impurities and his shame to the world. For he made decrees by which every man might marry as many wives as he was able to maintain; and he also enacted, that before the marriage of a nobleman's daughter, the king should have one night's lodging with her; while the nobles should enjoy the like privilege in regard to the wives and daughters of their vassals. Luxury, cruelty, and covetousness, followed, as they commonly do, this flagitious wickedness. For the income and revenue of the king not answering his expense, he contrived, upon pretended causes, to put the wealthier part of his subjects to death. He also encouraged thieves, and went shares with them, so that criminals were never punished. Thus the favour which he at first gained by indulging young men in promiscuous lusts, was again lost by his cruelty and rapaciousness. A conspiracy of the nobles being formed against him, he soon perceived that the pretended friendship and union of the wicked was not to be relied upon. For, as soon as his soldiers came to fight, he was deserted by them, and fell alive into the hands of his enemies, by whom he was thrown into the common gaol; and, at the requisition of Cadallanus, who succeeded him as regent, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But there one of his enemies, either out of some old grudge for injuries received from him, or else hoping to gain favour or impunity by the murder of the king, strangled him by night in the prison, when he had reigned seven years. The murderer, however, was executed for his wickedness.

*METELLANUS the seventeenth King, began his reign B. C. 4.*

Metellanus, the relative of Ederus, succeeded Evenus in the throne; a prince no less dear to all for his excellent virtues, than his predecessor was hated by them for his abominable vices. He was so highly prized and esteemed on account of his amiable character, that, during his reign, there was peace both at home and abroad. But it was some alloy to his happiness, that he could not abrogate the filthy laws of Evenus, being hindered by his nobility, who were too much addicted to luxury. His demise was in the thirtieth year of his reign.

*CARACTACUS, the eighteenth King, began his reign A. D. 35.*

On the death of Metellanus, without issue, the kingdom was conferred on Caractacus, the son of Cadallanus, a young man of the royal blood. Soon after his accession to the throne, he reduced to submission, but not without trouble, the people of the *Æbudæ* islands, who had raised commotions upon the death of their last king. Yet here I cannot easily believe what our writers, following Orosius, Eutropius, and Bede, relate, viz. That the Orcades were subdued by Claudius Cæsar, in this reign. Not that I think it a very hard thing for him to attempt a few islands, one by one, which lay scattered up and down in a stormy sea, and having but a few, and those unarmed, inhabitants to defend them, who could not mutually help one another; nor do I think

it incredible, that a navy might be sent by Claudius on that expedition, he being a man, as Orosius says, who sought for war and victory all the world over; but because Tacitus affirms, that, before the coming of Julius Agricola into Britain, that part of it was utterly unknown to the Romans, the story is improbable. This Caractacus reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his brother

*CORBRED, the nineteenth King, who began to reign A. D. 55.*

He also subdued the islanders in many expeditions, a people that, almost in every interregnum, affected innovation, and excited new tumults. He likewise quite suppressed the banditti, which most infested the commonalty. Having settled peace, he returned to Albium, and making his progress over all Scotland, repaired the places that had been injured by war, and, in the eighteenth year of his reign, departed this life.

*DARDANUS, the twentieth King, began his reign A. D. 72.*

On the death of Corbred, the convention of states placed Dardanus, the nephew of Metellanus, on the throne, passing by the son of the late king, because of his young and tender years. No man before him ever came to the crown, of whom greater expectations were conceived, and no one ever more egregiously deceived the hopes of the people. Previous to his accession, he gave great proof of liberality, temperance, and fortitude; so that at the beginning of his reign he was a tolerably good king; but, by the time he had sat three years on the throne, he ran headlong into all sorts of wickedness. He banished the sober and prudent counsellors of his predecessor, because they were adverse to his lewd practices. Only flatterers, and such as could invent new pleasures, were his bosom friends. Cardor, his own kinsman, who had been chief justice and chancellor in the former reign, was put to death, for venturing to remonstrate with him on account of his licentiousness. After this, many other persons, merely on account of their virtue or wealth, were, on various pretences, deprived of life. At last, to free himself from the fears of a successor, he formed the resolution of destroying Corbred Galdus, his kinsman, and also his brothers, who were royally educated with a view to the kingdom. The charge of this assassination was committed to Cormorac, one of his intimate friends. This man, being prevailed with by many gifts, but more promises, was sent to perpetrate the villany; but attempting it with less caution than such a butchery required, he was taken in the attempt, with a naked falchion in his hand, by some of the people of Galdus; and on being put to the torture, made a full confession of the crime, and so was executed immediately. This wicked plot being divulged abroad, occasioned a general combination of nearly all classes of people against the king: insomuch that having slain many of those who were panders to his lust, as fast as they could be met with, they endeavoured at last to make their way to the tyrant himself, as the source and fountain of all mischief. In the mean time, Conan, one of the king's parasites, a man of mean descent, but highly esteemed and intrusted by his master, levied some troops, and had the confidence to send them against the nobles; but, being deserted by them, he was taken and hanged. The commons, having now obtained Galdus for their general, seized upon Dardanus, who was seeking for a hiding-place to secure himself. Just as they were about to take him, he attempted suicide; but, being prevented, was brought to Galdus, who caused him to be immediately put to death. His head was carried about in mockery, and his body thrown into a common sewer, after a reign of four years.

*CORBRED II. the twenty-first King, began to reign A. D. 76.*

Corbred II. surnamed Galdus, succeeded him; a prince equally dear to the lords and the common people, as well for the early proofs which he had given of his personal virtue and promising ingenuity, as for the memory of his worthy father. Some imagine, that he was that Galgacus who is mentioned by Tacitus, and that he was surnamed Galdus by the Scots, because he had been educated amongst the Britons. For the Scots, according to their ancient custom, term all strangers Galds, or Galls; as the Germans call them

Wals, as I have already shewn more at large. After assuming the government, he increased the great hopes which had been preconceived of him; for, making an expedition into the islands of Sky and Lewis, he quelled the seditions which had been lately raised there, and suffered to gather to a head, by the negligence of Dardanus. He also distinguished himself in this like a good prince, with a due and prudent mixture of mercy and severity. He put to death the leaders of those banditti, and forced the rest, for fear of punishment, either to go into voluntary exile, or else to return to their former rural employments. He, as I believe, was the first of the Scottish kings that ever advanced his ensigns against the Romans, who had, by little and little, extended their empire even to his very borders. For Petilius Cerealis first broke the forces of the Brigantes, and his successor Julius Frontinus conquered the Silures.

It is very probable, that the Scots and Picts sent succours to those nations which lay near their dominions. Julius Agricola, who succeeded the former generals, having overcame the Ordovices and reduced the isle of Mona or Man, when he came to the narrowest part of Britain, thinking that it was not far to the end of the island, was encouraged to undertake the conquest of the whole. Accordingly, in the third year after his arrival, he invaded and plundered the neighbouring countries of the Scots and Picts, until he came to the river Tay; and though his army was much distressed by the rigour of the season, yet he had time to build forts in all places convenient for defence; by which means he defeated the designs of his enemies, and withal broke their force. For hitherto the adverse party, being men inured to hardship, would, though they lost ground every summer, very frequently recover it back again in winter, when the Roman legions were dispersed into winter-quarters: and sometimes they would assault and take those castles and garrisons of the enemy which were not sufficiently fortified. At this time, however, by the skill of Agricola in building forts, and by his diligence in making them defensible, but chiefly by relieving them with his forces every year, their attempts were defeated. In the fourth year of his government, perceiving that the friths of the Forth and Clyde were only divided by a small tract of land, he fortified that part with garrisons, and then spoiled the countries which lay towards the Irish sea. In his fifth year, he fitted out a fleet, with which he made descents in many places, and after plundering the maritime coasts, erected fortifications, and placed garrisons in them on a line opposite to Ireland, with a view not only for present advantage, but also that he might from thence more easily transport an army to that country. By this prudence of Agricola, the Scots and Picts were shut up in a narrow corner, and being thus secluded from any commerce with the Britons, prepared themselves for the last great shock, the decisive blow; neither was Agricola less careful, but commanding his navy to fetch a compass about, to discover the utmost parts of the island, he led his army beyond the Forth, and drew towards the Caledonians. The enemy being here drawn as in a desperate case to their last hazard, assaulted some of the Roman garrisons; who were struck with such terror, that some of them, fearing either the number of their foes, or their obstinacy, were of opinion, that it would be best for them to retreat with their army into a place of greater safety. But the general, being resolved to fight, when he was informed that the enemy approached him in three brigades, drew towards them, after dividing his army into three squadrons, which project had nearly proved his utter ruin. For the enemy, perceiving his design, concentrated their entire force, and made an assault on one of his legions by night, and having killed the sentinels, were almost in possession of the whole camp. But the timely arrival of the other legions put a stop to their progress, and after fighting desperately till daylight, they were at length put to flight, and retreated into the mountains and woods. These actions happened about the eighth year of the expedition of Agricola. Both parties now prepared themselves, as for the finishing stroke, against the ensuing spring: the Romans expecting, that one victory would put an end to the war; and their opponents considering their all to be at stake; and that they were to fight for their liberty, lives, and for all that is dear and sacred amongst men. Reflecting therefore, that in former battles they were overcome by stratagem rather than

valour, they betook themselves to the higher grounds; and, at the foot of Mount Grampius, waited the approach of the Romans. There a bloody fight began betwixt them; and the victory hung a great while in suspense; till at last, all the valiant men of the Caledonians being slain, the rest, dispersed, were forced to retreat to their fastnesses. After this battle, Agricola would doubtless have completed the subjugation of all Britain, had he not been called home by Domitian; not to do him honour on account of his victories, though that was the pretext, but to accomplish his destruction and death. On his departure, sedition rose very high in the Roman camp; which greatly rejoiced the Scots and Picts, who being much encouraged thereby, began to creep out of their hiding places, and perceiving that the Romans had neither the same general nor discipline as before, they sent messengers about to try the inclination, not only of their own countrymen, but likewise of the Britons. Thus emboldened by the advantages which they obtained in some small skirmishes, they began to take fresh courage, and ventured to assault garrisons, till at last, with a regular army, they resolved to run the hazard of a pitched battle. By this means the Romans were driven out of their territories, and forced, with doubtful success, to contend with the Britons for their ancient province. Galdus having gained a respite from arms, made a progress over all the districts of the country, and resettled the old owners in their habitations, which had been almost destroyed by the war, while in those parts that were wholly depopulated, he placed his soldiers. He restrained robberies which were very prevalent in his time, and composed the differences that had begun to arise betwixt his people and the Picts. At length in great glory and esteem, both with friends and foes, he died in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

*LUCTACUS, the twenty-second King, began his reign A. D. 110.*

This good father was succeeded by Luctacus, who was as bad a son: for despising the counsel of his nobles, he gave himself wholly up to wine and women. Neither nearness of alliance, reverence of the laws, respect of nobility, or conjugal relation, could restrain him from violating those unfortunate persons whose beauty attracted his notice. Besides this, he was brutally cruel, and insatiably covetous. The young, who are always inclinable to the worse, too soon and too easily degenerated into the manners of their king. So that at last, after defiling the nation with lust, rapine, and slaughter, when a single man durst oppose his exorbitant power; an assembly of the states was convened, in which some of the nobles spoke so freely concerning the state of the kingdom, that he commanded them, as seditious persons, to be led out to execution. This raised the people against him in such numbers that he and the hated ministers of his vices were slain, when he had scarcely finished the third year of his reign. Out of honour to his father, his body was allowed to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors; but his associates were ignominiously exposed, and had not the privilege of common burial.

*MOGALDUS, or MOGALLUS, the twenty-third King, began his reign A. D. 113.*

After him, Mogaldus the grandson of Galdus, and nephew to Luctacus by the mother's side, was elected king. At the beginning of his reign he equalled the best of princes; but, when he grew older, he was tainted with vices, and degenerated into the manners of his uncle. At his first entrance on the government, that he might with the greater ease reform those vicious practices of his predecessor, which had even corrupted the public manners, he made peace with his neighbours; restored the ancient ceremonies in religion, which had been carelessly neglected; banished all disorderly characters from court, and did every thing by the advice of the estates, according to the ancient custom; which deportment procured him the love of his people, and the respect of foreigners. Having settled matters at home, he next turned his mind to warlike affairs, drove the Romans from the borders of his own kingdom; and sent troops to assist the Picts against them. He also gained some prosperous battles, by which he so weakened the Roman power, that the Britons, being encouraged in the hope of recovering their

liberty, took up arms in many places. This confidence increased, when the Emperor Adrian recalled Julius Severus, a brave and skilful warrior, out of Britain into Syria, to quell the seditions of the Jews. The tumults occasioned hereby, increased to such a pitch, that at last Adrian himself was forced to cross from Gaul into Britain. But he, being a greater lover of peace than war, desired rather to maintain the bounds of his empire, than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to York, and found the country beyond it harassed by hostilities, he resolved to take a particular view of the devastation, and so marched his army to the river Tyne. Here, being informed by the old soldiers who had followed Agricola nearly to the utmost bounds of Britain, that there would be more pains than profit in conquering the rest of the island, he built a wall and trench for the space of eighty miles, between the friths of the Tyne and Esk, to exclude the Scots and Picts; and having settled the state of the province, returned back from whence he came. Here I cannot but remark incidentally, that since there yet remain several marks of this wall in many places, it is wonderful how Bede should have omitted all mention of it; especially as *Ælius Spartianus* hath taken notice of it, in the life of Adrian; and also *Herodian*, in that of Severus. I cannot persuade myself that Bede could be so mistaken, to think, as many yet do, that this wall was not made by Adrian, but by Severus.

The Roman province being placed in a state of security, the excursions of their neighbours were prevented, and peace was kept up between them for a great while. The Britons readily cherished it, and the Scots and Picts obtained hereby an opportunity of dividing the neighbouring lands amongst themselves. But this peace, besides the prejudice it did to the body, by weakening its vigour, through sloth and idleness, also enervated the mind, by the allurements of pleasure, which then began to ensnare it. For by this means *Mogaldus*, who had been hitherto unconquered in war, forgetting the glory of his ancestors, ran headlong into all kinds of vice; and, besides other pernicious and foul miscarriages prejudicial to the public, made a most iniquitous law, "That the estates of such as were condemned should be forfeited to his exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their wives or children." This law is yet observed and pleaded for by the officers of the revenue, who are willing to gratify the passions of the king, though the original framers of it then did, and those who now support it, do know, that it is an unjust and inhuman institution. *Mogaldus* having thus made himself obnoxious and hateful to the nobles and commons, being unable to resist their combinations, with one or two of his companions sought by flight to escape from their fury; but before he could execute his project, he was taken, and put to death, after a reign of thirty-six years. This was about the sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

*CONARUS, the twenty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 149.*

*Conarus* his son succeeded him, who began his reign very ill, and concluded it as unhappily. For he was not only conscious and privy to, but also a partner in, the conspiracy against his father. However, to cover his faults, at the outset there happened to break out a war, very opportunely for him. The Britons, having passed the boundary, and taken away great store of men and cattle, *Conarus*, by the advice of his council, joined his army with that of the Picts, crossed *Adrian's* wall in many places, and made great havoc in the country of the depredators; with whose forces and the Romans he maintained a great and bloody battle. The slaughter was almost equal on both sides, which occasioned peace betwixt them till the next year. As, however, the Romans were not the victors in this conflict, they regarded it in the light of a defeat, and even looked upon themselves in a manner as conquered. Their own forces being much lessened, and *Adrian* putting no great confidence in the Britons, who, as he found, conceived some hopes of liberty from his misfortunes, sent to *Antoninus Pius* for reinforcements; laying the blame of the violation of the peace upon the Scots and Picts, and of the loss and slaughter of his men, upon his allies. Upon this, the emperor sent over *Laelius Urbicus* as lieutenant-general, who overcame the enemy in a sanguinary conflict, and drove them beyond the wall of *Adrian*, which he caused to

be repaired. Afterwards there was a cessation of arms for many years, as if a silent truce had been made: for the Romans judging it sufficient for their purpose to keep the enemy from ravaging and plundering, fixed their camp on the borders; and Conarus, who loved nothing in war but the licentiousness that was the consequence of it, made haste to return home, that he might devote himself to pleasure: and now those vices, which he had before concealed, in order to gain the love of others, began to appear openly. And having, by his art of dissimulation, made the kingdom sure to him, he was just as profuse in spending his immense treasures for the gratification of his inordinate passions, as his ancestors had been diligent and industrious in procuring them; insomuch, that in a very short time he was reduced to great want. At length, convening an assembly of the estates, he made a long and plausible oration on the grandeur and splendour which was necessary for kings, and complained of the lowness of his exchequer; thus covering his vices under the specious name of gallantry and magnificence. He also became an earnest suitor, that a valuation of every man's estate should be made, and a proportionable tax imposed on each individual. This speech was very disagreeable to all who heard it, and they answered, that the matter was of more moment than to be determined on a sudden. The estates, having obtained a short time for consultation, upon asking every particular man's opinion, soon found, that this new device of demanding such a vast sum of money, did not proceed from the nobles, but from some court parasites; and accordingly they agreed to place the king, as being unfit to reign, under restraint, till, on his abjuration, they should appoint another in his stead. When they met the next day, he who was first demanded to give his vote, made a sharp speech and invective against the former part of the king's life, saying, that bawds, parasites, minstrels, and troops of harlots, were not fit instruments for government, as being not only useless in war, and troublesome in peace, but costly, and full of infamy and disgrace. He added, that it was a false complaint that the income of the king was not sufficient for his expense; since it had enabled a great number of their former sovereigns to appear formidable to their enemies in war, and to live nobly and splendidly in time of peace. But if any were of opinion that the public revenue was too narrow, then, said he, let an addition be made, not out of the pockets of the subjects, but from the king's domestic patrimony. He farther added, that the measure of expense was not to be taken from the lust and exorbitant desires of men, which were infinite, but from the ability of the people, and the real necessities of nature; and therefore it was his opinion, that those villains, upon whom the public patrimony was conferred, and for whose sake the king had ruined so many worthy persons of good rank and quality, by despoiling them of their estates, and putting them to death, should be compelled, by law, and torture too, to refund that to the lawful owners, which they had unjustly gained as the reward of their flattery. In the mean time, he advised, that the king should be kept a prisoner, till they could substitute another, who would not only inure himself to thrift, but also teach men, by his example, to live hardily and parsimoniously, as his forefathers had done: that so the strict discipline, received from their ancestors, might be transmitted to posterity.

This speech, as it was sharp enough of itself, so it seemed more cutting to those who had tender ears, and were unaccustomed to such free and bold discourses. The king, on his part, did not endeavour to allay the heats of his people by fair and gentle words, but rather, by fierce and menacing expressions, did the more vehemently inflame and provoke them. These disputes and contentions raised the commotion to such a height, that some who were next the king laid hands on him, and conveyed him, with a few others, to a cave under ground, where they imprisoned them. The courtiers who had been the authors of such wicked counsels, were presently put to death; and, to prevent any tumult of the common people upon this dissolution of the bonds of government, one Argadus, a nobleman, was made viceroy, till a public convention should assemble, to set up a new king. Argadus, though in the beginning of his administration he settled all things with great equity, and thereby procured much commendation by his moderate deportment; yet

when his mind was corrupted by prosperity, he soon lost all the credit of his former meritorious life. For he encouraged domestic factions, and strengthened his authority by foreign aids, having such great familiarity with the chief of the Picts, that he took a wife from amongst them, and gave his daughters to them in marriage; by which practice it soon appeared that he aspired to the crown. These things being laid to his charge in a public assembly, wherein he was much blamed for his sudden degeneracy and apostasy, he was altogether ashamed, and, conscious of the truth of the accusation, burst into tears. As soon as his weeping gave him liberty to speak, being unable to purge himself from the alleged crimes, he craved mercy, and humbly deprecated the punishment of his offences; "which," said he, "if I can obtain, I will recompense and make amends for my errors in government, by my future care, industry, and valour." These things he humbly supplicated upon his knees, so that the anger of the nobles being now turned into pity, they lifted him up from the ground, and directed that he should continue in the government, remitting his own punishment to himself; feeling well misused on their part, if he did now truly and heartily repent of what he had hitherto done amiss. From that day forward, Argadus assembled the wisest men of the whole kingdom about him, and did nothing but by their advice. During the remainder of his magistracy, he also enacted many laws for the good of the public; of which the chief was, the laying a restraint on the powers of the provincial judges, and forbidding them to pass the same sentence upon all offenders, without regard to the measure of the crime, or alleviating circumstances. He also either corrected, or put to death, flagitious persons; and amended the public manners, which had been corrupted through a long course of licentiousness, not only by inflicting legal punishments on transgressors of the laws, but by affording them the leading example of his own regular life. Whilst these things were acting, Conarus, partly afflicted with grief, and partly worn out by diseases, ended his loathsome and ignominious life in prison, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

*ETHODIUS, the twenty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 163.*

Ethodius, who was set up in his stead, was the sister's son of Mogaldus. He immediately called a convention of the estates, to whom he highly extolled Argadus; and, after bestowing on him great honours and large rewards, made him prime minister for the direction of the government. Having taken a survey of his dominions, according to custom, he sailed over to the Æbudæ islands, where Argadus was appointed to quell the disturbers of the public peace; who soon suppressed them, and brought them prisoners to the king. After putting down these combustions, he returned into Albium; but the islanders, freed by his absence from their present fears, deceived also by false reports, that he was engaged in a foreign war, and provoked besides, rather than suppressed, by the punishment of their associates, began to raise new tumults. Argadus, upon this, was again sent over to suppress them, but, in the battle that ensued, he was treacherously slain. This blow made the king lay aside other business, to proceed thither in person, where he so wasted time with some light occasional skirmishes, and by frequent alarms and inroads, that, feeling their inferiority in force, they retired into a valley, encompassed on all sides with craggy rocks, having only one passage leading to it, that so the conveniency of the place, as they thought, might contribute to their safety. Ethodius, perceiving that the enemy had, by this step, reduced themselves to a strait, disposed his guards in fit avenues; and also made a wall and a ditch at the mouth of the passage; by which means they were brought to such an extreme scarcity, as to be under the necessity of yielding themselves up at discretion. They were willing to accept of any conditions; but the king gave them only these, that two hundred of them, such as he chose, with their general, should be surrendered to him, and the rest return home. The punishment of those who were thus given up, being instantly inflicted, had almost raised a new sedition; for the common soldiers were so enraged at the terrible spectacle, that, for want of arms, they threw stones at the king's troops; which tumultuous fury produced much bloodshed. Thus Ethodius, having



settled peace every where, in order to the administration of justice, made a progress all over his kingdom, greatly delighting himself in hunting by the way : for which sport he made many laws, of which a great part are observed to this day. His end was melancholy, for the Irish musician or harper, who lay all night in his chamber, according to the custom of the Scottish nobility, slew him, out of revenge, for having, as he said, put a kinsman of his to death. The murderer, when he was led forth to execution, was so unconcerned at his torture, that he seemed to rejoice, as if he had only done his duty, and acted his part with applause.

*SATRAEL, the twenty-sixth King, began to reign A. D. 196.*

Ethodius being thus slain, when he had reigned near thirty-three years, and his son being not of age to govern, his brother Satrael was elected king. This wan, who was of a depraved, but cunning disposition, endeavoured to establish the kingdom in his own family, and to destroy the sons of Ethodius : in order whereunto, those nobles who were most dear to that monarch, were, by calumnies purposely devised, set aside and put to death. Afterwards, because the commons regretted the slaughter of their nobles, he began to oppress them also ; which matter, in a little time, increased the general hatred conceived against him to such a degree, and so diminished his authority, that tumults and seditions were the consequences. As he durst not appear to suppress them, because he knew that he lay under a public odium, he kept himself private in his own house, where he was slain by his own men in the night, after reigning four years.

*DONALD I. the twenty-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 199.*

Donald, another brother of Ethodius, was set up in his room, who exhibited in his whole character a perfect contrast to the vices of Satrael, by as great and many opposite virtues. This prince's clemency, joined with his love of equity, did very much enhance the value of his other excellencies. He, by the terror and weight of his authority, and also by inflicting punishments promptly, quelled all intestine commotions ; and in order that the soldiery, who were before wanton and idle, and spoiled by luxury, might be rendered more ready to resist an enemy, he caused a muster of them to be made, and accustomed them to training and exercising their arms, and military discipline, by which means, in a short time, the new recruits equalled the valour of the veteran troops. The peace which he enjoyed abroad, greatly forwarded his purposes. The Roman legions, some few years before, had made a mutiny in Britain, as desiring any other general rather than Commodus, and especially Ælius Pertinax, who had been sent to suppress them ; so that leaving the Scots and Picts, they turned their arms against one another. It was also a farther advantage to the pacific objects of Donald, that he, first of all the Scottish kings, embraced the Christian religion ; though neither himself nor some of his successors, even with the assistance of a great part of the nobility, who favoured the design, could wholly extirpate the old heathenish rites and ceremonies. But the expedition of the emperor Severus, which happened in his time, greatly disturbed all his measures, both public and private. For Severus, being very skillful in military affairs, brought more forces into Britain, with a view to the conquest of the island, than ever any Roman general had done before. Among other causes for this expedition, one was the dissolute conduct of his sons, occasioned by the vices reigning in Rome, and the effeminacy of the army, the consequence of sloth and want of employment. To remedy these mischiefs, he thought it best to put them upon action. Soon after his arrival, the private tumults, which were then breaking forth, were suppressed, and the Scots and Picts, leaving the countries near the enemy, retreated to places of greater safety, and more difficult of access. Severus, that he might, once for all, put an end to the British wars, led his army through all the waste places that had been abandoned by their former inhabitants, against the Caledonians. Though these enemies did not dare to give him battle in the field, he was much incommoded by the coldness of the country, and underwent a great deal of trouble, felling woods, levelling hills, filling up the marshy grounds, and erecting bridges over rivers, to make a

passage for his army. In the mean time, the Caledonians, too fearful to fight so great a multitude in a pitched battle, left, scattered about, herds of cattle, on purpose to delay and draw off the Romans, who, for the sake of the booty, were easily enticed to stray far from their camp. Accordingly, many being thus dispersed, were taken in the ambushes laid for them, while others, injured by continual rains, or wearied with long marches, were not able to follow, and fell in many places by their companions, that so they might not fall alive into the hands of their enemies. But though the Romans, according to Dion, lost fifty thousand of their soldiers, they did not give up their enterprise till they had penetrated even to the end and extreme bounds of the island. As for Severus himself, though he was so sick during this whole expedition, as to be carried in a covered horse-litter; yet, by his incredible firmness and perseverance, he compelled his enemies to accept conditions of peace, and to yield up to him no small part of their country. He also built a wall, as a mound to the Roman empire, between the friths of Forth and Clyde; where Agricola, before him, had also determined to bound their province. This wall, in that part which toucheth the river Carron, had a garrison on it, so situated, and the ways and passages so laid out, that it was like a small city; which some of our countrymen, by mistake, think to be Maldon; but it is more probable, that this was the city which Bede calls Guidi. A few years before this was written, some footsteps of trenches, walls, and streets, appeared; neither yet are the walls so demolished, but that they discover themselves visibly in many places; and when the earth is a little dug up, square stones are drawn out, which the owners of the neighbouring countries use in building their houses. Nay, sometimes stones with inscriptions on them are found, which shew that it was a Roman pile of building. These words of *Ælius Spartianus* demonstrate the noble grandeur of the structure; "He strengthened Britain by a wall drawn across the island, from sea to sea, which is the greatest ornament of the empire." By these words he seems to intimate, that it was not a trench, as Bede would have it, but a wall; especially since he gives such a commendation to a work, which is shorter by half than the wall of Adrian. Nay, this fortification, at the nearest distance, is yet eighty miles from the wall of Adrian. There are also other indications of the place, if I mistake not; for, a little below that garrison of which I have spoken, is a round edifice on the opposite side the Carron, made of square stones, heaped on one another, without lime or mortar. It is not larger than a small pigeon-house; the top of it is open, but the other parts are whole, save that the upper lintel of the door, wherein the name of the builder is thought to have been inscribed, was taken away by Edward I. king of England; who did also, as much as he could, invidiously deface all the rest of the old Scottish monuments. Some think, and have written, though erroneously, that this structure was the temple of *Claudius Cæsar*. But my conjecture is rather, that it was the temple of the heathen god *Terminus*. There are also, on the left bank of the same river, two hillocks, or barrows of earth, raised, as it sufficiently appears, by the hands of men in a small plain. A great part of the lesser one, which inclines more to the west, is swept away by the washings and overflowings of the river. The neighbouring inhabitants still call the parts *Duni Pacis*. Peace being again procured by this division of the island, and all matters being accommodated in some measure, Donald departed this life, having, according to one account, reigned 21 years, but 18 according to others. He was the first king of Scotland that coined money of gold and silver.

*Ethodius II. the twenty-eighth King, began to reign A. D. 216.*

Ethodius II. son of the former king of that name, but of weak intellects, succeeded Donald. Though he was of too languid and soft a disposition for the government of such a fierce and warlike people, yet the nobles, in a convention, bore that reverence to the progeny of king Fergus, that, notwithstanding his sloth, since he was not guilty of any notorious wickedness, they continued to obey him as their monarch. But they set deputies over all the provinces, to administer justice there; whose moderation and equity did so regulate matters, that Scotland was never in a more pacific state. For they not only punished offenders, but prevented the immoderate covetousness of

the king from proving a burden to the people. Ethodius, in the twenty-first year of his reign, was slain in a tumult of his own officers.

*ATHIRCO, the twenty-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 231.*

As Athirco, his son, manifested greater ingenuity than is usually found in such a youthful age, he was therefore made king. By his manly exercises in riding, throwing the dart, and vying with his young courtiers in feats of arms, as also by his bounty and courteous demeanour, he won to himself the love of all. But his vices increasing with his age, by his excessive avarice, peevishness, luxury, and sloth, he so alienated the minds of good men from him, that the more the sons were delighted with his nefarious practices, the more their fathers were offended by them. At last a conspiracy of the nobles was formed against him, occasioned by one Nathalocus, a nobleman, whose daughter, being first deflowered by him, and then ignominiously beaten with rods, he prostituted to those ruffians who were about him. Athirco endeavoured to defend himself against the conspirators; but perceiving that his force was too weak, and that his domestics forsook him on account of his lewd practices, he laid violent hands on himself, in the twelfth year of his reign. After his death, Dorus, either because he was his brother, or else had been a pander to his lust, fearing lest the nobles, in the heat of their provocation, should exercise their rage upon all the royal lineage, saved himself by flight, with his three young nephews, Findochus, Carantius, and Donald. Neither was he mistaken in his opinion; for Nathalocus, who had received so signal an injury, not content with the exile of Dorus, suborned emissaries to kill him, and the children of his brother who were with him among the Picts. But these assassins on their arrival meeting a person who very much resembled Dorus in stature and physiognomy, slew him by mistake.

*NATHALOCUS, the thirtieth King, began his reign A. D. 242.*

Nathalocus, thinking that he had slain the man who stood most in his way offered himself as the first candidate for the kingdom of Scotland. A great part of the nobility were against him; yet, by means of promises and bribes he carried his point, and was elected to the sovereignty. But his manner of governing the kingdom was not better than the means by which he procured it. Suspecting that the nobility, in the public conventions, were adverse to him, he employed only as his ministers such plebeians, as, from their audaciousness and penury, he knew would easily incline to any wickedness. Besides the suspicions just mentioned, he was encountered with a far more grievous one; for, by intercepting letters directed to some of the chief nobles, he understood that Dorus, and the children of Athirco, were still alive, and brought up amongst the Picts, in hopes of the kingdom. To avoid this danger, he invited those nobles of whom he was most jealous, to come to him, pretending he had need of their advice in the public affairs of the kingdom. When they were assembled, he shut them up in prison, and the next night caused them all to be strangled. But that which he hoped would cure his fears, proved a firebrand to raise up another conspiracy. The friends of those who were murdered, being apprehensive of danger to themselves, and grieving for the loss of their relations and kindred, unanimously took up arms against the tyrant; who whilst he was raising an army to oppose them, was slain by one of his own domestics, about the twelfth year of his reign. Some of our countrymen add a tale in the case, which is more handsomely contrived than likely to be true. They say, that the man who slew Nathalocus, having been sent by him to soothsayers, to inquire concerning his victories, life, and kingdom, an old witch answered, "That the king should not live long, and that his danger would arise, not from his enemies, but from his domestics." When he pressed the woman, "From which of them?" she replied, "Even from thyself, man." Upon this, he cursed the woman; but in his way home, in a great agitation, he thought with himself, that her answer could not be concealed; and that as it was not safe for him to declare it, lest he should render himself suspected to the king, who was a depraved person, and guided wholly by his fears: therefore it seemed to him a safer course, to gain the favour of many, by killing the tyrant, than to preserve him at the hazard of his own life. Pre-

scarcely after his return, having obtained leave for a private audience to declare the answer of the oracle, or conjurer, he slew the king, who had just entered upon the twelfth year of his reign; and so the man freed his country from bondage, and himself from danger.

*FINDOCHUS, the thirty-first King, began his reign A. D. 253.*

When the death of the last king was made public, the sons of Athreo were recalled home. Findochus the eldest, besides being of the royal family, was also happy in several rich gifts of nature. He was exceedingly handsome, tall of stature, and in the flower of his age; and having, besides all these accomplishments, the recommendation of enduring adversity heroically, he was chosen king. Neither did he deceive the expectations of the people: for in his ordinary deportment he was very courteous; in administering justice, equal and impartial; and a conscientious performer of all his promises. But Donald the islander, being weary of peace, sailed over with a numerous army into Albium; and making havoc of the villages where he came, returned home with a great booty. His pretence for the war was to revenge the death of king Nathalocus. Findochus speedily raised an army against him, and transporting them into the island, overthrew Donald in battle, and forced him to fly for refuge to his ships; so that many were slain in the fight, and others were drowned, whilst they endeavoured in a hurry to get on shipboard. The boat in which Donald himself endeavoured to escape, sunk by being overloaded, and so he perished. However, the islanders, not disheartened with this overthrow, after the departure of the king, sent for forces out of Ireland, and renewed the war, making Donald his son their general, in the room of his father: under whom they again made a descent upon the main land, and carried away much booty. Upon this, Findochus again conveyed his troops into the Athudæ isles, and going through all of them, inflicted severe punishment on the plunderers; and having overthrown the forts into which they were wont to fly, he made such a slaughter of the men, and carried away so much plunder, that he left many of the islands almost desolate. After his departure, Donald, who had fled for safety into Ireland, returned from thence, and endeavoured to recruit his armies, but found the population so lessened, that he gave up the thoughts of engaging in an open war, and resolved to adopt guile and stratagem. In prosecution of this design, and yet not daring to trust the king, though he had given him the public faith for his security, he sent to him two of his friends, persons both bold and crafty, as with a secret message. On coming to Findochus, they boasted of their lineage and descent, and withal grievously complained of the wrongs which they had received from Donald; but as the king did not believe them, they applied themselves to Carantius his brother, a shallow and ambitious person. Being admitted into an intimate familiarity with him, they were, by his means, made acquainted with the secret affairs of the state and commonwealth; and after feeling his pulse, and finding out his disposition, they ventured at last to tell him, that they were sent over purposely to kill the king. He hearing this, and looking upon the crown as made sure to him by the wickedness of other men, shewed them all the countenance and favour imaginable. Every thing being prepared for the perpetration of the designed murder; whilst the king was hearing one of them relate the various adventures of his life, and his people were busy in running to see a wild beast of an extraordinary size, the other assassin thrust him through the breast with a hunting-spear, and so murdered him. This black and execrable deed occasioned a great clamour, and brought together a mighty concourse of people: some take up their dying king; others pursue the murderers, who were luckily caught, and executed according to their impious deserts; yet they were not put to death before they had been racked; by which means they confessed the design of Donald, and the wickedness of Carantius, who had withdrawn himself to dissemble the matter. Upon this discovery, the traitor fled to the Britons; who, on being made acquainted with the cause of his exile, abhorred him for his wickedness, in consequence of which he went over to the Roman camp.

*DONALD II. the thirty-second King, began to reign A. D. 264.*

The best of men, as well as of kings, being thus treacherously slain in the eleventh year of his reign, Donald, the youngest of his three brothers, was placed on the throne in his stead. Whilst preparing to revenge his brother's death, word was brought to him that Donald the islander had entered Murray, not now as a robber, but as a king. Upon this, he collected immediately a few soldiers, who were near at hand, leaving orders for the rest to follow, and marched directly towards the enemy. Donald, the usurper, being informed by his spies that the king had but a small force with him, continued his march day and night, and by that means prevented the news of his approach. The king being thus surprised, and seeing that he could not avoid a battle, performed more than could have been expected from such a handful of men; but at length he was overcome by numbers, and fell, grievously wounded, with thirty of his principal nobility, into the hands of the enemy. About three thousand men were slain in the fight, and two thousand taken. The king died within three days; either of his wounds, or of grief for the overthrow, having scarcely reigned one complete year.

*DONALD III. the thirty-third King, began to reign A. D. 265.*

Upon his death, Donald the islander, who had before usurped, without the least right, the regal title, now assumed also the whole state of a legitimate king. This advantage he was the more induced to take, by relying on the fears of the nobility, whose relations he retained as prisoners, and threatened in case of opposition, to put to death. He was a tyrant in his government and cruel to all his subjects, without any discrimination: for he was not content, by an edict, to forbid any others to bear arms, but his own servants and officers too. Besides all this, he caused several noblemen to suffer a violent death, because he considered their destruction as necessary to the establishment of his throne. He also proceeded to sow seeds of discord amongst those who survived his barbarity; neither did he think any sight more agreeable than the mutual slaughter of his subjects; counting their ruin as his gain, and judging himself freed from so many enemies as were slain, out of both armies. Being afraid of nothing more than the union of his people against him, he kept himself commonly within the verge of his own palace; and, conscious of the wrong he had done to all, he was as much afraid of them as they were of him, for which reason he seldom went abroad. After these miseries had lasted twelve years, Crathilinthus, the son of king Findochus, with much search was found out, to revenge the public wrongs and calamities. He had been bred up privately with his foster-father, and was believed to be dead. Having few about him, equal to him in strength or cunning, and dissembling his name and his lineage, he first applied himself to court, where he was received into near familiarity by the king, who, on account of the dexterity of his wit, made him his principal favourite. At last, when all things succeeded according to his desire, he discovered his quality to a few confidential friends, and having imparted to them his design, a small party was collected, which induced him to seize a convenient opportunity to slay Donald, and depart privately with his associates.

*CRATHILINTHUS, the thirty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 277.*

When the death of the tyrant became known, both the fact, and the perpetrators of it, were extolled to the skies with a general acclamation. Crathilinthus, therefore, upon the discovery and legal proof of his descent, was made king, with more unanimity and applause than ever any one had been before him, especially as he had been the author, not only of their liberty, but of their safety also. At the beginning of his reign, by public consent, he caused the children and kindred of the tyrant to be put to death, that thereby he might extirpate tyranny to the very root. He afterwards made a progress over all his kingdom, according to custom, to administer justice; and he repaired, as carefully as he could, the damage done by Donald. Having thus established peace at home and abroad, he spent his leisure hours in hunting, agreeable to the manner of the age and country. Being on Mount Grampian,

at this royal sport, near the borders of the Picts, he very nobly entertained the gallant youths of that nation who came to visit him. Not content with that friendship which had been betwixt them, grounded on old acquaintance, and strengthened by a mutual peace, he took them also into a nearer acquaintance and a closer familiarity; but this intimacy had nearly proved his ruin. The Picts having stolen a favourite dog, belonging to the king, the keeper sought the animal, but just as he had discovered where it was concealed, he was killed in the endeavour to recover it. Upon this, a great uproar arose, and a multitude of both parties gathered together, between whom there was a sharp combat, and many were slain on both sides; amongst whom were not a few of the young nobility of each nation. By this means were sown the seeds of a most cruel war between the Scots and the Picts; for, from that day forward, they infested each other with hostile incursions, and never gave over till they met in the field with complete armies. Neither could peace be made up between them upon any terms, though both kings desired it. For though they were not ignorant how dangerous it was for them to be at war one with another, the Romans and Britons being their perpetual enemies and assailants; yet they were so infuriated, and set upon the desire of revenge, that, whilst they were eager on that account, they were inattentive to the public calamity impending on them both; so that unless Carausius, a Roman exile, and of mean descent, but a good soldier, had interposed, they had fought it out to the last man, even till the two nations had been utterly destroyed. This Carausius, being sent by Dioclesian to that part of the coast of Gaul, where Boulogne now stands, to defend Belgic Armorica from the incursions of the Franks and Saxons, after he had taken many of the barbarians, would neither give up the spoil to the provincials, the right owners, nor yet send it to the emperor. This gave umbrage, because it appeared that he purposely allowed the barbarians to plunder, in order that he might rob them at their return, and enrich himself with the spoil. For this reason, Maximianus commanded him to be slain; but he, assuming the imperial authority, seized upon Britain; and to strengthen his party against Bassianus, the Roman lieutenant-general, reconciled the discords betwixt the Scots and Picts, and entered into a firm league and alliance with them both. The Romans made many attempts against him; but, by his skill in military affairs, he defeated all their designs. When he had replaced the Scots and Picts in possession of those lands which they formerly held, he was slain by his companion Allectus, after reigning seven years. Allectus then reigned three years, and was slain by Asclepiodotus; and thus Britain was restored to the Romans, in the twelfth year after its revolt. But neither Asclepiodotus, nor his successor Constantius Chlorus, did any memorable thing in Britain; only the latter had Constantine, afterwards emperor, by Helena his concubine. Amidst these transactions, died Crathlinthus, after a reign of twenty-four years. He purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the Druids, and planted the pure Christian religion in its stead.

*FINCORMACH, the thirty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 301.*

Fincormach, his cousin-german, succeeded him, who not only performed many brilliant exploits against the Romans, by the aid of the Britons and Picts, but gained some battles over them without any auxiliaries. At length, when the Romans, after being weakened by their civil wars at home, and perpetual molestations abroad, had obtained a little quiet, the Scots were also glad to embrace a peace; who, being thereby freed from external cares, principally endeavoured to promote the Christian religion. They embraced this occasion for it, because many of the British Christians, being afraid of the cruelty of Dioclesian, had fled hither; amongst whom some persons, eminent for learning and integrity of life, fixed their abode in Scotland, where they led a solitary life, with such an opinion of their sanctity, that, when they died, their cells were changed into temples or churches. From hence the custom subsequently arose, amongst the ancient Scots, of giving temples the name of cells. This sort of religious men were called Culdees, whose name and distinction continued till a later kind of monastics, divided into many orders, expelled them; yet these last were as far inferior to the former in learning

and piety, as they exceeded them in wealth, ceremonies, and pomp of outward worship; by all which they pleased the eye, but infatuated the mind.

Fincormach, having settled affairs in Scotland with great equity, and reduced his subjects to a more civil kind of life, left this world in the 47th year of his reign.

*ROMACHUS, the thirty-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 348.*

After his death there was a great contest about the kingdom between three cousin-germans, the sons of the three brothers of Crathilinthus, whose names were Romachus, Fethelmachus, and Angusianus, or rather Æocannus. Romachus alleged that his father was the eldest of the three brothers of Crathilinthus, and his mother a descendant from the blood-royal of the Picts; as also, that he himself was of a stirring and active disposition, and likely to procure friends and allies.

Angusianus set up his plea on account of his age and experience in the world, as also his admirable deportment, to which was added the favour of the people. But his principal ground consisted in the circumstance, that Fethelmachus, who was before his competitor, now relinquished all claim in his favour. This contention appeared likely to be decided by arms, for nothing could be concluded in the first convention of the estates, and when that was dissolved, the whole kingdom was divided into two factions. Romachus, upon this, being the least popular, called in the forces of the Picts to his assistance, that so he might strengthen himself by foreign aid.

Angusianus being informed that ambushes were laid for him, judged it better, once for all, to try the issue of a battle, than to live in perpetual solicitude and fear. For this end, gathering his party into a body, he fought with Romachus; but being overcome, he and Fethelmachus fled together into the Æbudæ islands.

But perceiving that he could not be safe there, because his prowess rendered him formidable to the heads of the factions, and that he was also amongst a people naturally mercenary, and easily corrupted by the promises of Romachus, he fled into Ireland with his friends. Romachus having thus got rid of his rival, and obtained the kingdom, rather by force than the good will of the people, exercised his power with a tyrannical sway over his enemies. To give a colour of law to his proceedings, when he went about the country to hold the assizes, he asked no counsel of others, as was usual, but took all capital causes into his own cognizance; so that he made great execution amongst the people, and struck a panicky fear into the hearts of all good men. At length, when every one was wearied by the evil state of affairs, the nobility formed a sudden combination against him; and, before he could gather his forces together, he was taken in his flight to the Picts, and put to death in the third year of his reign. His head being fastened to the top of a pole, was carried about much to the joy of the people.

*ANGUSIANUS, the thirty-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 351.*

After this, Angusianus was recalled, by general consent, to rule the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, those who had acted as the ministers of cruelty and covetousness to Romachus, being afraid to live under a great king, stirred up Nectamus, king of the Picts, to make war upon him, in revenge of his kinsman. Angusianus, being a lover of peace, sent ambassadors at different times to advise the Picts, that both nations would be much injured by these divisions, particularly as the Britons only watched for an opportunity to destroy them both. But these remonstrances were ineffectual and made no impression on the Picts, either out of confidence of their strength, or out of anger and vexation of spirit. So that perceiving them to be averse from peace, Angusianus led forth his army against them; and, after a sharp conflict, obtained the victory. The king of the Picts made his escape, with a few of his people; and, after recovering a little from his fear, being inflamed with rage and fury, he persuaded his subjects, though with great difficulty, to raise a new army: with which he marched into Caledonia. Angusianus once more offered terms of peace; but no regard being given to his proposals, he adjourned with his forces to meet the enemy. The fight was

maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides; one striving to retain their acquired glory, the other endeavouring to wipe away the ignominy and disgrace which they had received. At length, Angusianus being slain, the Scots broke their ranks and ran away. Neither was the day unbloody to the Picts; for their king likewise, and all his valiant warriors, fell in the battle. The loss, therefore, in a manner, being equal on both sides, occasioned a peace between them for some short time. Angusianus reigned little above one year.

*FETHELMACHUS, the thirty-eighth King, began his reign A. D. 353.*

Fethelmachus, who was made king in room of Angusianus, had scarcely reigned two years, when he levied an army, and committed great ravages in the country of the Picts. At length the two armies met, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The main body of the Picts, having lost both wings, were almost surrounded and taken; yet their fate was not unrevealed. The king of the Picts died of his wounds three days after. The Scots followed up their victory, and, having no army to withstand them, made a great spoil all over the country: for the Picts, having received so great a blow, never durst oppose them with their whole force; but only sent out small parties as time and place suited, to harass the straggling troops of their enemy; that so they might not plunder far from home. In the mean time, one Hergustus, a crafty man, having undertaken the command of the Picts, being inferior in force, applied himself to fraud; for he sent two of his countrymen, under the pretext of being Scots, to kill the king. They, according to their instructions, treated with a certain musician about the murder; for persons of that description were wont then to lodge in the chambers of princes and noblemen, to amuse them while awake, and also to lull them to sleep: which custom still continues, in all the British isles, amongst the old Scots. Accordingly, on a night agreed upon between them, the Picts were introduced by this minstrel, and so murdered the king as privately as they could; yet they did not manage it so secretly, but that the king's attendants were awakened by hearing his dying groans; in consequence of which they pursued the villains, who escaped to a steep rock, where they hurled stones down upon their pursuers: notwithstanding which they were taken and executed.

*EUGENIUS, or EVENUS I. the thirty-ninth King, began his reign A. D. 357*

Fethelmachus being thus slain, in the third year of his reign, Eugenius, or rather Evenus, the son of Fincormachus, succeeded him. About this time, Maximus, the Roman general, thinking to conquer the whole island, if he could destroy both the Scots and Picts, first of all courted the latter, who were then the weaker party, and therefore more ready to treat with him. These he allured with vain promises, that, if they would continue faithful in their alliance with the Romans, they should have the land of the Scots, with other possessions, divided amongst them. The Picts caught this bait, and, being blinded by anger, desirous of revenge, and regardless of consequences, joined their forces with the Romans, and spoiled the country of the Scots. The first battle fought between them was at Cree, a river of Galloway; and as the Scots were few in number, they were easily overcome; and being thus put to flight, the Romans pursued them in every direction, without any order, so sure were they of victory. In the mean time, the Argyle men, and some other forces of the remote parts, who were coming up to join with their vanquished friends, fell so fiercely upon the scattered troops of the Romans, that they made a great slaughter amongst them. Eugenius collected those of his troops whom he could recall from flight; and having summoned a council of war, was advised, that since his forces were not sufficient to carry on the war, to return to Carrick. But as Maximus was pursuing his victory, word was brought him, that all was in a flame in the interior parts of Britain. The Scots were glad of his departure, as being eased of a great part of their enemies, and though they were scarcely able to defend their own, yet, between anger and hope, they resolved, before the summer was past, to perform some great exploit against their nearest antagonists. Accordingly, they poured in the remainder of their forces upon the Picts; putting, in their progress, all they met, without distinction, to fire and sword. Maximus,



though he threatened and spoke contemptuously of the Scots, yet, being equally joyful at the destruction of both nations, as soon as he found an opportunity, marched against the former, on pretence of revenging the wrongs done by them to the Picts. The Scots, on the other side, having now to fight, not for glory, empire, or booty, but for their country, fortune, lives, and whatever is near and dear to men, drew together all that were able to bear arms; even women as well as men, according to the custom of the nation, prepared for the last encounter, and pitched their tents not far from the river Down, and near the camp of their enemies. Both armies being arrayed in order of battle, first of all, the auxiliaries set upon the Scots, where some fighting in hope, others incited by despair, there was a very sharp, though short, engagement. At length the Picts and Britons were repulsed with great loss, and would certainly have been wholly routed and put to flight, if seasonable relief had not come to them from the Romans. But Maximus bringing on his legions, the Scots being inferior in number, as well as in the use of arms and military discipline, were driven back and almost ruined. Their king, Egenius himself, was slain fighting, being unwilling to survive his soldiers; and the greatest part of his nobles fell with him, as loath to forsake their monarch. Maximus, having obtained this victory sooner than he expected, and scarcely finding any on whom he might vent his fury, returned to his former clemency: for after marching over many provinces of the Scots, he granted mercy to such as yielded themselves, and caused them to till the land; withal adding his commands, that they should be contented with their own, and not offend their neighbours. The Picts resented this clemency, by alleging that the Romans and their allies would never obtain a firm or solid peace as long as the nation of the Scots, a people who were always unquiet, and took every opportunity to plunder, remained alive. They added, further, that Britain would never be secure whilst any of the Scottish blood remained in it: that they were like wild beasts, who would not be tamed by any act of kindness, nor would they be at peace, let them suffer ever so many losses; so that there could be no end of war, till the whole nation was extinguished. Maximus urged many things in reply to these barbarous demands, saying, it was the ancient custom of the Romans, when they overcame any nation, instead of extirpating them, to make many of them denizens of their city; that though they had almost conquered the whole world, yet never any people were wholly eradicated by them; and that he himself, having slain the Scottish king, with the flower of his army, had so quelled them, that now they were no longer to be feared, but rather pitied by their enemies. He farther observed, that his hatred against the Scots was as great as their's; but that if they considered the matter well, it would be a much more joyful spectacle, to behold them living in misery, than to triumph over their graves; for that it was a more grievous punishment to linger out a dying life, than, by one death, to put an end to all suffering. This was the sum of his discourse, not so much out of affection for the Scots, as in dislike of the cruelty of the Picts. Moreover, he had an eye to the future, as judging that it would be extremely hazardous to the Roman province, were the forces of the Picts to be doubled by the extirpation of the Scots. Notwithstanding all this, the Picts so plied him with complaints, supplications, and gifts, that at length they obtained an edict from him, requiring all the Scots to depart out of Britain by a certain day, under penalty of having every man that was found there after that time put to death. Their country was then divided betwixt the Picts and Britons. Thus the surviving Scots, as every man's fortune led him, were scattered over Ireland, the *Æbudæ* islands, through Norway, and the Cimbric Chersonesus, being kindly received every where by the inhabitants. Now the Picts, though they made public profession of the Christian religion, yet could not forbear committing injuries against the priests and monks; who, in that age, were held in great veneration. These poor ecclesiastics, therefore, were dispersed into all the countries round about, and many of them went into Icolmkill, one of the *Æbudæ* islands, where, being collected together in a monastery, they obtained, and transmitted to posterity, a high opinion of their piety and holiness. The rest of the Scots being afflicted by wars, exiled from their country, and in despair of returning thither again; were stimulated by the inhabitants

of the *Æthodes* isles, a people of a fierce and unquiet nature, idle, poor, and though abundantly numerous, yet wanting necessaries to attempt something of themselves. Accordingly, having collected a flotilla of small vessels and boats under Gillo their commander, they landed on the coast of Argyle; where, after effecting a descent, they dispersed and scattered themselves about the country, which was almost wholly destitute of inhabitants, to collect booty, but while so employed, they were attacked by the Picts, then in garrison there, for the support of the people; and their retreat being cut off, the invaders were slain to a man. Their whole navy was also taken, and kept for service against the islanders.

Not long after, those Scots who had fled to Ireland, partly out of remembrance of their old alliance, and partly out of commiseration of their fortune, easily prevailed with a nation, naturally inclined to war and plunder, to afford them aid to recover their country and ancient patrimony. Ten thousand auxiliaries were allowed them, who, landing in that part of Scotland which is opposite to Ireland, struck a great terror into the people all over the country. But while elated with their first success, and consulting how to carry on the war, the Albine Scots, well knowing the strength of the Romans, and how much they exceeded other nations in skill and military affairs, would have persuaded them to be content with their present victory, and to return home with their booty, and not stay till all Britain should be gathered together to assault them. They advised also, that since the forces of all Ireland, if they had been there, could not withstand the Roman army, which, by its conduct and valour had almost subdued the universe; therefore they should deal with them, not by open force, but by subtlety. It would be best, they said, to watch opportunities; and since they could not match their enemy in numbers, force, or military skill, to tire them out with toil and labour; and that this was the only method of rightly managing the war with them. The Irish Scots, on the other side, blamed those of Albium, whose former valour was now grown so languid, that though they were the offspring of those who had almost overthrown whole armies of the Romans, yet could not now look them in the face. Nay, there were some of the Albine Scots themselves of the same opinion, alleging, that the method of war, proposed by their countrymen, was vain and frivolous, serving only to gail the enemy, but not to recover their own country; and that therefore they ought to follow their good fortune, and not think of returning, till they had attained their end. They observed, that by acting thus, no doubt Providence, that had favoured them with such prosperous beginnings, would bless their arms, so as to lessen the power of the enemy, either by raising up new tumults among the Britons, or by calling off the Roman legions to a war nearer home. They added, that the occasion now offered was not to be neglected, lest hereafter it might be sought for in vain. This opinion prevailed, and so they joyfully returned to their purpose. Thus, whilst in the hope of recovering what they had been deprived of, they indulged their own will, rather rashly than prudently, being immediately overpowered by greater forces, and losing the best part of their men. This slaughter being made known in Ireland, cut off all expectation of the return of the Scots, and made the Irish fear, lest they also should not long retain their liberty; so that after many consultations, they could find no way more advisable, than that of sending ambassadors into Britain, to make peace with the Romans on the best conditions they could procure. At their arrival, Maximus severely rebuked them, for having, without provocation, brought upon themselves the Roman arms. The ambassadors, in excuse, laid the blame on the rude rabble, and so they obtained pardon. Peace was then made on these conditions, that the Hibernians, should henceforward maintain an amicable relation with the Romans, and avoid giving shelter either to their enemies, or those of their allies. The Hibernians, having thus obtained better terms than they expected, returned joyfully home. That which inclined Maximus to make this easy pacification, was, not the fear of the Hibernians, for he little regarded any disturbance they could give him, but the ambitious projects which occupied his mind, made him willing to leave Britain not only quiet and free from war, but impressed with affection and gratitude. When he perceived that after the

defeat and slaughter of so many armies, the forces of the empire were shattered and weakened by their civil commotions; and that in consequence the imperial dignity was no longer conferred by the senate and people, but by the soldiery, he naturally thought that his being the first to conquer Britain, together with his other military exploits, gave him a fair prospect of attaining that elevation. In this posture of affairs, therefore, he determined, if fortune offered him an opportunity, to seize the diadem, and to omit nothing for the attainment of so glorious an object. Prompted by this hope, he treated his soldiers with great affability, and bestowed on them many gifts. He also consulted, in all his important affairs, the noblest of the Britons, recruited his army from the native troops, and committed several garrisons, in various places, to their charge. The lands of the Scots were likewise divided by him betwixt the Picts and the Britons. To the Picts he left their ancient possessions free; only exacting a small tribute from the remotest corner of the Scottish kingdom, which he had given to them as a testimony, according to his own representation, that all Britain had been by him partly overcome, and partly settled in a condition of peace. By these artifices he strangely won the affection of the common soldiers: so that all things being in readiness, according to his expectations, he assumed the purple, pretending that he had been compelled so to do by his soldiers. After him, Constantine was chosen general by the Britons, being recommended only upon the account of his name; for otherwise he was originally no more than a common soldier. When he was slain, Gratian, a person descended of British blood, ruled over the island. But Maximus being killed in Italy, and Gratian in Britain, Victorinus was sent from Rome to govern Britain as lieutenant. He, affecting to enlarge the empire during his administration, commanded the Picts, who were reduced into the form of a province, to use the Roman laws, and inflicted a great penalty upon those who dared to do otherwise. Besides this, when Hergustus, their king, died during the agitation of these things, he forbade them to choose a successor, or to set up any other magistrate, except such as should be sent from Rome. This the Picts looked upon as a great slavery, and began, though too late, and to no purpose, to resent it. They complained of having been basely and unworthily betrayed by a nation nearly related to, and in amity with, them; and that though sometimes they were at variance, yet they were their associates, at all hazards, against a foreign enemy. It appeared now, however, that they suffered according to their demerits, in having deprived themselves, not only of all aid, but even of all mercy and pity. For who could be concerned at their calamity, that called to mind to what miseries and necessities they had reduced their ancient friends? The oracle, which foretold that the Picts in time should be extirpated by the Scots, was now realized, and the former were punished for their treacherous conduct towards their brethren: nay, the judgment which had fallen upon them was the greater of the two, since exile is more tolerable than servitude. Banished men are still in some sense free; but the Picts were grieved with reflecting, that the evils they endured were brought upon themselves by their own misconduct. In this calamitous condition, that they might have one to resort to, and to hold a consultation with, for the remedying of these miseries, they created Durstus, the son of Hergustus, for their king. The nobles being assembled about him to provide, a remedy for their sufferings, expressed by their complaints the severity of the bondage they endured. They alleged, that they were now not in an imaginary, but a real slavery; that they were shut up within the wall of Severus, as wild beasts, separated from all human commerce; and that all their soldiers, under the splendid name of war, were in fact drawn out as cattle for the slaughter: that, besides the hatred of the neighbouring nations, they were bitterly reproached by the monks, who exclaimed that the Almighty justly despised and rejected their prayers, for having so cruelly persecuted his ministers, though they were their brethren, and of the same religion with themselves, in that they would not suffer them, by whom Heaven might have been appeased or supplicated, to live in the same country with them. These things grievously pinched their consciences: so that, adversity infusing some sparks of religion into their minds, and also some ease from their miseries being obtained, they at last pitched upon this

as the only way to recover their liberty; that after they had reconciled themselves to the Scots, they would also endeavour to appease the wrath of the Deity, whose wrath they had provoked by their perfidiousness. In pursuance of this good resolution, and understanding that young Fergus, of the blood-royal, was in exile in Norway, they thought, if he were recalled, the rest also might be induced, by his influence, to return. To effect this, they despatched an embassy to him, but secretly, for fear of the Romans, to sound his inclination, whether he still felt any regard for his native country, and was willing to aid in its deliverance.

## BOOK V.

AFTER Eugenius was slain by the Romans, as hath been already related, and all the Scots were banished their country, the king's brother, whether Echadius, or Ethodius, is uncertain, for fear of the treachery of the Picts, and dissident of his own security, took shipping, and, committing himself to the winds and fortune, sailed into Scandinavia, or Norway, together with his son Erthus, and his nephew Fergus. On his landing, he repaired to court, where the king of the country, being informed who he was, from whence he came, and the adverse fortune he had experienced, gave him a favourable reception; and as his language, habit, and mien, procured credit to his story, he was admitted into near familiarity with the Scandinavian monarch. Fergus living there till he grew up to maturity, his father and grandfather being dead, he addicted himself wholly to military studies; at which time many expeditions were made, by the united powers of the north, against the Roman empire; some falling upon Hungary, and others upon Gaul. Fergus, both out of love to arms, and hatred to the Romans, followed the Franks, in their war against the Gauls; but that expedition did not prove very prosperous; so he returned into Scandinavia with greater glory than success: and when his name began to be famous, not only there, but also among the neighbouring nations, his renown reached the Scots and Picts. The former were in great hopes of recovering their own country again, and the Picts entertained as strong an expectation of obtaining their ancient liberty, if, by laying aside their old grudges, they could obtain Fergus for their general, and thus try their fortune against the Romans; whose affairs were at this time in so low a condition, by the successes of the neighbouring nations against them, that their condition afforded incitements enough to provoke their ancient enemies to revenge the injuries they had received. For their emperors, besides being weakened by civil wars, were so harassed on every side by the Gauls, Vandals, Franks, and Africans, each of whom made inroads upon them, that, omitting the care of foreign affairs, they recalled their armies into Italy, to defend the imperial city. In the midst of these commotions, those officers who commanded the British legions, looking on the Roman affairs as desperate, studied each his own advantage, with a view to the establishment of distinct tyrannies. Neither were they content to oppress the islanders with every kind of cruelty and avarice, but they even made incursions upon one another. Thus the number of the legions daily lessened, and the hatred of the provincials against them increased; so that all Britain would have certainly rebelled, if their power had been equal to their will. To aggravate their miseries, as well as those of the Britons, Constantine, the last Roman general in Britain, when elected to the imperial throne, not only withdrew the regular army, but the native troops; so that the whole island was left defenceless, and exposed to the violence of any foreign enemy that might have chosen to attempt an invasion. This was the principal cause of the secret negotiations carried on between the Scots and Picts, and which speedily came to the conclusion of a treaty of friendship; and a mutual application to Fergus, requesting him to take the regal title, which descended to him from his ancestors. Fergus being a military man, ambitious of honour,

and not well satisfied with his present station, readily accepted the proffered sceptre on the terms proposed. When the intelligence of his intended return was spread abroad, many of the banished Scots, and several of the foreigners too, who were his acquaintance and fellow-soldiers, animated with the same hopes, accompanied him home, and landed in Argyle. Thither all those exiles who were in Ireland and the circumjacent islands, having had notice given them of his coming, resorted speedily to him: drawing along with them a considerable number of their clans and relations, and several young soldiers, who wished to profit by the change.

*FERGUS II. the fortieth King, began his reign A. D. 404.*

Fergus, having collected these forces, was inaugurated the fortieth king of Scotland, according to the manner of the country. The black book of Paisley places his return in the sixth year of the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, but others in the eighth of their joint reign, that is, according to the account of Marianus Scotus, in the year 403; or, according to Funccius, 404: and about 27 years after the death of Eugenius, the grandfather of Fergus. Those who allege, on the authority of Bede, that this was the first coming of the Scots into Britain, may be convinced of its being a manifest untruth, by the very history of that writer. When the assembly of the states was dissolved, Fergus, being born and bred to feats of war and arms, judged it convenient to make use of the favourableness of fortune, and the alacrity of his men; but withal, designing to prevent the report of his coming, he demolished all the neighbouring fortresses, because he had not soldiers enough to garrison them. Having, however, recovered and settled his kingdom, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he prepared for an expedition against the enemy. In the mean time the Britons were divided into two factions. Some of those who were desirous of liberty, and weary of a foreign yoke, were glad of the arrival of the Scots; while others preferred their present settlement, though attended with many and great inconveniences, before a dubious liberty, and a certain war. On this account, being fearful of the danger hanging over their heads, and conscious of their own weakness, they agreed upon a double embassy, one to the Picts, and another to the Romans. They desired the Picts not to desert their old allies the Romans and Britons, nor to take part with their ancient enemies, who were represented as a company of poor, pitiful, and despicable creatures. They farther sent them admonitions, promises, and, in case of noncompliance, threatened them with a grievous visitation from the Romans, against whom, with their whole united forces, they could never stand; much less could they now cope with them, since one part of them was exhausted by draughts and detachments of soldiers, and the other worn out with all manner of miseries.

The ambassadors to the Romans were commanded to urge the necessity of sending aid in time, whilst there was any thing left to be defended against the rage of a cruel enemy; in which case the Britons would still remain firm in their obedience; but if not, it would be better for them to leave their country, than to endure a servitude worse than death, under savage nations. Accordingly the Romans, though closely pressed by wars on every side, yet ordered one legion to be sent from Gaul to defend the province, but with an injunction to return as soon as affairs were settled. The Britons, having received these auxiliaries, came by surprise upon the plundering troops of the invaders, who were carelessly straggling up and down, and defeated them with great slaughter.

But the confederate kings having raised a well-disciplined and regular army, came to the wall of Severus, and meeting their enemies by the river Carron, a bloody battle was fought between them, with prodigious loss on both sides. Victory, however, attended the Romans; who, being in a little time about to return into Gaul, were satisfied with driving back the foe, and repairing the wall of Severus, which in many places was demolished. Having done this, and garrisoned it with Britons, they departed. The allied powers, though superior to their adversaries in swift marches, and fatigue of labour; yet, being inferior in number and force, resolved at first not to fight any more pitched battles, but rather to weary out their opponents by frequent inroads

and not put all to the hazard of a single fight, since they had not yet sufficient force for a general engagement. But when they heard that the Romans had quitted Britain, they altered their resolution, and gathering all their troops together, destroyed the wall of Severus, which had been but slightly repaired and was negligently guarded. Having by this means gained a larger space to range in, they made the country beyond the wall, which they were not able to keep, for want of men, useless to the Britons, for many miles.—It is reported, that the principal man in demolishing the fortification, was a person named Graham; who, transporting his soldiers in ships, landed beyond the wall, and, by surprising the guards, made a passage for his men. It is not certain among writers, whether this Graham was a Scot or a Briton; but most think, as I also do, that he was the latter, and that he was not only descended of the Fulgentian line, one of the most noble families in that nation, but that he was father-in-law of king Fergus. The wall then being thus razed, the Scots and Picts committed most inhuman cruelties and outrages upon the people of the country, without distinction of age or sex, for at that time the Britons were weak, and unaccustomed to war. In this affliction they sent a second lamentable embassy to the Romans, complaining of the unspeakable calamities they endured, and with great humility and earnestness supplicating aid. They also alleged, that if the Romans were not moved at the destruction of the Britons, and the loss of a province, lately so splendid, yet that it became them to maintain their own dignity, lest their name should grow contemptible amongst those barbarous nations. Accordingly, another legion was sent to their relief, who coming, as Bede says, in autumn, a season of the year when they were not expected, made great slaughter of their enemies. The confederate kings now collected what forces they could, to beat them back; and being encouraged by their former successes, and also by the friendship and alliance of Dionethus, a Briton, they ventured to advance upon the Romans. This Dionethus was well descended in his native land; but having always advised his countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke, and then especially, when so fair an opportunity was offered, and the whole strength of the empire was engaged in other wars, he was treated by his own men as an affecter of novelty, and hated by the Romans, as a friend to the Scots and Picts. These last, learning that it was the design of the Romans, to begin with destroying Dionethus, and then to fall upon themselves, to obviate their purpose, made forced and rapid marches towards them. Having succeeded in uniting their forces with those of Dionethus, they began a sharp encounter with the Romans; who, surrounded by numbers, both in front and rear, were put to flight. The ranks of the legionary soldiers being thus broken, the confederate kings, in the eagerness of pursuit, fell amongst the reserve of the Romans, who stood in good order, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Had the Romans followed up this advantage, they would have given the Scots a total overthrow; but as their force which at first was inconsiderable, was now reduced by the loss of some of their soldiers who could be ill spared out of a small army, therefore they rejoiced the less on account of the victory.

Maximianus, as our writers call him, who commanded the Roman legion, being alarmed at this check, retired into the midst of his province, and the combined kings returned to their respective states. Upon this Dionethus assumed the supreme authority by arraying himself in purple after the manner of the Romans, and behaved as though he had been emperor of the Britons. When the Romans understood that their enemies were dispersed, they gathered what force they could together, and having increased them by British auxiliaries, marched against Dionethus, who infested the provinces adjoining to him; for they thought it would be easy to subdue him, from whom their danger was nearest, before his allies could come to his relief. But the three kings united their forces sooner than the Romans imagined, and after encouraging their soldiers as well as they could, without delay drew out their armies in order of battle. The Roman general placed the Britons in the front, and his legions in the reserve. It was a very sharp fight; but the front giving ground, Maximianus brought up his forces, and stopped the Britons, who were just ready to run; and then sending a division of troops to fall on the rear, some brigades of the Scots, being thus encompassed

formed a circle, where they bravely defended themselves till the greatest part of the enemy falling upon them, slew every man. The loss of these, however, gave an opportunity for the rest to escape. There fell in this fight, Fergus king of the Scots, with Dursus king of the Picts, while Dionethus, who was wounded, with great difficulty escaped to the sea, and in a small vessel returned home. This victory struck such a terror into the Scots, that it renewed the memory of ancient times, and many consulted about the place where it would be advisable to seek a retreat under their misfortune. Fergus, who at his death had reigned sixteen years, was a man of an heroic spirit, and may deservedly be called the second founder of the Scottish kingdom; or rather it may be said of him, that he exceeded the former prince of that name. The first Fergus came into a country that was almost empty by the consent of the Picts, without having the resistless power of the Romans to dispute with; and opposed only by the Britons, who, though somewhat superior, yet not much, to the Scots, in accoutrements and provisions for war, were however far inferior to them in enduring the hardships of the field. But the latter Fergus, when almost all the Scots capable of bearing arms were slain, himself brought up in a foreign land, and, after twenty-seven years of banishment from his native country, being sent for by subjects who were as unknown to him as he was to them, marched with a mixed army, collected out of several nations, against the Britons, who were at that time assisted by the Roman forces; so that if Providence had not manifestly favoured his designs, he might seem to have undertaken an attempt bordering upon madness. He left three sons who were mere children, namely Eugenius, Donardus, and Constantius. Graham, their grandfather by the mother's side, was by universal consent appointed guardian over them; with authority, till they came of age, to manage the government as regent. He was a person of such a virtuous disposition, that, even at a turbulent period, and amidst a fierce nation, who were not always obedient, even to kings of their own nation, there happened in his time, though an alien, no civil dissensions.

*EUGENIUS, or EVENUS II. the forty-first King, began to reign A. D. 430.*

Eugenius, or Evenus II. the eldest son of Fergus, had the name of *lax*, but the power was in the hands of Graham, who caused a muster to be made of the soldiers all over the land; and finding that the losses in men sustained in the recent contests, exceeded expectation, and could not be retrieved, he forbore from enforcing any fresh levies. As for the Roman legion, having relieved their allies, and being, agreeably to their orders, now about to return to the continent, they previously spoiled all the enemy's country within the wall of Severus, and slew the inhabitants; but though they restored the lands to the Britons, they kept the plunder and booty to themselves. Thus the Scots and Picts, who survived their late loss, were again shut up between the two friths of the sea. The Romans then having rendered this service to the Britons, prepared for their departure, telling them with how great and strong armies they were beset, who had conspired to destroy the very name and empire of Rome, so that for the future they could not take so much pains, nor be at such a great expense, to maintain places at that distance. They informed the Britons that no further succour was to be expected from them, and therefore advised them to take up arms for their own defence, and to inure themselves by continual exercise, to military hardships; and that if they had offended before through slothfulness, they should begin and make amends now by industry and hardiness, instead of becoming so contemptible to their enemies, who in fact were inferior to them in number and force, as to suffer them to plunder their country with the facility of a pack of hunters roaming for their prey. The Romans, besides this counsel, and that they might do them a lasting good, which should be of great service to them in future times, undertook for the Britons a great and memorable work. For they gathered a vast company of labourers out of their whole province, the Romans and Britons both vying who should be most forward, and just in that place where the trench was drawn by Severus, thirty miles long, there they built a wall of stone eight feet broad, and twelve feet high; distinguished at proper distances by castles, some of which were of the size of small towns. It was finished, and bounded

on the west by a place now called Kirkpatrick, and on the east began from the monastery of Aberkernick, as Bede affirms; in which country, about little more than a century since, there was a strong castle of the Douglas family, called Abercorn, but without the least sign of any monastery.

Moreover, lest their enemies should, as had formerly been the case, make a descent by ships into places beyond the wall, they set up many beacons, or watch-towers, on the higher grounds along the shore, from whence there was a large prospect to the sea: and, in convenient parts, they appointed garrisons, but these proved such cowardly and effeminate wretches, that they could not stand the face of an armed enemy. The legion did this beneficial and obliging work for their provincial allies, before their departure: withal, earnestly exhorting them to defend their country with their own arms; as they could never more hope for assistance from the Romans, whose affairs were now brought to such an exigence, that they could no longer help their friends, especially those who were so far remote. When the Scots and Picts understood for certain, by their spies, that the Romans were gone, and would return no more, they assaulted the wall with all their might, and much more eagerly than before. They not only cast down their opposers, by hurling darts at them, but also pulled them down headlong from the ramparts with cramp-irons, as Bede calls them; which were, as I understand, crooked instruments, or hooks, fastened to the tops of long poles; so that the upper fortification being thus deprived of its defenders, they next applied engines, and destroyed the foundations; and thus an entrance and passage being made, they forced their affrighted enemies to leave their habitations and dwellings, and to flee for safety wherever they could find it. For the Scots and Picts were so eagerly bent on revenge, that the Britons had good reason to think all their former calamities tolerable, compared to those they were now forced to endure. Afterwards the invaders, rather wearied than satisfied with the successes they had inflicted, returned home, and began at last to consider that they had not so much taken away the goods of their enemies, as wasted and spoiled what should have been the reward of their victory. They, therefore, convened an assembly of the states, wherein it was debated how so great a conquest might be improved; and their first resolution was, to fill those lands which they had taken with fresh colonies, for the increase of a new population. This counsel seemed the more wholesome and advisable, because of the number of valiant, but indigent, officers and soldiers, who were straitened in their old habitations. This turn of prosperity being signified to the neighbouring nations, encouraged not only the Scottish exiles, but a great company of strangers besides, who lived but poorly at home, to flock hither as to a prey; for they supposed, that a man so spirited and discreet as Graham was, would never lay down arms till he had brought the whole island of Britain under his subjection. But in this they were mistaken; for he, having run so many hazards, was more inclinable to peace, with honour and glory, than to risk permanent felicity, by throwing himself into uncertain dangers. Accordingly, he made peace with the Britons, who were not only willing to accede to his terms, but very earnestly desirous of the proffered amity. The conditions were, that each people should be contented with their own bounds, and abstain from wrong and violence towards one another; while Adrian's wall was constituted the barrier. After concluding this peace, Graham divided the lands not only among the Scots, but also among the foreigners who had followed his ensigns. By this means almost all the provinces obtained new names, because those who peopled them were, for the most part, born abroad, and the rest were perfect aliens. Galloway, a country next to Ireland, falling by lot to the Irish, is thought to have had its name, so famous in their own country, from them. Caithness was so called because it was mountainous; Ross, because it was a peninsula; Buchan, because it paid great tribute in corn. Strathbogy, Nairn, Strathnavern, Loch Spey, Strathearn, and Morint, took their respective names from several rivers of the same appellation. Lochaber was so called from a loch, or rather bay of the sea. Many of the provinces situated on this side the Forth, as Lennox, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Douglasdale, had their surnames from rivers. Many places, however, re-



tained their ancient denominations, and some had their's only a little changed. Graham, afterwards, in order that he might bridle licentiousness, which was grown to a great height by the long continuance of war, recalled the monks and teachers of the Christian religion out of banishment, to their own homes; and, that they might not be burdensome to an indigent people, he allowed them a yearly income out of the fruits of the earth; which, though small, according to the circumstances of the times, was, however, deemed a handsome competency for modest and temperate men. Besides this, Graham placed garrisons in the most convenient passages, to prevent any sudden incursions of the enemy; and he also repaired those places which were demolished, and erected new fortifications. But though the fury of war was extinguished throughout the whole island, and the Britons had, as it were, escaped from a dangerous tempest, to enjoy the sweets of public peace; yet it was doubtful whether their former or present condition did them most mischief. For, as their cities were razed, their villages burnt, their cattle driven away, and all their instruments of husbandry lost; they who survived this cruelty, were forced to keep themselves from starving by hunting; and instead of plundering their enemies, to commit acts of outrage upon their own countrymen; so that domestic feuds were like to be the consequence of the peace which had been settled. Contentions also arose between them and foreigners: for though they abstained from open wars, yet every now and then they spoiled the countries contiguous to them: particularly the Irish, who, on their side, encouraged with the hopes of booty, vexed the poor people, already miserably enough distressed, with their invasions by sea. Their last calamity and the worst of all, was a famine; which so broke the spirit of this fierce people, that many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves to their enemies. At last, the scanty number that remained, lurking in caves and dens, being grown desperate by necessity, came abroad, to scatter the wandering troops of the plunderers; but chiefly of the Irish, whom they forced back to sea, and compelled them to depart from Albion. This evil was no sooner removed, than a calamity nearer hand began to press upon them. The Scots and Picts, their perpetual enemies, were not contented with taking their cattle from them by stealth, but watched an opportunity to commit more flagrant injuries. Eugenius, the son of Fergus, who till now had lain still, under the tutorage of another, having his strength increased by a long peace, and much augmented by the number of young recruits that flocked to him, was ambitious of distinction against the Britons. There happened likewise a private cause of war; for Graham, his grandfather by the mother's side, and nobly descended, as I have already said, in his own country, was of that party who were anxious to free themselves from Roman slavery. This was the original cause of his being persecuted by the contrary faction, who were then most powerful; and so he fled to the Scots, his old allies, between whom many courtesies had formerly passed. After his death, Eugenius, by his ambassadors, demanded a restitution of the fertile lands which had belonged to his ancestors, situated within the wall of Adrian; intimating plainly to the Britons, that, unless they restored them, he would make war upon them. When the ambassadors had declared their message in an assembly of the Britons, there were such heats amongst them, that they came almost to blows. The fiercest of them exclaimed, that the Scots did not seek for lands so much, having already enough of their own, as for war; and that they did not only insult over their calamities, but also were resolved to try their patience: if the lands were denied, then a war would presently follow; and if they were restored, then a cruel enemy was to be received into the heart of their country; notwithstanding which, they should not have even peace then, unless it could be imagined that the covetousness of the Scots would be satisfied with the concession of a few acres, who were not content with the large provinces, which were divided in the late war. These persons, therefore, maintained that it was good to oppose their immoderate and insatiable desires at the beginning, and to repress their licentiousness with arms; lest, by the grant of small things, their cupidity should be enlarged, and their boldness increased to demand still greater things. There was in this assembly one Conan, a nobleman, who was very eminent among his countrymen for his prudence. This person discoursed

moed and gravely, concerning the cruelty of their enemies, and of the present state of the Britons, observing, that almost all their young soldiers were drawn out for foreign service; and adding withal, that war abroad, seditions at home, and hunger occasioned by want, would weaken, if not distress, the miserable remainders of his countrymen. As for the Roman legions, he said, they were gone home to quell their own civil wars, without any hopes of return; and therefore he gave his advice, that they should make peace with their formidable enemies, if not on advantageous one, yet the best they could procure. This counsel he gave, as he alleged, not out of any respect to his own private interest, but merely in consideration of public necessity; which appeared by this, that as long as there was any probability to defend themselves against the cruelty of their enemies, he never made mention of peace at all. Conan said he was aware that the peace, which he now recommended, would not be a lasting one, but only prove a small respite from war, till the force of the Britons, weakened by so many losses, and almost ruined, might be refreshed, and gather strength by a little intermission.

Whilst he was thus speaking, a great clamour ran through the whole assembly, which put him into some consternation; for the seditious cried out, that he did not respect the public good, but only endeavoured to obtain the kingdom for himself, by means of foreign aid. Upon this he departed from the council, calling heaven to witness, that he had no private end of his own in persuading them to peace; notwithstanding which, so violent was the commotion raised among the multitude, that they fell upon and slew him. His unhappy fate made the wiser sort refrain from speaking their mind, and giving their votes freely, though they evidently saw that the destruction of their country was at hand. The ambassadors returning home without their errand, the Scots and Picts left off all other business, and prepared wholly for war. The Britons foreseeing the same, after their fit of passion was somewhat over, sent ambassadors to the Scots, on pretence of making peace, and to prevent immediate hostilities. They were instructed to offer the Scots money; and to give them hopes, that they might get more from them by an amicable treaty, than they could expect to obtain by war; the chances of which were doubtful, and the issue uncertain. It was observed, that it was not the part of wise men to neglect the benefit which was in their view, and, upon casual prospects, to run themselves into positive and assured dangers. Nothing, however, was obtained by this embassy; for Eugenius was informed by his spies, that the Britons only dissembled in their pacific overtures, whilst they were intent upon making warlike preparations of an extensive nature. The Scots and Picts having thus inflamed, and invited by the calamities of the Britons, or else lifted up with confidence of success, refused any conditions, except the relinquishment of their all; so that both armies prepared for the last encounter. The confederate kings having been conquerors for some years, grew high in their expectations, and flattered themselves with gaining a greater victory than they had ever experienced; while the Britons, on the other hand, had before their eyes all the miseries that a fierce and conquering enemy could inflict upon them. In this posture of affairs, and temper of spirit, when both parties came in sight of one another, such a sharp fight commenced between them, as had never been before seen by the inhabitants of Britain. It was so obstinately maintained, that, after a very long and hot combat, the right wing of the Scots, though with difficulty, was forced to give ground; which Eugenius perceiving, having before brought all his reserves into action, he at last commanded the squadrons which had been left to guard the baggage, into the fight. These being entire and fresh men, routed the Britons who were opposed against them; so that the victory began on that side, from whence the fear of a total overthrow proceeded. The other Britons following the fortune of the first brigade, fled also into the woods and marshes near the place where the battle was fought; but while they were thus straggling, dispersed, and unarmed, the detached parties of the enemy fell upon and slew numbers of them. There fell of the Britons in this fight, fourteen thousand, but the loss of the victors did not exceed four thousand. After this fight, the Britons having lost almost all their infantry, sent ambassadors to the Scots and Picts, soli-

citing peace upon any conditions whatever. The confederates, seeing they had all in their power, were somewhat inclined to mercy; and therefore offered terms which, though hard enough, were not so severe as they might have propounded. These were, "That the Britons should not send for any Roman or other foreign army to assist them; that they should not admit them, if they came of their own accord, nor permit them to march through their country; that the friends and enemies of the Scots and Picts should be treated by them as such; and that, without their permission, they should not make peace or war, nor send aid to any who desired it; that the limits of their kingdom should be the Humber; that they should also make present payment of a certain sum of money by way of fine, to be divided amongst the soldiers, and continue the same subsidy yearly; and that, as a security, they should give one hundred hostages, to be approved of by the confederate kings."

These conditions were very unacceptable to some of the Britons, and it was only out of mere necessity that they submitted to them. The same controlling power of fate, arising from their circumstances, which made them comply with these terms at first, compelled them also to keep the peace for some years. The Britons being thus left weak, and quite forsaken by their foreign allies, that they might have a leader to resort to for public advice, chose for their king, Constantine, their countryman, a nobleman of high descent, and of great repute, whom they sent for out of Gallie Brittany. He perceiving that the forces of his new subjects were broken, as well abroad by wars, as at home by feuds, robberies, and discords, thought fit to attempt nothing but arms; but, during the ten years of his reign, he maintained peace with his neighbours; till at last he was murdered by the treachery of Vortigern, a potent and ambitious man. Constantine left three sons, of whom two were under age; while the eldest, being unfit for government, was sent to a monastery, and there confined. However, he at last was elected king, by the assistance of Vortigern, who was desirous of obtaining wealth and power under the title and influence of another man. Peace affording large opportunities of cultivating and tilling lands, after a most grievous famine, such a plentiful crop of grain was produced, that the like was never before heard of in Britain. From hence arose those vices which usually accompany a state of tranquillity; as luxury, cruelty, lust, drunkenness, which are far more pernicious than all the evils of war. Truth and sincerity were so far from being any where to be found, that equity, performance of promises, and constant good discipline, were not only subjects of scorn and laughter among the rabble, but even among the monks, and those who professed a religious life; of which Bede the Anglo-Saxon, and Gildas the Briton, make heavy complaints. In the mean time, the ambassadors who had been sent to the Roman consul, Ætius, brought word, that no relief could be expected from him. From these letters of the Britons to Ætius, I shall here recite some clauses, as they are delivered by Bede; both because they are a succinct history of the miseries of that nation, and also because they demonstrate how much many writers are mistaken in their chronology. The words are these: "To Ætius, the third time consul, the complaints of the Britons." And a little after, "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea beats us back again upon the barbarians; we have no choice but one of these two kinds of death, either to be killed or drowned." Now, it is to be observed, that Ætius in his third consulship had Symmachus for his colleague, in the 466th year after Christ; at which time no aid could be obtained from him, because he was then principally intent upon observing the motions of Attila. The rest of the Britons being driven to this desperate case, Vortigern alone rejoiced at the public calamity; and in the general confusion thought he might, with greater impunity, perpetrate the wickedness which he had long before meditated. This was, to cause the king to be slain by the guards whom he had placed about his person; after which, to remove the suspicion of so foul a parricide, in a pretended fit of anger, as if he were impatient of delay in executing revenge, he caused the same soldiers to be put to death, without suffering them to speak for themselves. Thus having obtained the kingdom by the highest degree of villany, he maintained it in no better a manner than he usurped it. For, suspecting the faith of the people towards him, and not

confiding in his own strength, which was but small, he engaged the Saxons to take his part, who were then become great pirates at sea, and infested all the shores far and near. Vortigern accordingly procured their captain, Hengist, with a strong band of soldiers, to come over with three galleys, and assigned lands to him in Britain; by which means Hengist was induced to fight, not as for a strange country, but for his own demesne and estate, and therefore was more likely to do it earnestly. When this was spread abroad, such large numbers of the three nations, Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, are said to have flocked out of Germany into Britain, that they became formidable even to the inhabitants of the island. In the first place, about the year 449, Vortigern being strengthened by those auxiliaries, gave battle to the Scots and Picts, whom he defeated, and drove beyond the wall of Adrian. As for what relates to Eugenius, the king of the Scots, there are two reports of him. Some say that he was slain in fight beyond the river Humber; others, that he died a natural death. However he came by his end, it is certain that he governed the Scots with such equity, as deservedly to be reckoned amongst the best of their kings. For though he spent the first part of his life, almost from his childhood, in war, yet he made such a proficiency under the discipline of his grandfather, from whom he learned equanimity of mind and temper, that the usual licentiousness of camps neither drew him to vice, nor made him negligent of his religious duties. In like manner, when prosperity shone upon him, he continued in the same course, and was totally free from all pride and arrogance. And on the other side, the peace and calm which he enjoyed, abated not at all the sharpness of his understanding, nor did it break his martial spirit; but he led his life with such an evenness of behaviour, that, merely by the advantage of his natural disposition, he equalled, or rather exceeded, those princes, who, after being instructed in the liberal arts, come from thence to the helm of government.

*DONGARDUS, the forty-second King, began to reign A. D. 452.*

The same year that Eugenius died, which was in the year 452, his brother, Dongardus, succeeded him in the throne. He was of a similar disposition to his predecessor; for, as he was willing to embrace peace upon good conditions, so, when occasion required, he was not afraid of war. And, therefore, in reference to either state, he not only prepared all things necessary to resist the invasion of an enemy, but likewise trained up the youth and soldiery of his country to labour and sobriety; that so they might be restrained from vice, and their minds kept from growing feeble and languid by long quiet, and too much prosperity. But the seditions at home, raised by the Britons, were the cause that his arms were not much famed abroad. Being thus freed from that incumbrance, he gave himself wholly up to the reformation of religion; for the relics of the Pelagian heresy did now very much trouble the British churches. To confute them, Pope Celestine, during the reign of Eugenius, sent over Palladius, who instructed many that grew afterwards famous for learning and sanctity of life; especially Patrick, Servan, Ninian, and Kentigern. This Palladius is reported to have been the first who introduced episcopacy into Scotland; whereas, till then, the churches were governed only by monks, with less pomp and external ceremony indeed than by bishops, but yet with greater integrity and sanctity of life. The Scots being thus intent about purging and settling religion and divine worship, escaped free from that tempest of war which then distracted almost all the rest of the world. In the second year of Dongardus, Vortigern was deposed, and his son Vortimer chosen king of the Britons. He renewed the ancient league with the Scots and Picts, that so he might more easily break the power of the Saxons, which was a triple alliance that the three nations had entered into against the Romans in the days of Carausius. Dongardus did not long survive this league, for he died after having reigned five years.

*CONSTANTINE I. the forty-third King, began his reign A. D. 457.*

Constantine, his youngest brother, succeeded him in the government; who, in his private condition, lived temperately enough, but as soon as he mounted

the throne, gave a loose to debauchery. He was covetous, and cruel to the nobility, but exceedingly familiar with men of an inferior rank. He gave himself wholly up to the debauching both of young and married women; indulged himself in riotous feasts; and had always musicians and stage-players about him, with all other parasites that would administer to his lusts and pleasures. The nobility of Scotland, being offended at these disorders, came often to him, to put him in mind of his duty, but he received their admonitions haughtily; told them to look after their own affairs; and said that he had sufficient advice from others. He added, that they were much mistaken, if they thought to prescribe to their king, under the pretext of giving him counsel. But while he was thus arrogant towards his subjects, he was no less abject and submissive to his enemies; for he granted them peace when they asked for it, and forgave them the injuries which they had committed; nay, he demolished some castles to please them, and delivered others into their hands. This conduct of his so far incensed the Scots and Picts, that the one were ready to rebel; and the others, who had before dealt secretly with the Saxons, set up for themselves, and at last made a public league with them.

Now, amongst the Scots, there was one Dougal, of Galloway, a man of great authority over the common people, who, for the present, restrained the multitude by an insinuating oration; in which he acknowledged, that many of those things which they complained of were true, and that what they desired was just. But, granting this, he told them that if a war should break out, as an addition to their other miseries, the kingdom would be so endangered, as hardly to be saved from destruction; especially now that the Picts were alienated from them; that the Britons, since the death of Vortimer, were but uncertain friends; and that the Saxons, who were very strong, potent, and cruel in their victories, and in whose friendship no faith was to be reposed, were ever intent upon the destruction of their neighbours.

The people being thus appeased by the wisdom and prudence of some of their grave elders, the king continued to reign, though with the hatred and contempt of all. At length, however, he is said to have been slain by a nobleman of the *Æbadae*, for ravishing his daughter, in the fifteenth year of his reign. This is the common report concerning his death; but I rather incline to the opinion of John Fordun, who says, in his *Scotti-chronicon*, that he reigned twenty-two years, and at last died of a lingering distemper. In his time Aurelius Ambrosius came into Britain, out of the Lesser Britany beyond sea; he was the son of Constantine, who held that kingdom some years before; but, being treacherously slain, and his brother, who reigned after his father, being also murdered by Vortigern, through the like treachery, the two other remaining sons of Constantine were conveyed by their father's friends into Gallie Britany. I think this original of Aurelius Ambrosius is more to be depended upon than that which others deliver, among whom is Bede; for they say that he was the last of the Roman stock who reigned in Britain. These two brothers, when Vortimer was murdered by the fraud of his step-mother, and Vortigern had made himself king without authority or right, being now grown up and fit to govern, returned, with the favour and expectation of all men, into the island, to recover their inheritance, bringing with them no inconsiderable number of Britons out of Gaul. On their arrival, and before they would venture to alarm the foreign settlers, they subdued Vortigern in Wales, and then sent messengers to the Scots and Picts, desiring their alliance, and craving the assistance of their arms against the Saxons, who were the most bitter enemies of the Christian name. This embassy was kindly received by the Scots, who renewed the league that had been made with Constantine; and from that day it remained almost inviolate, till the kingdom of Britain was oppressed by the Angles, and the kingdom of the Picts by their neighbours. But the Picts answered the British ambassadors, that, having already made a league with the Saxons, they saw no cause to break it; but were resolved to run all hazards with them for the future, and to be partakers of their good or bad success. Thus the whole island was divided into two great factions, the Scots and Britons waging continual war against the Picts and Saxons.

*CONGALLUS I. the forty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 479.*

To Constantine succeeded Congallus, the son of his brother Dongardus. He was of a warlike temper, but durst not then attempt any thing considerable, because the people were degenerated and enfeebled by lasciviousness and luxury, during the reign of his uncle. And though many, in compliance with his disposition, as usually kings have many parasites, often persuaded him to take up arms, yet he could never be brought to hearken to it. His principal object was to correct the public manners; neither did he attempt to reduce the ancient discipline, till he had appointed new magistrates; by whose means he cut off many suits and controversies, and restrained thefts and robberies. Having settled peace at home, he endeavoured to reclaim others to a more civil course of life; in the first place by his example, and in the next by gentle punishment; or else by discarding those as infamous who refused to be reformed, and persisted obstinately in their evil courses; and thus he quickly brought all things to their primitive condition.

The Britons perceiving, as I have already said, that at the beginning of his reign he gave himself wholly up to the study of peace, began to persuade Aurelius Ambrosius to recover Westmoreland from the Scots, who had possessed it many years. But after several embassies had passed betwixt them, and the matter appeared likely to be decided by the sword, a fear of the common enemy put an end to the dispute; so that the league made by Constantine was renewed, and no alteration took place in regard to Westmoreland. Congallus, however, had war with the Saxons throughout the whole of the rest of his reign; but it was a slow, intermitting, and predatory one; according as parties met by chance when out upon plunder, and carrying off their several booties; in which kind of fighting, the Scots being nimble, light, and mostly horsemen, accounted themselves superior to their enemies. But they never came to a pitched battle; for Congallus was of opinion, that it was best to trust as little as possible to the decision of fortune, and therefore he sent part of his forces to help Aurelius Ambrosius; and with the rest he wearied out his enemies, never suffering them to rest by night or day. Merlin and Gildas lived in the days of these and the succeeding kings. They were both Britons, and transmitted a great name to posterity, who conceived a high opinion of their prophecies and divinations. Merlin was somewhat the elder of the two, but a cheat and impostor, rather than a prophet. His vaticinations are still scattered up and down; but they are obscure, and contain nothing of certainty, either that could encourage hopes before their accomplishment, or indeed to satisfy men when they are fulfilled; so that there is no truth in them on any account. Besides, they are so framed, that you may accommodate or apply them to different or contrary events, according to your fancy. Notwithstanding this, they are still daily republished, and augmented with new additions, such is the folly of credulous men, that what they understand not, they will boldly affirm to be as true as gospel; and though they are caught in a notorious lie, they cannot endure to be convinced of it.

Gildas, who was later than Merlin, was a learned and good man, and one held in great veneration both in his lifetime and after his death, because he was excellent in learning, and eminent for sanctity. But the prophecies which go under his name, are such ridiculous sentences, so coarse and ill-constructed in the language, and also in the whole series of their composure, that no wise man can believe them to have proceeded from him whose name they bear. Each of these men had a patron suitable to his own disposition. Merlin was the favourite of Vortigern, and afterwards of Uther, to whom he was not only a seer, but a pander to his lust. The friend of Gildas was Aurelius Ambrosius, a person no less admirable for the probity of his life, than for his victories in war; after whose death Gildas retired into the abbey of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, where he lived and died very devoutly. Our books of the life of Aurelius Ambrosius make mention of him. Aurelius was succeeded by Uther, the youngest of the three sons of Constantine, in the year of our Lord 500. And in the following year, Congallus, king of Scotland, departed this life, in the twenty-second year of his reign.

*GORANUS, the forty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 501.*

Goranus, his brother, succeeded him, and, after his example, governed Scotland with great piety and justice, as far as foreign wars would permit him. He not only travelled all over the country, according to the practice of the good kings of old, to punish offenders, but also to redress the injuries which great men committed against the poor, who, in such cases, dared not complain. To curb their oppressive way of lording it over their inferiors, he appointed informers, who were to find out miscarriages, write them down, and bring them to him; a remedy necessary, perhaps, for those times, but a very hazardous one in our days. To him it was chiefly owing that the Picts deserted the Saxons, and entered into a league with the Scots and Britons. At that time, Lothus was king of the Picts, a person who excelled the princes of his age in all accomplishments, both of body and mind. Goranus dealt earnestly with him, to break his alliance with those barbarous nations; alleging, that he ought to remember his own country, in which they were all born, and especially their common religion: that he was much deceived, if he imagined that the peace betwixt him and the Saxons would be faithfully kept, when once the Britons and Scots were overthrown; seeing he had to do with men of savage cruelty and insatiable avarice: that they had given sufficient proofs how little they esteemed leagues, or any other principle, when, under the pretence of a conference, they wickedly slew the nobility of the Britons, to whom they were under the greatest obligations. That the son-in-law was saved alive by the father-in-law, not for any alleviation of his calamity, but for upbraiding him as an enemy. He added, that the sacred tie of treaties, which amongst other nations are accounted the firmest bonds of union, was amongst them as a snare or bait, to entrap the simple and unwary. To what purpose then was it to run so many hazards, to free themselves from the tyranny of the Romans, if they must of their own accord give themselves up to the much harder and baser servitude of the Saxons? This was not to make a change of condition, but of masters only. Nay, it was to prefer a bloodthirsty and barbarous tyranny to one that was comparatively mild and gentle. It was a foolish and wild thing, he said, to take away their lands from the Scots and Britons, to deliver them to these Germans, and so to despoil those who were but lately their friends, and endeared to them by many ancient courtesies and respects, that they might enrich pirates, the common enemies of mankind, even to their own destruction. He concluded, that it ought to be esteemed the most grievous thing of all, by one who was a true Christian, to consent to a league, whereby Christianity might be extinguished, while profane rites were renewed, and wicked oppressors, the enemies of piety and humanity, be armed with power against God and his law.

Lothus knew that all this remonstrance was true, and therefore committed the whole affair to the management of Goranus. He then easily persuaded Uther, not only to make an alliance, but to contract an affinity also with the Picts; giving him Anna, who was either his sister, or else his daughter, begotten in lawful wedlock, for a wife. I am rather of their opinion who think she was his sister, as judging that the mistake arose from hence, that Uther had another natural daughter, called Anna, by a concubine. After this league between these three kings, many victories were obtained over the Saxons, so that the name of Uther began to be great and formidable throughout Britain. When all the commanders of the Saxons were slain, and the power of those that remained was broken, whereby things were made almost hopeless and desperate among them. Uther might have been accounted one of the greatest kings of his age, had he not, by one foul act, brought a cloud over all his eminent virtues. There was one Gorlois, a noble Briton, of great valour and power, with whose wife Ige-ne, a beautiful lady. Uther, while in a private condition, fell in love, but her chastity being a long time proof against his desires, at last her continency was conquered by Merlin, a man audaciously wicked; and in this adulterous commerce Uther had a son by her, named Arthur. Uther, on the death of his lawful wife, being now freed from

several bonds, and become a king, and so, as he thought, above law, not being able to bear the absence of Igerne, attempted a very rash project. Having invented an accusation against Gorlois, he besieged his castle, took it, slew him, married Igerne, and owned Arthur for his own son, educating him nobly, with the design of leaving him heir to the kingdom. But seeing his wife's incontinence could not be concealed, that he might somewhat extenuate it, a tale was forged, not much unlike that which had been often acted in theatres, about Jupiter and Alcmena, namely, that Uther, by the art of Merlin, was changed into the shape of Gorlois, and so had his first night's lodging with Igerne; and indeed this Merlin was a man of such a character, that he had rather be famous for a wicked deed, than none at all. Arthur, the spurious offspring of an illicit amour, on growing up, appeared so amiable in the lineaments of his person, and inclinations of his mind, that the eyes of his parents, and of all the people too, were fixed upon him, predicted his future greatness, and concurred in regarding him as their future king. And his father was so much pleased with this humour of the people, that he cherished it by all the arts he could; so that now it was the common opinion, that none but Arthur should be heir to the crown. Uther died when he had reigned seventeen years, and presently Arthur was set up in his stead; though Lothus, king of the Picts, strenuously opposed it, grievously complaining, that his children, for he had two, by Anna, the aunt of Arthur, who were now of years, should be deprived of the kingdom; and that a bastard, begotten in adultery, was preferred before them. On the other side, all the Britons espoused the cause of Arthur, and denied that he was spurious; because Uther having married his mother at last, though after his birth, by that means treated him as his legitimate son, and continued so to do. But although they pretended this colour of right, yet that which availed Arthur most, was his great ingenuity, and the proofs of virtue which he often evinced. There was even a secret impulse, as it were, on the minds of all men, presaging his future greatness; so that they cordially with one voice adhered to his party: upon this, Lothus, being borne down not only by the plea of right, which from this time was always observed in Britain, but also by the affections of the people running another way, desisted from his enterprise in demanding the kingdom; which he did so much the rather, because he was loth to trust his children, for whom that kingdom was desired, to the Britons, who had shewn themselves so averse to them. Besides, the entreaties of his friends prevailed with him, for they all alleged, that no kingdom ought to be so dear to him, as to make him, merely for the sake of a throne, to prejudice the cause of religion by joining in affinity with infidels, who would no more inviolably keep their league and alliance with him, than they had done before with the Scots. Moreover, the liberal and promising disposition of Arthur, and the greatness of his mind, even above his age, very much affected him; inasmuch that the alliance made by former kings, betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Britons, was again renewed, which produced so great a familiarity, that Lothus promised to send Galvinus, the youngest of his two sons, to the British court, as soon as he was old enough to bear the fatigue of the journey. Arthur assumed the regal government before he was quite eighteen; but as his courage was above his age, so success was not wanting to his daring spirit. His father had divided the country by prescribed boundaries, with the Saxons, and had made peace with them on certain conditions; but the fair opportunity which now offered them, by the youthful age of the king, more prevailed with them to break the peace, than the sanctity of the league could induce them to observe it. Arthur, that he might quench the fire in the beginning, gathered an army together sooner than any man could imagine; and, being assisted with auxiliaries by the Scots and Picts, he overthrew the enemy in two great battles, after which he compelled them to pay him tribute, and to receive laws from him. With the same eagerness and celerity he advanced to London, the metropolis of the Saxon kingdom; and having written things there, marched his army towards York; but the report of auxiliary forces coming out of Germany, and the approach of winter, obliged him to raise the siege of that place. In the following summer he returned to York, which immediately surrendered to him; so great was the



dread that his unexpected success during the preceding year had struck into the minds of men. Here he took up his winter-quarters, and was resorted to by the principal persons of the neighbourhood, as well as of his own subjects, who spent the latter end of December in mirth, jollity, drinking, and the ordinary vices of those irregularities; so that the representations of the old pagan feasts, dedicated to Saturn, were here revived; though the number of days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier sort trebled, during which time they counted it almost a sin to treat of any serious matter. Gifts were sent mutually from one to another; frequent invitations and feastings passed between friends, and the faults of servants were not punished. Our countrymen call this feast Yule, substituting the name of Julius Cæsar for that of Saturn. But the vulgar are persuaded, that the nativity of Christ is then celebrated; though it is plain, that they exhibit the lasciviousness of the Bacchanalia, rather than the memory of our Lord's nativity.

In the mean time, the Saxons were reported to have pitched their tents by the river Humber; which rumour, whether true or not, induced Arthur to march towards them. As the Britons, however, were rendered effeminate by pleasures, they were in consequence less fit for military service; inasmuch that they did not seem the same men who had overthrown the Saxons in numerous battles; and by their luxurious idleness they had increased in rashness, as much as they had lost in the ancient severity of discipline. Thus being degenerated, advice was given by the discreeter sort, to send for aid from the Scots and Picts. This counsel was adopted; ambassadors were despatched, and the desired assistance easily obtained. Those who had been almost disjoined by ambition, were now reconciled by a mutual concern of religion, and so strongly animated by emulation, that forces were sent from each king, sooner than could well have been imagined. Lothus also, that he might give a public testimony of his sincerity, brought his sons, Modredus and Galvinus, with him into the camp, giving the latter to Arthur, as his companion; whom he received with so great courtesy, that from that day forward they lived and died together. The army of the three kings being thus ready, and their camps united, it was unanimously agreed, that as the danger was common to them all, and the cause of it the same, they should drive out the Saxons, and restore the Christian rites and religion, which they had profaned. The armies drawing near each other, Oeca, son of a former chief of the same name, then general of the Saxons, hastened to give battle. In the confederate army, the two wings were allotted to the Scots and Picts, and the main force to Arthur. The Scots, at the first onset, wounded Childern, commander of that quarter of the enemy opposed to them; and this misfortune so terrified the rest, that the whole wing was broken. On the other side, Colgernus the Saxon, after having reproached the perfidiousness of the Picts, assaulted Lothus, whom he knew by his habit and his arms, with great violence, and dismounted him; but while so engaged, he was himself suddenly surrounded by his enemies, and run through the body with spears, by two Picts. The main body, where the fight was sharpest, having lost both wings at length gave ground; and Oeca being wounded, was carried to the sea-side, with as many as could get on shipboard with him, and transported into Germany: such of the remaining Saxons as persisted with the greatest obstinacy in their errors, were put to death; the rest, by pretending to embrace the Christian religion, were saved.

There were other great forces of the Saxons yet continuing in the eastern part of England, and also in Kent. The following summer, therefore, Arthur marched against them, having ten thousand Scots and Picts for his allies. Congallus, the son of Eugenius, commanded the Scots; and Modredus, the son of Lothus, headed the Picts; both young men of great hope, and who had often given good testimonies of their valour and conduct. When this army of the three kings was about five miles from the enemy, and their camps distant not from another, the Saxons being informed by their spies, that the Picts, who were farthest distant from the other forces, were very careless and secure, made a sudden and unexpected assault on them in the night. Modredus defended himself very gallantly for some time; but, when things became

desperate, he mounted on a horse with Galanus, his father-in-law, and fled to Arthur. That prince was not dismayed at the loss of the Picts, but spent the day in making proper arrangements; after which his army marched in the third watch, and came upon the enemy with a treble force, before they knew of his approach. The Saxons, in a terrible dismay, dispersed themselves in every direction, having no time to take counsel, or to arm themselves; thus their camp being entered, they were slain by the Britons, but especially by the enraged Picts, who were cruel to all without distinction.

Some writers of English antiquity say, that Arthur fought twelve pitched battles with the Saxons; but, as they give only the names of the places where they were fought, and nothing else, I shall take no farther notice of them. To speak briefly of his famous actions, this is manifest, that he wholly subdued the forces of the Saxons, and restored peace to his country, after which he went over to settle things in the Lesser Britany, in France, trusting the kingdom, in the mean while, to Modredus, his kinsman, who was to manage the government till his return. I have no certainty of the exploits he performed in Gaul: for as to what Geoffrey of Monmouth attributes to him there, it hath no shadow or semblance of truth in it; so that I pass it all by as an impudent forgery, unworthy of belief. But to return to our subject.

Whilst Arthur was absent, and intent on settling the Gallic affairs, the seeds of a pernicious war were sown in Britain. There was a certain man in Arthur's retinue, named Constantine, the son of Cadur; who, for the excellent endowments of his body and mind, was highly in favour with all men. He secretly aimed at the kingdom, and did every thing to gain the people over to his interest. Upon this the nobles, at a convenient time, when the king was free from business, suggested their advice concerning his successor; beseeching him to add this also to the innumerable blessings he had procured for his country, that in case he died childless, he would not leave Britain destitute of a king, especially when such great wars were like to be waged against them. Some ventured to name Modredus as nearest of kin, and already accustomed to government, both in peace and war; and one likewise who had given good proof of his virtue, in his viceroyship; concluding that he was likely to improve the British affairs. It is said, however, that the multitude, who favoured Constantine, cried out that they would not have a stranger to be their king; and that Britain was not so deficient in great men, as to be without a qualified person for the throne, born within its own territory. They added also, that it was a foolish thing to seek for that abroad, which they could have at home. Arthur knew, before this, the love of the people to Constantine; and therefore, though aware that he was an ambitious man, he easily assented to their choice; and, from that day, gave him such public marks of distinction, as cherished in him the hopes of the kingdom. The friends of Modredus took this ill, and looked upon it as a great wrong to him; alleging that, by the league made between Arthur and Lothus, it was expressly provided, that none should be preferred to the succession of the kingdom before the sons of the latter. To this the opposite party answered, that the contract was extorted by the necessity of the times against the common good of the nation, and that they were not obliged to keep it, now Lothus, with whom it had been made, was dead; and that therefore the Picts would do well to be satisfied with their own territories, and not invade those of other men. They added, that the kingdom of Britain, by the divine blessing, was now in such a state, that it could not only defend itself against new injuries, but also revenge old ones.

These things being communicated to Modredus: quite alienated his mind from Arthur; and at first inclined him to set up for himself, and to maintain his own dignity: but, upon reflection, he suspended hostile operations till he had sounded the disposition of the Scots. Having brought them over to his party, an army was raised, consisting of many Picts, Scots, and some Britons, who were led to join Modredus, either for the equity of his cause, the love of his person, or their private hatred of Arthur. Nay, Vanora, the wife of Arthur, was thought not to be ignorant of these new cabals, as she was suspected of being too familiar with Modredus. Both armies pitched their tents by the Hamber, and just as they were about to engage, the bishops, on both

sides, endeavoured to restore peace, but in vain; for Constantine's friends obstructed them, affirming, that the felicity of Arthur's fortune would bear down all opposition. Upon this, a desperate fight began, but two things especially turned to the advantage of Modredus and his confederates: one was, a marsh that lay between them, which could not easily be passed; the other was this; in the heat of the fight there was one suborned to spread a report among the Britons, that Arthur was slain, and therefore, as all was lost, every one should shift for himself. This stratagem had the desired effect, and the Britons instantly fled. There was, however, a great slaughter in both armies, neither was the victory decisive to either party; for, on the one hand, Modredus was slain, with his brother Galvinus; while Arthur himself was mortally wounded, and a great plunder taken.

I very well know what fabulous matters are reported by many concerning the life and death of Arthur, but they are not fit to be related, lest they spread a mist over his famous actions; for when men confidently affirm lies, they cause the truth itself many times to be called in question. This is certain, that he was a great man, and very valiant, animated by a pure love of his country, which he freed from servitude, and that he restored the true worship of God, which he also reformed when it was corrupted. I have spoken of these things, concerning his lineage, life, and death, at a greater length than the nature of my design required; for I never meant to record all the exploits of the Britons, but to free and preserve the affairs of our own nation from the oblivion of time, and the fabulous tales of some loose and unprincipled writers. I have insisted the longer on the exploits of Arthur, partly because some cartail them out of envy, and others heighten them with ostentatious hyperboles. He died in the year 542, after he had reigned twenty-four years.

But to return to the affairs of Scotland. Gornanus, the king, now grown old, departed this life, after he had governed Scotland thirty-four years; and it is thought that he was treacherously slain by his subjects. There was one Torcetus, chief justice in criminal matters, a man no less cruel than covetous; who being guilty of many foul deeds against the wealthier people, flattered himself that he should easily get his pardon from the king, because it was by this means that he had augmented his treasury. The people could not easily obtain admittance to their sovereign, now grown weak with age and sickness, to make their complaints; and even if they had access, they were persuaded that their allegations would not meet with belief, against so great an officer and high a favourite. They, therefore, set upon Torcetus, and murdered him; but after the heat of their anger was over, and they began to reflect upon the heinousness of the fact they had committed, and knew that there was no person to be expected for them, they turned their wrath and fury upon the king himself; in consequence of which, by the instigation of Donald of Athol, they entered into his palace, and slew him also.

*EUGENIUS III. the forty-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 535.*

Gornanus was succeeded by Eugenius, the son of Congallus, who, when requested by some of the nobility to revenge the death of his uncle, treated the motion so coldly, as to create a suspicion that he was not unconcerned in the murder, which idea was increased by his taking Donald of Athol into his special favour. Upon this, the wife of Gornanus, for fear, fled with her small children into Ireland. But Eugenius, to purge his life and manners from the foul imputation, so governed the kingdom, that none of the former kings could be justly preferred to him. He assisted Modredus, and also Arthur, against the Saxons. He sent several captains to make daily incursions into the English borders, but never fought a pitched battle with them himself. He died in the year 558, having reigned twenty-three years.

*CONVALLUS, the forty-seventh King, began to reign A. D. 558.*

His brother Convallus next governed the kingdom, and did so ten years, with the greatest peace and tranquillity; a man whose excellent virtues rendered him worthy of eternal memory; for besides his equity in matters of law, and the deep-rooted aversion which he had to all covetousness, he vied even with the very monks themselves in sobriety of life; though they at that time,

practised a most severe discipline. He enriched priests with lands and other revenues, more out of a pious intention, than with any good success. By the example and authority of his own life, rather than by the severity of laws, he corrected the manners of the soldiers, who in the time of peace had degenerated to effeminacy and luxury. He also sent to call home the sons of Goranus, who, for fear of Eugenius, had fled into Ireland; but before their return he died, in the year 568. He never fought a battle himself, but only assisted the Britons with auxiliary forces against the Saxons, with whom they had frequent combats, the successes of which were very unequal.

*KINNATELLUS, the forty-eighth King, began his reign A. D. 568.*

On his death, the throne came to his brother Kinnatellus; at the beginning of whose reign Aidanus, the son of Goranus, came into Scotland, by the persuasion of Columba, a holy man, who, two years before, had come out of Ireland. This person introduced Aidanus to the king; who, beyond his own, and the expectation of all other men, received him very graciously, and desired him to be of good cheer, for it would shortly be his turn to reign. Accordingly Kinnatellus, worn out with age and sickness, and not capable of enduring the administration of affairs, placed Aidanus at the helm of government, and so died, having reigned fourteen, or, as some say, fifteen months. On this account, a few writers leave him out, and will have it, that Aidanus immediately succeeded Convallus; but the greater number place Kinnatellus between them.

*AIDANUS, the forty-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 569.*

Aidanus being nominated to the government by Kinnatellus, and confirmed by the people, was installed by Columba; whose authority was so great in those days, that neither prince nor people would undertake any thing without his advice. After he had, in a long speech, exhorted the king to rule equitably over his people, and the nation to be loyal to their king, he earnestly pressed them both to persevere in the pure worship of God, for that then both of them would prosper; but if they were guilty of any defection from it, they must expect destruction as the reward of their apostasy. Having performed this service, he returned into his own country.

The first expedition of Aidanus, was against the robbers who infested Galloway; of whom he put the ringleaders to death, and fear restrained the rest; but he met with a great storm at his return. For after holding three conventions of the states in Galloway, Aber or Lochaber, and Caithness, and thinking that all things were settled, a tumult arose amongst them while hunting, where much blood was spilt, and the king's officers, who came to punish the offenders, were repulsed and beaten. The principals in the affray, for fear of punishment, fled into Lothian, to Brudeus, king of the Picts; and when ambassadors were sent to demand them of him, according to the league between the two nations, he refused. This gave rise to a sanguinary war, which, however, was quickly put an end to by the means of Columba, who was highly esteemed by both nations, according to his distinguished merit.

In the mean time England was again divided into seven kingdoms, and the Britons were driven into the peninsula of Wales; but the Saxons, not satisfied with such large dominions, kindled a new war between the Scots and Picts. The chief author and incendiary in this contest, was Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, a covetous man, who was weary of peace, out of a craving desire to enlarge his territories. He persuaded the Picts, though not very easily, and much against the inclination of Brudeus, to seize cattle in the lands of the Scots, judging that this would produce a new war. Aidanus, being well apprised of the treachery of the Saxons, in order to strengthen himself with foreign aid, renewed the ancient league with Malgo the Briton. He also sent his son Grifinus, and his sister's son, Brendinus, the military chief of Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man, with troops, who, joining those of the Britons, entered Northumberland; and, after three days' march, came up with the enemy. The Northumbrians, however, declined an engagement, because they expected the arrival of Ceulinus, king of the East Saxons, a very warlike man, who was coming with great forces. But the Scots and Britons intercepting Ceulinus, fell upon him in the march, and wholly de-

stroyed the van of his army, which was a long way before the rest, together with his son Cutha. They durst not, however, attack those behind, lest they should be circumvented and surrounded by Ethelfrid, who was at no great distance. The two kings of the Saxons, having joined, renewed the fight, with much slaughter on both sides, and the Scots and Britons were vanquished and put to flight. There were slain of the Scottish nobles, Grifnus, and Breadinus; while, of the opposite army, Ethelfrid lost one of his eyes; and Brudeus was carried wounded out of the field, to the great astonishment and dismay of his party.

The following summer, Ethelfrid united his forces with those of the Picts, and marched into Galloway, supposing he should find all things there in great consternation, on account of their ill success in the preceding year. But Aidanus coming with his forces thither, sooner than his enemies thought, set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them full of terror to their camp. Thus having chastised their rashness, and supposing they would remain quiet during the night, he passed by their camp, and joined the Britons. The allied armies then pitched their tents in a narrow valley of Annandale; and their enemies, as being sure of their destruction, beset the passages entering into it. But they, after fortifying their camp, as if they intended to keep that ground, took an opportunity, in the night, when the tide was out, to pass over a ford, which, though full of dangerous quicksands, was well known to them; and so they marched into Cumberland, and afterwards into Northumberland, making great havock in every place to which they came. The enemy followed them closely, and, when they came in sight of one another, both armies prepared for the fight. The Scots and Britons made four commanders, in addition to what they had before; who were noble persons, of great experience in military affairs, that so the common soldiers might have a greater number of captains to restrain their impetuosity, and guide them properly. These super-added officers were Constantine and Menerinus, both Britons; and Caleus and Murdacus, who were Scots. By their conduct and encouragement the soldiers fell upon the enemy with such spirit, that they were presently broken and put to flight. There goes a report, that Columba, being then in the Isle of Icolmkill, told his companions of this victory at the same hour in which it was obtained. Of the Saxon nobles there were slain, in the fight, Cicolinus and Vitellius, both great warriors, and of noble descent. About eleven years after this victory, the Saxons and Picts having infested the adjacent country, a day was appointed on which the Britons and Scots should meet; and, with their united forces, set upon the invaders. Aidanus, though now aged, came to the place at the set time, where he waited for the Britons, who disappointed him, and failed in their engagement; notwithstanding which the Scots ventured to commit hostilities, and plundered the country of cattle. Ethelfrid having this opportunity of taking the field, set upon the dispersed parties, and made so great a slaughter of them, that Aidanus, after losing many of his men, fled for his life. The victory, however, cost the Saxons dearly; for they lost Theobald, the brother of Ethelfrid, and some of the squadrons which followed him were almost wholly cut off. Aidanus did not long survive this sad overthrow; for, being informed of the death of the holy man, Columba, whom he so highly honoured, and plainly foreseeing to what cruelty the remnant of Christians were likely to be exposed, grief and age so wore him out, that he died in the year of our Lord 604, after reigning thirty-four years. In his time, a certain monk, named Austin, being sent by Pope Gregory, came into Britain. This man, by his ambition, in teaching a new form of religion, mightily disturbed the old, for he did not so much instruct men in the doctrines of Christianity, as in the ceremonies of the Roman church. The Britons, long before his coming, had been taught the principles of the Christian religion by the disciples of John the Evangelist,\* and were further instructed in the same by the monks, who, in that age were learned and pious men. As

\*This is a gross mistake. We know of no disciples of John who came into Britain; nor is there any thing certain respecting the first introduction of Christianity into this island. All that is known on the subject is, that, when Austin came over, he found bishops here, upon whom he wished to exercise pontifical authority, which they rejected.

for Amstín, he laboured to reduce all things to the dominion of the bishop of Rome, on whose authority he pretended to be the sole archbishop of the Isle of Britain; and introduced a dispute, neither necessary nor useful, concerning the day on which Easter should be kept. By this means he greatly troubled the churches: and so loaded the Christian discipline, which was then inclining towards superstition, with new ceremonies and fictitious miracles, that he scarce left any mark or footstep of true piety behind him.

*KENNETH I. the fiftieth King, began his reign A. D. 604.*

After Aidanus, Kenneth was elected king. He did nothing memorable in his time; and died the fourth, or, as some say, the twelfth month, after he began to reign.

*EUGENIUS IV. the fifty-first King, began his reign A. D. 605.*

After him, Eugenius, the son of Aidanus, was proclaimed king, in the year of our Lord 605. He was brought up, according to the Black Book of Paisley, piously and carefully under Columba, and, was very well instructed in human learning; but he departed from the institution of his master, in being more addicted to war than peace, for he harassed the Saxons and Picts with daily incursions. His government, also, was very severe and rough to those who were proud and contumacious, and who sooner felt the point of his sword than received from him any overtures of peace; but to such as made an abject submission, and solicited forgiveness for their offences, and voluntarily surrendered themselves, he was very merciful and easy to forgive; nor was he at all insolent in his victories. This is what that book reports concerning Eugenius. But Boéthius, on the contrary, says, that he lived in great peace; which happened not so much from his foreign leagues, as from the discords of his enemies, who kept up a civil war among themselves. For the English, who inhabited the southern parts, and professed the sacred name of Jesus Christ, whilst they were endeavouring to revenge the injuries offered them, deprived Ethelfrid, the most potent king of Northumberland, not only of his dominion, but his life. Edwin succeeded him, on which the family of Ethelfrid fled into Scotland, amongst whom were seven of his sons, and one daughter. This happened in the tenth year of the reign of Eugenius; who, as these Saxons flew to him for refuge, though he knew them to be enemies both to him and the Christian name, entertained and protected them with great courtesy and humanity as long as he lived. He gave them a royal reception, and took great care to have them piously instructed in the Christian religion. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was much lamented by all men, every one deeming the loss his own, and considering the death of the king a personal misfortune.

*FERCHARD I. the fifty-second King, began his reign A. D. 622.*

His son Ferchard succeeded him in the year of Christ 622, and in the thirteenth year of Heraclius the emperor. He being a politic man, cunning and wicked, endeavoured to change the lawful government of the land into tyranny; in order to which he nourished factions amongst the nobility, thinking by that means to effect what he designed, with impunity. But the nobles, perceiving his malicious aim, secretly made up the breach amongst themselves; and, calling an assembly of the states, summoned him to appear before them; and, on his refusal, stormed his castle, and so drew him forcibly to judgment. Many and grievous crimes were objected against him, particularly that of fostering the Pelagian heresy, and contemning baptism, with the other sacred rites.\* As he was not able to purge himself from any of these charges, he was committed to prison; where, that he might not become a public spectacle of disgrace, he put an end to his own life in the fourteenth year of his reign.

\* It is singular that Buchanan should not have more particularly noticed this remarkable instance of ecclesiastical despotism. The offences, for which Ferchard was deprived of his throne and liberty, were mere matters of opinion, and in no case injurious to the commonwealth.

*DONALD IV. the fifty-third King, began his reign A. D. 636.*

His brother Donald, or Donevald, mounted the throne in his stead ; who, bearing in mind the virtues of his father, and the miserable end of his brother, made it his business to maintain the true worship of God. This he not only took care to preserve at home, but sought by all lawful means to propagate it abroad. On the death of Edwin, he furnished the relations and the children of Ethelfrid, who had, for many years, remained exiles in Scotland, with accommodations to return home ; bestowed upon them gifts, sent forces to accompany them, and gave them free liberty to pass and repass, as occasion should require. This Edwin was slain by Coodwalla, as Bede calls him, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians ; one of whom was his enemy, out of an old pique to the nation ; the other on account of his having embraced Christianity ; but both, still more from an ambitious spirit of encroachment. The victory is reported to have been more cruel than any in the records of history ; for whilst Penda endeavoured to root out the Christians, and Coodwalla to destroy the Saxons, their fury was so great, that it spared neither sex nor age. After the death of Edwin, Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms. Osthens, cousin-german to Edwin, was made king of the Deiri ; and Eanfrid, as Bede calls him, though our writers name him Audefridus, the eldest son of Ethelfrid, became king of the Bernici. Both renounced the Christian religion, in which they had been diligently educated, one by the monks, the other by Paulinus the bishop, and revolted to their ancient superstition. They were, however, shortly after, deprived of their estates and lives too, by Penda. Oswald, the son of Ethelfrid, who succeeded them, was a studious promoter of Christianity. He sent ambassadors to Donald, requesting some divines to instruct his people in religious knowledge. This was accordingly done by Donald, and the persons sent by him were men of great sanctity and learning ; who were accordingly received with great honour, and bountifully rewarded. Neither did Oswald think it below his royal dignity, to interpret the meaning of the sermons which they preached to the people, who did not so well understand the Scottish language, and he would often gather them together for that purpose ; as is expressly stated by Bede. Donald died in the fourteenth year of his reign, leaving behind him a precious memory of his virtues.

*FERCHARD II. the fifty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 648.*

Ferchard, his brother's son of that name, who succeeded him, was a person of the most flagitious nature ; having every vice stamped upon his heart. He was insatiable in his desires of wine and wealth : his cruelty towards men was perfectly inhuman, and his impiety towards God thoroughly diabolical. After exercising his barbarity and rapine among strangers, he turned his fury upon his own domestics. He murdered his wife ; and ravished his daughters ; for which crying sins he was excommunicated from the society of Christians. But, as the nobles were about to assemble, in consultation, to inflict upon him the punishment he merited, Coleman, the holy bishop, stopped them, by openly denouncing speedy vengeance upon the king, who was present in the midst of the court when the sentence was delivered. And truly the event verified the prediction ; for within a few days after, as he was hunting, he was bit by a wolf, and fell into a fever ; which, with his former intemperance, brought on a loathsome and incurable disease. In this state he is said to have cried out, that he was deservedly punished, because he had not hearkened to the wholesome admonitions of Coleman. Thus humbled to a sight of his enormity, and Coleman comforting him with hopes of pardon, in case he truly repented, he caused himself to be carried abroad in a litter, meanly apparelled ; and there made a public confession of his wickedness. Thus he died, in the year 668. Scotland groaned under this monster twenty years.

*MALDUINUS, the fifty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 668.*

Malduinus, the son of Donald, succeeded him ; who, that he might strengthen those parts of the kingdom which were weakened by the tyranny of his pre-

decessor, made peace with all his neighbours: but, after restoring tranquillity abroad, he was disturbed by a sedition at home, originating in the contentions between the people of Argyle and Lennox. Malduinus went in person against the authors of this commotion, that he might punish them without injury to the common people. To avoid the wrath of the king, these men then composed their private animosities, and fled into the western isles. On being demanded by the king, they were delivered up, and their punishment brought the rest to a sense of their duty.

About this time, the Scottish monks, who had propagated the Christian doctrine with great success in England, became the objects of jealousy and envy to the young persons whom they had instructed, and who, thinking themselves wiser than their masters, obliged them to return to their own country. This treatment broke off the harmony that had hitherto subsisted between the respective kingdoms; but, through the meekness of those who had received the wrong, the two nations were preserved from a formal war, though frequent incursions were made, and skirmishes happened in divers places. At length, by reason of the frequent injuries thus mutually offered, and the driving away of cattle on both sides, open hostilities appeared inevitable, but the rupture was prevented by the death of Malduinus. After reigning twenty years, his wife, out of jealousy, strangled him; for which, at the end of four days, she was burned alive. There broke out at this time a terrible plague over all Europe, such as was never recorded by any writer before; only the Scots and Picts were free from the contagion.

*EUGENIUS V. the fifty-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 684.*

Eugenius, the fifth son of king Dongardus, now began his reign. He had an earnest desire to live on terms of amity with Egfrid, king of Northumberland, but finding that this prince was insincere in his professions, and endeavoured to deceive him by feigned truces, he played the same game of policy, and turned Egfrid's artifices upon himself. Thus, while both made a show of peace in words, they each secretly prepared for war. When the armistice was ended, Egfrid, though his friends dissuaded him from it, united his forces with the Picts, and, entering into Scotland, sent out his foragers all over Galloway. But he was defeated by Eugenius, the Picts giving ground in the fight, so that, after losing nearly all his army, and himself being wounded, Egfrid hardly escaped, with a few followers, to his own country. The next year, contrary to the advice of his friends, he marched with an army against the Picts; who ensnared him, under the feint of retreating, into an ambush, and cut him off, with all his men. The victors laying hold of this fair opportunity, recovered those large territories which had been taken from them in former wars; and the Britons, who freed themselves from the government of the Angli, or English, together with the Scots, also entered Northumberland, and made such a havock there, that it never afterwards recovered itself. Soon after, Eugenius died, in the fourth year of his reign.

*EUGENIUS VI. the fifty-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 688.*

Eugenius VI. the son of Ferchard, succeeded Eugenius V. as Alfrid did his brother Egfrid, in Northumberland. Both kings were very learned, especially in theology, according to the state of knowledge at that time; and they were also friendly to one another, on the account of their common studies, so that the peace was faithfully maintained betwixt them. Alfrid made use of this tranquillity to settle his kingdom, though in narrower limits than before; but the Scots had neither an established peace, nor yet a declared war, with the Picts; excursions being frequently made with various success. Cathbert, an English, and Adamannus, a Scottish, bishop, laboured to reconcile the two parties, and, though not quite successful, yet they ordered matters so well as to prevent a pitched battle. In the mean time, Eugenius, being inflamed with an inveterate hatred against the perfidiousness of the Picts, was about to adopt more vigorous measures, when he died, having reigned ten years. In his time, it is reported, that blood reigned all over Britain for seven days, and that, in consequence, the milk, cheese, and butter became ensanguined.



dread that his unexpected success during the preceding year had struck into the minds of men. Here he took up his winter-quarters, and was resorted to by the principal persons of the neighbourhood, as well as of his own subjects, who spent the latter end of December in mirth, jollity, drinking, and the ordinary vices of those irregularities; so that the representations of the old pagan feasts, dedicated to Saturn, were here revived; though the number of days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier sort trebled, during which time they counted it almost a sin to treat of any serious matter. Gifts were sent mutually from one to another; frequent invitations and feastings passed between friends, and the faults of servants were not punished. Our countrymen call this feast Yule, substituting the name of Julius Cæsar for that of Saturn. But the vulgar are persuaded, that the nativity of Christ is then celebrated; though it is plain, that they exhibit the lasciviousness of the Bacchanalia, rather than the memory of our Lord's nativity.

In the mean time, the Saxons were reported to have pitched their tents by the river Humber; which rumour, whether true or not, induced Arthur to march towards them. As the Britons, however, were rendered effeminate by pleasures, they were in consequence less fit for military service; inasmuch that they did not seem the same men who had overthrown the Saxons in numerous battles; and by their luxurious idleness they had increased in rashness, as much as they had lost in the ancient severity of discipline. Thus being degenerated, advice was given by the discreeter sort, to send for aid from the Scots and Picts. This counsel was adopted; ambassadors were despatched, and the desired assistance easily obtained. Those who had been almost disjoined by ambition, were now reconciled by a mutual concern of religion, and so strongly animated by emulation, that forces were sent from each king, sooner than could well have been imagined. Lothus also, that he might give a public testimony of his sincerity, brought his sons, Modredus, and Galvinus, with him into the camp, giving the latter to Arthur, as his companion; whom he received with so great courtesy, that from that day forward they lived and died together. The army of the three kings being thus ready, and their camps united, it was unanimously agreed, that as the danger was common to them all, and the cause of it the same, they should drive out the Saxons, and restore the Christian rites and religion, which they had profaned. The armies drawing near each other, Occa, son of a former chief of the same name, then general of the Saxons, hastened to give battle. In the confederate army, the two wings were allotted to the Scots and Picts, and the main force to Arthur. The Scots, at the first onset, wounded Childeric, commander of that quarter of the enemy opposed to them; and this misfortune so terrified the rest, that the whole wing was broken. On the other side, Colgernus the Saxon, after having reproached the perfidiousness of the Picts, assaulted Lothus, whom he knew by his habit and his arms, with great violence, and dismounted him; but while so engaged, he was himself suddenly surrounded by his enemies, and run through the body with spears, by two Picts. The main body, where the fight was sharpest, having lost both wings, at length gave ground; and Occa being wounded, was carried to the sea-side, with as many as could get on shipboard with him, and transported into Germany: such of the remaining Saxons as persisted with the greatest obstinacy in their errors, were put to death; the rest, by pretending to embrace the Christian religion, were saved.

There were other great forces of the Saxons yet continuing in the eastern part of England, and also in Kent. The following summer, therefore, Arthur marched against them, having ten thousand Scots and Picts for his allies. Congallus, the son of Eugenius, commanded the Scots; and Modredus, the son of Lothus, headed the Picts: both young men of great hope, and who had often given good testimonies of their valour and conduct. When this army of the three kings was about five miles from the enemy, and their camps distant one from another, the Saxons being informed by their spies, that the Picts, who were farthest distant from the other forces, were very careless and secure, made a sudden and unexpected assault on them in the night. Modredus defended himself very gallantly for some time; but, when things became

the king now confirmed the leagues formerly made with the neighbouring states. Notwithstanding all this, he, who had gained so much glory in war, on the ratification of peace, abandoned himself to all manner of vice. Persisting in this course, and refusing to be reclaimed, either by the advice of his friends or of the priests, all the nobles conspired to depose him; which they did in a public convention, in the third year of his reign. The companions and associates of his wicked practices ended their lives at the gallows; to the rejoicing of all men, who made a holiday at their execution.

*FERGUS III. the sixty-third King, began to reign A. D. 764.*

Fergus III. the son of Etfnus, succeeded him; who, under a like counterfeit pretence of virtue, while at heart he was horribly vicious, died after the like violent manner, having also reigned three years. He was poisoned by his wife; but others say, that, after frequently upbraiding him with his infidelity, for keeping a number of women, and finding her remonstrances disregarded, she strangled him at night, while sleeping in his bed. When inquiry was made into his death, and many of his friends were accused, who, though severely tortured, would confess nothing, the queen, though otherwise of a haughty and impetuous disposition, yet, pitying the sufferings of so many innocent persons, came forward, and, standing on an eminence, told the assembly, "That she was the perpetrator of the murder;" then, presently, lest she should be made a living spectacle of reproach, stabbed herself in the breast with a knife. This act was variously spoken of, and descanted upon, according to the several humours and dispositions of the men of those days.

*SOLVATHIUS, the sixty-fourth King, began to reign A. D. 767.*

Solvathius, the son of Eugenius VIII. is the next in order; who, if he had not contracted the gout, by being much exposed to damps and colds, in the third year of his reign, might well be reckoned, for his personal valour, amongst the best of kings. Notwithstanding the violence of his disease, he shewed great wisdom and prudence in the choice of his generals, by whose means he appeased all tumults. Donald Bane, that is, the White, standing in no fear of being attacked by a lame and infirm prince, had first the boldness to seize upon all the western islands, and to call himself king of the Æbudæ. Afterwards, making a descent on the main land, and carrying away much cattle, he was forced, by Cullan, general of the Argyle people, and by Duchal, captain of the Athol men, into a wood, out of which there was but one passage. Here, as all their endeavours to escape were fruitless, he and his party were slain to a man. One Gilcolumb, stimulated in the same manner, and actuated by the same audacity, invaded Galloway, which his father had distressed before him: but he also was defeated by the same generals, and shared the fate of Donald. In the mean time, there was no disturbance from the English and Picts, but the continuance of peace with them was occasioned by their commotions at home. Solvathius reigned twenty years, and died in 787, with the general applause of mankind.

*ACHAIUS, the sixty-fifth King, A. D. 787.*

Achais, the son of Etfnus, succeeded him. He had made peace with the Angles and Picts, but, being apprehensive of an invasion from Ireland, he composed the disorderly spirit that threatened commotions at home; not only by his industry, but by his liberality and bounty. The cause of the Irish war was this. In the reign of the former king, who was unqualified for any expedition, the Irish and other islanders, animated by the hopes of plundering with impunity, made a descent upon Kintyre, the adjoining peninsula, with great armies, both at one and the same time. But a feud arising between these marauders, many of the islanders, and all the Irish, were slain. To revenge this slaughter, the Irish fitted out a large flotilla, to sail into the Æbudæ. Achais bearing this, sent over ambassadors to acquaint them, that they had no just cause to enter into war merely because parties of thieves, fighting for

sides, endeavoured to restore peace, but in vain; for Constantine's friends obstructed them, affirming, that the felicity of Arthur's fortune would bear down all opposition. Upon this, a desperate fight began, but two things especially turned to the advantage of Modredus and his confederates: one was, a marsh that lay between them, which could not easily be passed; the other was this; in the heat of the fight there was one unbored to spread a report among the Britons, that Arthur was slain, and therefore, as all was lost, every one should shift for himself. This stratagem had the desired effect, and the Britons instantly fled. There was, however, a great slaughter in both armies, neither was the victory decisive to either party; for, on the one hand, Modredus was slain, with his brother Galvinus; while Arthur himself was mortally wounded, and a great plunder taken.

I very well knew what fabulous matters are reported by many concerning the life and death of Arthur, but they are not fit to be related, lest they spread a mist over his famous actions; for when men confidently affirm lies, they cause the truth itself many times to be called in question. This is certain, that he was a great man, and very valiant, animated by a pure love of his country, which he freed from servitude, and that he restored the true worship of God, which he also reformed when it was corrupted. I have spoken of these things, concerning his lineage, life, and death, at a greater length than the nature of my design required; for I never meant to record all the exploits of the Britons, but to free and preserve the affairs of our own nation from the oblivion of time, and the fabulous tales of some loose and unprincipled writers. I have insisted the longer on the exploits of Arthur, partly because some curtail them out of envy, and others heighten them with ostentatious hyperboles. He died in the year 542, after he had reigned twenty-four years.

But to return to the affairs of Scotland. Goranus, the king, now grown old, departed this life, after he had governed Scotland thirty-four years; and it is thought that he was treacherously slain by his subjects. There was one Torcetius, chief justice in criminal matters, a man no less cruel than covetous, who being guilty of many foul deeds against the wealthier people, flattered himself that he should easily get his pardon from the king, because it was by this means that he had augmented his treasury. The people could not easily obtain admittance to their sovereign, now grown weak with age and sickness, to make their complaints; and even if they had access, they were persuaded that their allegations would not meet with belief, against so great an officer and high a favourite. They, therefore, set upon Torcetius, and murdered him; but after the heat of their anger was over, and they began to reflect upon the heinousness of the fact they had committed, and knew that there was no pardon to be expected for them, they turned their wrath and fury upon the king himself; in consequence of which, by the instigation of Donald of Athol, they entered into his palace, and slew him also.

*EUGENIUS III. the forty-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 535.*

Goranus was succeeded by Eugenius, the son of Congallus, who, when requested by some of the nobility to revenge the death of his uncle, treated the motion so coldly, as to create a suspicion that he was not unconcerned in the murder, which idea was increased by his taking Donald of Athol into his special favour. Upon this, the wife of Goranus, for fear, fled with her small children into Ireland. But Eugenius, to purge his life and manners from this foul imputation, so governed the kingdom, that none of the former kings could be justly preferred to him. He assisted Modredus, and also Arthur, against the Saxons. He sent several captains to make daily incursions into the English borders, but never fought a pitched battle with them himself. He died in the year 558, having reigned twenty-three years.

*CONVALLUS, the forty-seventh King, began to reign A. D. 558.*

His brother Convallus next governed the kingdom, and did so ten years, with the greatest peace and tranquillity; a man whose excellent virtues rendered him worthy of eternal memory; for besides his equity in matters of law, and the deep-rooted aversion which he had to all covetousness, he lived even with the very monks themselves in sobriety of life; though they at that time,

*DONGALLUS, the sixty-seventh King, A. D. 824.*

Dongallus, the son of Solvathus, was the next king to Congallus. But the young soldiers, not able to endure the severity of his government, went in a body to Alpin, the son of Achaius; and when they could not persuade him by fair means to undertake the government, they compelled him at least, by force and menaces, to appear as if he was on their side. Alpin dissembled with them so far as to raise an army, and pretend compliance with their wishes, but soon disappointed them, and fled to Dongallus. His arrival was very acceptable to the king, but a great dismay to the rebels, who now accused him with being the cause of the sedition. The king, however, was not to be deceived by their calumny, but prepared an army so suddenly, that he came upon them before there could be the least rumour of his approach. Such of them as fell into his hands were punished.

In the mean time Hungus died, and his eldest son, Dorstologus, was slain by the treachery of his brother Eganus. But the murderer did not long survive, so that the male stock of Hungus being extinct, his sister's son Alpin, as next heir, both by the ancient law, and in right of blood, claimed the kingdom. The Picts, however, rejected him as an alien, on which Dongallus sent messengers to expostulate with them; but these ambassadors were refused an audience, and even commanded to depart within four days. Dongallus then resolved to make war upon them with all his might; but in the midst of his preparation, as he was passing over the Spey when the current was violent, the vessel sunk, and he was drowned, after a reign of six, or, as some say, seven years.

*ALPIN, or ALPINUS, the sixty-eighth King, A. D. 830.*

Alpin, the son of Achaius, led the army raised by Dongallus, against Feredethus, the usurper of the kingdom of the Picts. The armies met at Restenot, a village of Angus; where the fight was maintained with great obstinacy and bloodshed, from morning till night; when the victory appeared uncertain, though the death of Feredethus made it incline to the Scots. Seeing his men fly in the fight, with a troop of young nobles he broke through the main body of the Scots, and being thus separated from his men, was there slain, with the flower of his chiefs. Brudus, who was substituted in his place, proved a slothful person, and wholly unfit for military affairs. In his reign, the Scots plundered the country of their enemy without resistance; and the Picts, raising a tumult amongst themselves, slew Brudus before he had reigned an entire year. Then they set up Kenneth, another of the sons of Feredethus, in his stead; but one that was neither more valiant nor successful than his brother: for when he had levied an army, and came in sight of his enemies, he stole privately away, and so was slain by some countrymen, who, without knowing his quality, upbraided him as a recreant. The Picts having thus lost their king, before their enemies were sensible of it, returned home, and chose another Brudus for their sovereign, a man of high descent and noble achievements. As soon as he entered upon the government, he set upon the straggling plunderers, chastised them for their presumption, and made a great slaughter amongst them. After this, that he might strengthen his weak forces by foreign aids, he sent ambassadors, with great gifts, to the English, who were the nearest to him. They received the presents, and were free enough in their promises of assistance; but, though earnestly pressed by the Picts, they put them off, urging, as an excuse, their combustions at home. The Picts, being disappointed of their hopes in that quarter, levied every man of their own that was able to bear arms, and resolved to venture their last stake. With this resolution they marched directly towards the enemy, who were encamped not far from Dundee. As soon as they met, the battle was the more sharp, on account of the old animosity, recent spleen, sharp slaughters, and frequent injuries committed on both sides. The conflict remained long doubtful, till one hundred Picts, mounted, rose out of an ambush; who, that they might seem to be a still greater number, also placed their baggage-men and attendants upon other horses; and so, shewing themselves upon the tops of the hills, wheeled about, as if they would have set upon the rear of the

stroyed the van of his army, which was a long way before the rest, together with his son Cutha. They durst not, however, attack those behind, lest they should be circumvented and surrounded by Ethelfrid, who was at no great distance. The two kings of the Saxons, having joined, renewed the fight, with much slaughter on both sides, and the Scots and Britons were vanquished and put to flight. There were slain of the Scottish nobles, Grifinus, and Breadinus; while, of the opposite army, Ethelfrid lost one of his eyes; and Brudeus was carried wounded out of the field, to the great astonishment and dismay of his party.

The following summer, Ethelfrid united his forces with those of the Picts, and marched into Galloway, supposing he should find all things there in great consternation, on account of their ill success in the preceding year. But Aidanus coming with his forces thither, sooner than his enemies thought, set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them full of terror to their camp. Thus having chastised their rashness, and supposing they would remain quiet during the night, he passed by their camp, and joined the Britons. The allied armies then pitched their tents in a narrow valley of Annandale; and their enemies, as being sure of their destruction, beset the passages entering into it. But they, after fortifying their camp, as if they intended to keep that ground, took an opportunity, in the night, when the tide was out, to pass over a ford, which, though full of dangerous quicksands, was well known to them; and so they marched into Cumberland, and afterwards into Northumberland, making great havock in every place to which they came. The enemy followed them closely, and, when they came in sight of one another, both armies prepared for the fight. The Scots and Britons made four commanders, in addition to what they had before; who were noble persons, of great experience in military affairs, that so the common soldiers might have a greater number of captains to restrain their impetuosity, and guide them properly. These six, or added officers were Constantine and Menecrinus, both Britons; and Caius and Murdacus, who were Scots. By their conduct and encouragement the soldiers fell upon the enemy with such spirit, that they were presently broken and put to flight. There goes a report, that Columba, being then in the Isle of Icolmkill, told his companions of this victory at the same hour in which it was obtained. Of the Saxon nobles there were slain, in the fight, Ciothius and Vitellius, both great warriors, and of noble descent. About eleven years after this victory, the Saxons and Picts having infested the adjacent country, a day was appointed on which the Britons and Scots should meet; and, with their united forces, set upon the invaders. Aidanus, though now aged, came to the place at the set time, where he waited for the Britons, who disappointed him, and failed in their engagement; notwithstanding which the Scots ventured to commit hostilities, and plundered the country of cattle. Ethelfrid having this opportunity of taking the field, set upon the dispersed parties, and made so great a slaughter of them, that Aidanus, after losing many of his men, fled for his life. The victory, however, cost the Saxons dearly; for they lost Theobald, the brother of Ethelfrid, and some of the squadrons which followed him were almost wholly cut off. Aidanus did not long survive this sad overthrow; for, being informed of the death of the holy man, Columba, whom he so highly honoured, and plainly foreseeing to what cruelty the remnant of Christians were likely to be exposed, grief and age so wore him out, that he died in the year of our Lord 604, after reigning thirty-four years. At his time, a certain monk, named Austin, being sent by Pope Gregory, came into Britain. This man, by his ambition, in teaching a new form of religion, mightily disturbed the old, for he did not so much instruct men in the doctrines of Christianity, as in the ceremonies of the Roman church. The Britons, long before his coming, had been taught the principles of the Christian religion by the disciples of John the Evangelist,\* and were further instructed in the same by the monks, who, in that age were learned and pious men. As

\*This is a gross mistake. We know of no disciples of John who came into Britain; nor is there any thing certain respecting the first introduction of Christianity into this island. All that is known on the subject is, that, when Austin came over, he found bishop and monks, upon whom he wished to exercise pontifical authority, which they rejected.

tumultuary force, withdrew to the next hill, as if they had only been spectators of other men's danger. Thus the Picts sustained a tremendous slaughter; for the Scots were highly provoked against them, not only by their ancient hatred, but by the remembrance of their cruelty against Alpin, and to those whom they had taken prisoners with that king. That which chiefly inflamed the Scots was the watch-word, "Remember Alpin:" and the moment it was given, they spared neither age, nor rank of men. The hills covered the retreat of the English; and the Scots were so vehemently intent upon revenging themselves on the Picts, that they could not pursue them. This victory reduced the Picts to so low an ebb, and rendered their condition so deplorable, that they sued earnestly for peace, but in vain, for the Scots would hearken to no conditions, short of a full and entire surrender of the whole kingdom. The next year, when all places were given up northward beyond the Forth, and garrisons were placed in them, as Kenneth was marching his army against those on the other side, word was brought him, that some of the fortresses which he had left behind, were taken, and the soldiers slain. Upon this intelligence, he marched his army back against the refractory Picts, of whom he spared neither man, woman, nor child; but devastated the whole country with fire and sword. Druskenus, seeing the Picts enraged, almost like madmen, at the cruelty exercised over them, and knowing now that they must fight, not for their kingdom, but for their own lives, and those of their wives and children, gathered all the force that he could muster; and so passing the Forth, came to Scoone, a town situated on the banks of the Tay, where he waited the coming of the Scots. There they again endeavoured to make a pacification, offering to surrender the country that lay beyond the Forth; but the Scots would have all or none. The fight, as must be in such circumstances of necessity, was very fierce. At last, the Picts, after an obstinate resistance, were broken; and the Tay, putting a stop to their flight, was the cause of their destruction; for Druskenus, and almost all his nobility, not being able to pass the river, were there slain; nor had the common soldiers better fortune, for, as they crowded to the shore in several places, to save themselves, they found no passage, and so all of them lost their lives. Hence it is, as I judge, that our writers say, we fought with the Picts seven times in one day. The force of the Picts was wholly broken by this overthrow, and Kenneth laid Lothian with the adjacent country waste, as also all the lands beyond the Forth, so that they should never be able to recover themselves again. The garrisons, struck with terror, surrendered themselves; and the few Picts who survived this disaster, fled into England, in an indigent and necessitous condition.

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## BOOK VI.

As I formerly called Fergus I. and, after him, Fergus II. the founders of the Scottish kingdom, with very great reason; so I may justly reckon Kenneth, the son of Alpin, the third founder of it. Fergus I. from a mean beginning, advanced the affairs of the Scots to such an height, that they were envied by their neighbours. Fergus II. when they were banished and dispersed into remote countries, and, in the judgment of their enemies, were quite extirpated, did, as it were, recall them to life, and in a few years restore them to their ancient splendour. But Kenneth courageously accepted the kingdom, at a time when affairs were almost become desperate; nay, at a period when others thought that the small remainder of the Scots could hardly have defended themselves, or been kept united. Not only so, but he confounded the power of the enemy, though strengthened by foreign aid, and elated with victory, in many sharp, yet prosperous battles; and when he had thus weakened them, drove them out of the country, and utterly extinguished

their kingdom and name. Though these were great exploits, yet they - not his most important achievements; for, as he enlarged his kingdom to twice its former dimensions, so he governed it in such a manner, both by making new laws, and also by reviving the old ones, that neither licentiousness, the child of war, nor pride, the offspring of victory, nor any footsteps of those evils which are wont to accompany luxury and ease, made their appearance during his life. The affairs of Scotland were even supported many years after, as much by his laws, called by posterity the Macalpin code, as they had been by his arms. But to pass these things: I shall proceed to relate his noble acts as I have begun. Kenneth, having driven out the Picts, distributed their lands among his soldiers, according to their respective valour and merit: who, out of ambition, gave many places and countries new names, and abrogated the old ones. Kenneth divided Horestia betwixt two brothers, *Æneas* and *Mearn*; one part of which, in old Scottish, is yet called *Æneas*, though such as more affect the English speech call it *Angus*; while the other is termed *Mearn*. The country adjoining, from *Tay* to the *Forth*, was called by the ancients *Ross*, that is, a peninsula. There are some signs of the name remaining, as *Culross*, a town which is, as it were, the back or hinder part of *Ross*; and *Kinross*, which signifies the Head of *Ross*. Now, at this day, all that country is called *Fife*, from an eminent person of that name, whose cognomen, they say, was *Duff*: *Barodunum*, a town in *Lothian*, or, as some call it, *Dunbar*, is supposed to have been so named from a great man named *Bar*. *Lothian* had its name, not long ago, from *Lothus*, king of the *Picts*. *Cunningham* is wholly a Danish word, used, as I think, by the *Danes*, after the death of *Kenneth*, who possessed that country for some years, having driven the *Scots* beyond the wall of *Severus*; for *Cunningham* signifies, in the Danish language, the king's house or palace. It is also probable that *March* was so called by the *Danes*, because it fixed the limits between both kingdoms. As for *Edinburgh*, either through gross ignorance or perverse prejudice, it is sometimes called the *Doleful Valley*, and sometimes the *Maiden's Castle*. The name in itself is not very obscure, though it becomes so by bad management; for they borrowed these appellations from French romances, which were devised within the last three hundred years. This is certain, that the older *Scots* called it *Dunedinum*; and the later *Edinburgum*, herein following the custom of their country, in the imposition of names; whereas that castle, in a middle appellation between both, I think, may be better named *Edimur*. But enough in this place concerning the old and new names of the countries, of which I have spoken more largely before. To return then to *Kenneth*. Having enlarged his kingdom, as I have already said, and settled wholesome laws for the administration of the government, he farther endeavoured to confirm his royal authority by such mean and trivial things, as bordered upon superstition. There was a marble stone, which *Simon Brecus* is said to have imported into *Ireland* out of *Spain*, and which *Fergus*, the son of *Ferohard*, afterwards brought over into *Scottish Albion*, and to have placed in *Argyle*. This stone *Kenneth* removed from thence to *Scone*, by the river *Tay*, where he caused it to be enclosed in a chair of wood. The kings of *Scotland*, after this, were wont to receive their regal name, and to be invested with the royal robes, sitting in this chair, till the time of *Edward the First*, of *England*, of whom in his place. *Kenneth* also translated the episcopal see, which the *Picts* had placed at *Abernethy*, to *Fannum Reguli*, afterwards called *St. Andrew's*. But the ancient bishops of *Scotland*, who were chosen out of monasteries, did not strive for place or honour, so much as for sanctity and learning. They performed their functions every where, occasionally, as opportunities offered, without envy or ambition; no certain dioceses being allotted to them, because the ecclesiastical function was not as yet made a post of gain and worldly lucre. In this manner *Kenneth* reigned twenty years. In the beginning of his fifth year, he overthrew the *Picts*, as the *Black Book of Paisley* relates. The remaining fifteen years, after he had destroyed that government, he lived in great tranquillity, maintaining order at home by his just government, and peace abroad by the power of his arms. He also enlarged his dominions from the *Oreades* to the wall of *Adrian*; and died in the year 854.

DONALD V. *the seventieth King, began to reign A. D. 854.*

Donald, his brother, was next chosen king, who quite altered the whole public discipline, together with his own demeanour. For whereas, in the lifetime of Alpin, he made a shew of temperance, and, by that means, obtained the love of the better sort; when his brother was dead, as if he had been freed from all fear and restraint, he gave himself up wholly to pleasure. And, as if there had been no danger from any enemy without, he neglected all military study, and kept hardly any about him but hunters, falconers, and the inventors of new pleasures; upon whom he lavished the public revenue. The younger sort, who were prone to pleasures, extolled the king to the skies, as a noble and generous prince, and ridiculed the economy of the preceding times, as being rude and niggardly. The ancient counsellors, foreseeing that all things were likely to run to ruin in a short time, came to the king, to put him in mind of his duty, and remonstrated with him on his present evil ways, warning him also of the dangers impending on him. He, notwithstanding this, persisted in his slothful kind of life, which encouraged the remainder of the Picts (as if an hopeful opportunity had been given to them, from the very bottom of despair) to court the assistance of the two most powerful of the English princes, Osbreth and Ella; for that country was then divided into several kingdoms. To them the Picts laid open their calamities, and implored their help, at the same time promising, that they and all their posterity would become feudatories to the English, in case they obtained the victory over the Scots, which they judged would be the easier on account of the slothful nature of Donald. The English were easily persuaded, and having settled things at home, led their army into the country of March, from whence they sent heralds to Donald, requiring, that the lands which the Scots had forcibly taken from the Picts, their friends and allies, should be restored. Donald, by the advice of the estates, which, though reluctantly in this time of imminent danger, he had convened, levied an army, and met the enemy at Jedd, a river in Teviotdale, where he gave them battle, and overthrew Osbreth, who was forced to fly to the adjoining mountains. From thence Donald marched by the Tweed to the sea-side, and recovered Berwick, which though it had been taken by the English, was now deserted by them again, on the news of the late battle. Here he took all the ships riding in the mouth of the river, and seized the provisions which the enemy had collected there. But then, on the other hand, he also he embraced the opportunity of renewing his interrupted pleasures; and, as if his enemies had been wholly overthrown, he indulged himself in all kinds of voluptuousness. The English, who in the last fight were rather scattered than subdued, learning by their spies the carelessness and security of the Scots, gathered what force they could in the neighbourhood, and set upon them by night, while drowned in wine, and fast asleep, making a great slaughter amongst them; but took the king, who was between sleeping and waking, and carried him away prisoner. From thence they followed the course of their victory; and to make their revenge more complete, divided their army into two parts, and so marched into the heart of the country. Part of them, when they came to the Forth, procured boats, and endeavoured to pass over into Fife; but many of them were overset and drowned, and the rest, by the violence of the storm, forced back to the shore where they had embarked. From thence, they then marched to Stirling, and, joining with the rest of their army, passed over the Forth on a bridge. The Scots, after their flight, gathered themselves into a body in the vicinity, but, having the bare show rather than the strength of an army, they sent ambassadors to the English for peace; which was not refused, because their strength was weakened by the late unsuccessful battle at Jedd, and also by the tempest. Though the terms proposed by the English were hard enough, yet in the present state of affairs they appeared tolerable. These were, that the Scots should yield up all the land within the wall of Severus; that their bounds should be beyond Stirling, on the Forth; beyond Dunbarton, on the Clyde; and between the two rivers, and the wall. Gallant as these conditions were, yet they were in some measure welcome and unexpected to the Scots, because no mention was made in them concerning the restoration of the Picts; for the English



and Britons divided the lands, thus obtained, between them, the river being a boundary to divide them both. Some think that the money still called Sterling was then coined there. When the lands were thus partitioned, the Picts, who had thought to recover their own, finding how much they were deceived, passed over to Denmark and Norway: a few of them, who chose to remain in England, were put to death, under the pretext that they would attempt innovations by soliciting foreign aid. Donald, after he had made peace, was honourably received on his return, partly out of respect to his ancestors, and partly in hopes of his repentance and amendment. But as he persevered in the same worthless course, the nobles, fearing that so sluggish a person, who would neither hearken to friendly counsels, nor be reclaimed by calamity, would lose that part of the kingdom which remained, confined him in a prison; where, either out of grief and anguish of heart, in having his pleasure restrained, or from fear of being made a public spectacle, he laid violent hands on himself, in the sixth year of his reign. Others report, that this Donald performed many noble exploits, both at home and abroad, and that he died a natural death at Scone, in the year of our Lord 858.

*CONSTANTINE II. the seventy-first King, began to reign A. D. 858.*

Constantine II. the son of Kenneth, was crowned, on the death of Donald, at Scone. He was a prince of great spirit, extremely valiant, and very desirous to wipe away the ignominy which the kingdom had received under Donald, and to enlarge it to the bounds his father had left; but he was dissuaded from that enterprise by his nobles, because the greatest part of the soldiery were slain; and the remainder grown so corrupt, that it was not fit to put arms into their hands. On this account, the king first bent his care to correct the public manners; and accordingly he reduced the order of ecclesiastics to their ancient simplicity by severe laws, for they had left off preaching, and had given themselves up to luxury, hunting, hawking, and courtly pomp. He caused the young soldiers, who were grown effeminate with voluptuousness and ease, to lie on the bare ground, and to have only one meal a day. Drunkards he punished with death. He also prohibited all sports, except those which served to harden the body and invigorate the mind. When, by these laws, the military of the kingdom were brought to a better condition, a certain islander, named Ecnus, whom the king himself had made governor of Lochaber, a man of an unquiet spirit, and ambitious of dominion, rose up in arms. He, knowing that the young soldiers could not well endure the severity of these new regulations, first gathered a small number, and then a greater, complaining of the present state of things. Finding that his discourse was acceptable to them, he easily persuaded them to conspire against Constantine; but being more active than cautious in strengthening their faction, they were betrayed by some of their own confederates, and slain, before they knew that any forces were coming against them. Ecnus, the head of the conspiracy, was publicly executed. About this time the Danes, then the most potent and flourishing nation amongst the Germans, were solicited by the Picts to take up arms against the Scots. One Buernus, or, as others write, Verna, whose wife had been ravished by Osbroth, made also a similar application to them; which they, being overstocked with young people at home, easily assented to; and so came over in numerous transports, and with a great navy, into Britain. Their first descent was in Fife; where they slew all they met, without distinction, out of hatred to the Christian religion; and then, dividing their army, they spoiled the country in two several directions. Constantine made head against them; first setting upon that brigade commanded by Hubba, brother to the Danish king, who being hindered from joining the other body of troops by the sudden swelling of the river Leven, was there easily overcome and slain, except a few of his men who could swim over the river, and they fled to the second commander, called Humber. Constantine, in his pursuit, marched as if he went, not to a battle, but to a prey, and overtook them near the town of Crail, though on his arrival he found them strongly entrenched. For the Danes, having learned prudence by their late disaster, had made a kind of defensive fortification, upon some small winding rocks near the shore, by heaping up a quantity of stones which lay there. In this situation Con-

stantine assaulted them ; but by reason of the incommodiousness of the place, and the desperate fury of the Danes, he paid dear for his rashness, not only losing a great part of his army, but being taken prisoner himself, and carried into a cave hard by, where he was slain. There are some monuments of this fight remaining to this day, as the cave, the circumvallation of the camp, which was not cut out regularly, or in equal spaces, but circuitously, according to the bending of the rocks. Some lay the blame of this calamity upon the Picts, who, being admitted into Constantine's army, were the first that ran away, and drew the greatest part of the troops after them. The Danes immediately gathered up the spoils, and departed to their ships; and the king's body being found the day after, was carried to the sepulchre of his ancestors, in the island of Icolmkill. He possessed the kingdom sixteen years, and died in the year 874.

*ETHUS, the seventy-second King, began his reign A. D. 874.*

His brother, Ethus, who succeeded him, was surnamed Alipes, from his swiftness in running. He was elected king on no other or better account, than that of having gathered the relics of the army, after having been scattered by the Danes. Amongst the prodigies of his time are mentioned the appearance of those sea-monsters, which, as they come only at long intervals, in shoals, are considered as unlucky omens. The common people call them sea-monks; others give them the name of *bassineti*, that is, hooded, or helmet fish. Ethus quite unmindful both of his brother and of his ancestors, giving himself up to every kind of vice, and drawing the young soldiers, who were by nature easily seduced, along with him, was seized by a combination of the nobility, and, after all the flagitious acts of his life had been declared to the people in a long speech, he was forced to abjure the government in the second year of his reign. Three days after, he died in prison through grief. What chiefly offended the men of military genius against him, was his slothful inactivity, because, when the Danes were at war with the English, and many bloody battles had been fought between them, he never thought of recovering the country which he had lost; nor would even bear to be reminded of it by others. Some affirm, that he was not compelled to relinquish the kingdom, but that he was wounded in a combat by Gregory, who was desirous of getting the government into his own hands, and that he died two months afterwards, in the year 876.

*GREGORY, the seventy-third King, began to reign A. D. 875.*

Gregory, the son of Dongalus, was elected king in his stead; a person of a truly royal spirit, in whom no virtue was wanting, that was necessary to complete a monarch. First, he brought over all those to his favour, who had been against him when he endeavoured to gain the throne; and next he proceeded to restore the nobles themselves; besides which, he so tempered the strictness of his government with affability, that he got the command of his subjects more by love than by fear. He either revived the old laws concerning the rights of the clergy, who were almost in the nature of slaves, under the Picts, or else he made new ones to the same purpose. His first expedition was into Fife, against those Picts who had been left there by the Danes, whilst they were employing their arms against the English. These he drove not only out of Fife, but also out of Lothian and March. The Danes, on his approaching Berwick, dreading, that if they should meet with any misfortune, the English would be against them, studiously avoided risking a battle with Gregory. Instead of encountering him, therefore, they sent part of their forces over the river into Northumberland, commanding them to join a small brigade of their countrymen, who had newly landed there; while the rest entered Berwick, to strengthen that garrison. The English there, who were under the command of the Danes, though very unwillingly, as being of a different religion from themselves, gave admission to the Scots in the night-time; by which means all the foreigners were put to the sword. From thence, Gregory marched into Northumberland, where he gained a great victory over Hardyknute, and made so great a slaughter of the Danes, that their numbers, which were lately formidable to all Britain, became wonderfully diminished. This was partly accom-

plished by Gregory of Scotland, and partly by Alfred of England. Gregory, having reduced Northumberland, gave free leave to those English who had a mind to depart; while he very courteously distributed lands among the rest who chose to remain. The greater part of the English, therefore, staid behind partly out of love of their native soil, partly on account of the king's bounty, and partly also for fear of their enemies. For, as the English had, during several years past, sustained many cruel engagements with the Danes, in which the victory was often uncertain, many of them chose rather to be under the dominion of the Scots, who, though formerly enemies, were yet Christians, than either to fall into the power of the bloody Danes, or to hope for a casual support from their own countrymen; especially since things were in such a general confusion over all Britain, that the people knew not which party to favour first. After Gregory had chastised the Danes so severely that he had no reason to expect any more trouble from them, he turned his arms against the Britons, who as yet held some of the Scottish dominions; but, on their request, the lands, and promising to assist him against the Danes, in case they should return, he made peace with them, and disbanded his army. The Britons, however, after their return home, repented of the treaty they had made, and re-entering Scotland again in a hostile manner, were driving away a great booty when Gregory met them at Lochmaben, and, after a bloody fight, overthrew them; Constantine, their king, falling in the battle. The Britons, having received this fruit of their ill conduct, made Herbert, the brother of Constantine, king; and then began to think in what a dangerous state they were, having both the Scots and Danes for their enemies; while their alliance with the English was very precarious. Weighing these considerations, they sent ambassadors to the Scots for peace, who refused it on any other terms, than the cession of Cumberland and Westmoreland to them; which was yielded to, and the peace made on those conditions. About the same time, there came ambassadors from Alfred of England, partly to congratulate the Scots on their victory over the Danes, which ought, they said, to be justly acceptable to all Christians; and partly to enter into a new league against all the enemies of the faith. An alliance was accordingly concluded between the two nations, on these conditions: "That they should oppose, with their forces, all foreign enemies who should make a descent on the borders of either country; and that the Scots should quietly enjoy for ever the lands which they had gained from the Danes." Peace being thus secured by arms on every side, and a league made and established, news was brought to Gregory, upon his return, that the Irish had made an irruption into Galloway. The cause of the war was pretended to be this, that the men of Galloway had, in a hostile manner, seized upon and plundered some galleys which were driven on the coasts, belonging to the inhabitants of Dublin, the capital of Ireland. The Irish, when they heard that Gregory was coming, hastened, in great consternation, with the prey they had gained, to their ships; and the king, with a good force and strong army, as soon as he conveniently could, crossed the channel. Donatus, or Dunachus, was at that time king of Ireland, but, being under age, Brienus and Cornelius, two of the most powerful of the nobles, under him, divided the whole country into separate factions. But now they suddenly concluded a truce on the approach of a foreign enemy; after which they pitched and fortified their camps apart, near the river Bann, a place that seemed very well adapted for that purpose. Their end in doing this was to weary out Gregory by delay, and to force him to withdraw his army from a depopulated country, for want of provision. Gregory penetrated through their design, and therefore secretly, in the night, sent part of his army to surround upon a hill which overhung the camp of Brienus. The day after, when the battle took place, these Scots, in the heat of the fight, threw down many stones upon the Irish camp, which crushed many of the men to pieces, and so terrified the rest, that their ranks were broken, and they fled in great disorder and confusion. Cornelius, hearing of this event, drew off his army without striking a blow, into places of greater safety. Brienus was slain in his camp; the rest had as much quarter given them as possible, by the orders of Gregory, who then marched over the country without committing any ravages; which lenity occasioned many rather to submit themselves to the

mercy of the king, than to withstand him by force. The fortified towns were strengthened with garrisons; and Gregory, having reduced Dundalk and Drogheda, two places made strong both by nature and art, determined to march directly to Dublin. But hearing that Cornelius, general of all the Irish forces, was coming against him with a great army, he turned aside to fight him, and gained the victory, following the fugitives as far as Dublin, to which he laid siege. As there was not provision enough in the city for the number of people that had fled thither, a capitulation was entered into through the mediation of Cormachus, the bishop. Gregory, at his entrance, did no injury to any of the inhabitants; but visited Duncan, his kinsman, and protested that he came not thither out of an ambitious desire to take away the kingdom from him, or to amass riches for himself, but only to revenge the wrongs which he had received. Accordingly he committed the care of the young king to such of his old counsellors as he judged were most faithful; while he assumed to himself the title of being his guardian, till he should be of age. He also put garrisons into the forts, and exacted an oath from the nobility, that they should admit neither English, Dane, nor Briton into the island, without his permission; he appointed judges in convenient places, who were to administer justice betwixt man and man in matters of controversy, according to the laws of the country; and then taking sixty hostages for the performance of these conditions, he returned home in triumph. The fame of his justice made the peace much firmer and lasting, than any terror of his arms could have done. Having thus managed matters both at home and abroad, he departed his life in the eighteenth year of his reign, being no less eminent for his equity and temperance, than for his valour and magnanimity; so that he was really named, by his countrymen, Gregory the Great. He died in the year 892.

*DONALD VI. the seventy-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 892.*

Donald, the sixth of that name, the son of Constantine II. was made king after Gregory, having been recommended by his great predecessor, before his death, to the nobility. He did not falsify the opinion which men had conceived of his being a very prudent prince; for he so maintained peace, as to be always prepared for war. Though for a long time he had no enemy to encounter, he took care that the soldiery should not degenerate, or, by becoming corrupted through ease and rest, grow inclinable, as had often happened, to run into all manner of evil practices. When a new army of Danes drew near to the coast of Northumberland, and lay at anchor there for some days, without molesting any one, Donald collected an army, and, being watchful of opportunities, went to guard that province. Then, hearing that the Danes had made a descent upon the English territory, he sent aid to king Alured, who fought a bloody battle with the Danes. But, though he gained the victory, he was content to admit the Danes into part of his dominions, provided they would turn Christians. Peace was accordingly made on these terms, the army was disbanded, and Donald returned home, where he met with domestic inquietude. There happened so great a feud betwixt the people of Ross and those of March, caused by some small robberies at first, that more were slain by partial combats, than if they had met in a pitched battle. Donald proceeded thither, and, having put to death the heads of the factions, restored peace to the country. John Fordun, the Scottish chronologer, says, that in this expedition he died at Fores, not without a suspicion of being poisoned; but Boetius affirms, that he returned to Northumberland, to enforce the terms of the peace which he had made with the Danes, of whom he was always suspicious; and that he died there, after a reign of eleven years, A. D. 903. His memory was precious both to rich and poor.

*CONSTANTINE III. the seventy-fifth King, began to reign A. D. 903.*

Constantine III. the son of Ethus, was made king in the room of Donald. He was a man of no ill disposition, yet could not be truly termed firmly and constantly good. The Danes, after failing in their endeavours to prevail with Gregory and Donald to join them against the English, who were then Christians, easily wrought upon Constantine by gifts, and the vain promise of

enlarging his dominions, to make a league with them. This scarcely lasted two years; for the Danes, deserting the Scots, formed an alliance with the English. This also had hardly continued four years, when Edward, king of England, gathered an army together, and spoiled the country of the Danes; by which they were reduced to such straits, that they were forced to return to the Scots, whom they had lately deserted; and to whom they swore most religiously, that they would for ever after observe the amity inviolably. This second league is reported to have been entered into, with great ceremony, in the tenth year of Constantine; at which time he gave Cumberland to Malcolm, son of the last king, which was a favourable presage to him, that the next reign should be his own. The same custom was afterwards observed by some succeeding kings, to the manifest disannulling of the old way of convening the estates, whose free suffrages ought not to have been thus abridged; but this was like the designation of the consuls by the Cæsars, which put an end to the Roman liberty. A war being now begun between Edward, the son of Alured, and the Danes; Constantine sent aid to the latter, under the conduct of Malcolm. He joined his army with the Danes, and being superior in number, they harassed the adjoining countries of the English, making great devastation wherever they came, that they might force the enemy, who were inferior in numbers, to a battle. They were, indeed, so arrogantly confident of their strength, that they thought their enemy would never dare to look them in the face; so that now, as secure of the victory, they began to talk of dividing the spoil. 'But, as prosperity often blinds the eyes of the wise; so adversity, and the foresight of danger, is a good schoolmaster, even to the weaker side.' Thus it was here, for what the English wanted in strength, they supplied with art, skill, and stratagem. Their army was well supplied with reserves, and so they began the fight; when the first ranks, as they had been instructed, gave ground, and, under the pretence of being discomfited, made an appearance of flying, that so, their enemies pursuing them in disorder, they might again return upon them in that straggling posture. Athelstan, the base-born son of Edward, was general of all the English forces, as our writers affirm; and Grafton also says the same thing. They make the Athelstan guilty of parricide, in killing his father, and his two brothers Edward and Edwin, whose right it was immediately to have succeeded to the kingdom. Fame increases the suspicion, that Edward was violently put to death, because it attributes to him the title of a martyr. For this fact Athelstan being hated, to recover the favour of the people, resolved upon some eminent enterprise; and accordingly determined, at last, to expiate the blood of his kindred, by shedding that of his enemies. In pursuance of this resolution, when he had fought stoutly for a time, he gave ground by little and little; but afterward retreated with more precipitation, and in greater fear and confusion, as if he intended absolutely to run away. The Danes and Scots, supposing themselves conquerors, were unwilling to make any brisk pursuit, lest the most dastardly of the soldiers should enjoy all the booty; and therefore they returned to plunder the camp. Upon this Athelstan gave a signal; and the English, returning to their colours, set upon them as they were scattered and laden with spoil, and killed them like so many dogs. The greatest part of the Scottish nobility fell in this fight, who chose rather to die on the spot, than to undergo the ignominy of deserting their companions in war. Malcolm being sorely wounded, was carried off the field by his own men, and sent the doleful tidings of the loss of his army to Constantine. Nor was the face of things more pleasant amongst the Danes. Athelstan, during the confusion of his enemies, took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and Northumberland from the Danes. Constantine, not having force enough either to wage war, or to insist upon an honourable peace, called a convention of the estates at Abernethy, where he willingly resigned the kingdom, joining the Culdees, or worshippers of God, as the monks of that age were called, among whom, as in a sanctuary, he spent the remaining five years of his life at St. Andrew's. He died in the year 943, and the fortune from the beginning of his reign. Here the English writers, who are profuse in their own praises, affirm, that Athelstan was the sole monarch of all Britain, and that the others, who had the names of kings in Albion, were only

precisely so, being his dependents, and taking an oath of fidelity to him, as their supreme lord. They quote many ignoble English authors as favourers of this opinion; and, to procure themselves greater credit, they add also Marianus Scotus, who was indeed an illustrious writer. There is, however, no mention of this in that edition of Marianus which was printed in Germany; and if they have another writer of the name, different from him who is publicly read, and one interpolated or forged by themselves, let him be produced. Besides, these persons being men generally unlearned, do not, in some places, sufficiently understand their own writers; neither do they take notice, that Bede, William of Malmesbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, commonly give the name of Britain to that part of the island over which the Britons ruled, which was within the wall of Adrian; or, when they stretched their dominions farthest, within the wall of Severus; so that the Scots and Picts are oftentimes reckoned by them as being out of Britain, and a transmarine people. Therefore, when they read, that the English once reigned over all Britain, they understand the authors, as including Albion or Albion; whereas they often circumscribe Britain within narrower limits; but of this I have spoken more largely in another place. To return to the affairs of Scotland.

*MALCOLM I. the seventy-sixth King, began to reign A. D. 943.*

Constantine having retired into a monastery, Malcolm, the son of Donald, was proclaimed king. Athelstan being now dead, and his brother Edmund reigning, Cumberland and Westmoreland revolted from the English, and returned to their old masters. Moreover, the Danes, who remained in Northumberland, sent for Avalassus, their countryman, of the royal progeny, who had been an exile in Ireland, to make him king. Edmund, foreseeing that the clouds of war were gathering over his head, yielded Cumberland and Westmoreland to Malcolm, upon this condition, that the next successor in the Scottish kingdom should take an oath to the king of England, as the lord paramount of that country. Afterwards he easily reduced the Danes, who had been afflicted with various calamities; but he did not long survive his victory. The English then chose his brother Edred for their king; against whom the Danes, who possessed Northumberland, and never cordially observed any peace which they made with the English, revolted; and whilst Edred was encumbered with other affairs at a distance, they took from him many strong and well-fortified places, particularly York; but he at length overcame them with the assistance of 10,000 Scots. Malcolm, on his return home, gave himself wholly up to the arts of peace; and to cure the disorders occasioned by the wars, especially luxury and licentious living, he usually visited, in person, all the courts of judicature once in two years, and administered justice with great equity. At length, whilst he was busy in punishing robbers, and in restraining the lewd manners of the younger sort, he was murdered in the night, by some conspirators of the province of Murray, in the ninth year of his reign. The perpetrators of this villany, being discovered by the nobles, were put to death, each according to his degree of guilt, in committing the paricide.

*INDULFUS, the seventy-seventh King, began to reign, A. D. 962.*

Indulfus reigned after him, who, having settled things in peace at home, passed seven years in great tranquillity; but in the eighth year of his reign, the Danes, taking offence that a preference was given to the English, and that a perpetual league had been formed between the two kings, injurious, as they received, to their interests, came with a fleet of fifty ships into the frith of the Forth, and so alarmed the Scots, that they were nearly overthrown by the surprise. In this sudden invasion, the people were all struck with fear and amazement; some retired with their goods into the interior, as to a place of more safety; while others ran to the sea-side, to hinder the enemy's landing. The two commanders of the Danish fleet, Hago and Helrions, endeavoured first to land in Lothian, and afterwards in Fife, but being frustrated in their effort, they attempted to enter the river Tay, where, also, they were hindered from making any descent. After this they coasted along the shores of Angus, Mearn, Marr, and Buchan; but, being prevented from landing in all those

parts, they stood out to sea, as if they intended to return home. Within a few days, however, when all was secure, they came back again, and having found a convenient place in Boyn, at the mouth of the river Cullen, they there landed their men without opposition, before the country-people could give any alarm of their arrival. When Indulfus heard of their disembarkation, he marched towards them before they could well have any notice of his coming; and first he set upon the straggling plunderers, whom he drove to their army, but made no great slaughter of them, because the main body of the Danes was near, to cover their retreat. When the two armies came in sight of each other, they both drew up in order of battle, which began with equal force and courage. Whilst they were thus fiercely fighting, Grang and Dunbar, with some troops out of Lothian, appeared on the rear of the Danes; which threw them into such a consternation, that they fled, some to their ships, others to unknown places, according to their fears of the enemy; but the greater part of them drew up in a close circular body, in a wood-vale, where they stood, bravely resolved to conquer or die. In the mean time, Indulfus, as if his foes had been wholly overcome, rode up and down with a few attendants, by which imprudence he came into conflict with the Danes, who slew him, at the beginning of the tenth year of his reign. Some say, that he was killed by the shooting of an arrow from one of the vessels; having put off his armour, that he might be more active in the pursuit, and press the more eagerly upon the fugitives, as they were hurrying to get on board their ships.

*DUFF, the seventy-eighth King, began to reign A. D. 961.*

After his death, Duff, the son of Malcolm, obtained the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he made Culenus, son of king Indulfus, governor of Cumberland. He also sent him into the *Æbude*, which were then in a state of war and disorder, to restrain the frequent robberies committed in those islands; for the young soldiers of the nobility, having got many companions about them, made the common people tributary to them, imposing a pecuniary mulct on every family, besides free quarter. Culenus, however, dealt not more harshly with them, than with the governors, who ought to have restrained such outrages. He directed that, for the future, those persons, by whose negligence such disorders occurred, should make satisfaction to the commonalty, and also pay a fine to the king. This regulation struck such a terror into these worthless characters, that many of them went over to Ireland, and there got their living by daily labour. But if the correction proved acceptable to the common people, it was grievously offensive to the noble relatives of those who were banished, as well as to many of the younger sort, who were in love with that idle kind of life. These men, in their private meetings and assemblies, first secretly, and afterwards in the presence of a multitude of such as applauded them, more openly began to revile their king, alleging, that he despised the nobility, and was drawn away and seduced by the counsel of haughty priests; that he degraded those who were of good extraction to a state of servility; while he advanced the most abject of the people to the highest honours; and that, in fact, he made such changes as tended to throw the country into confusion. They farther added, that if things should continue in this state, either the nobility must emigrate into other countries, or else elect a new king, who should govern the people according to ancient laws, by which the nation had arrived, from a small beginning, to the height of grandeur. Amidst these combustions, the king was seized with a new and unusual disorder; for which, as no evident cause appeared, nor any remedy was to be found, a rumour began to be spread abroad, but with whom it originated is unknown, that he was bewitched. This suspicion arose either from some indications of his disease, or else on account of the wasting away of his body by continual sweating; so that his strength was decayed to such a degree, that the physicians, who were sent for far and near, not knowing what to apply for his relief, when no common causes of the malady discovered themselves, ascribed it to a secret unknown influence. Whilst public attention was fixed upon the king's complaint, news was brought

that nightly assemblies and conspiracies were made against him at Fores, a town in Murray. The report was soon received for truth, especially as there was nothing to contradict it; therefore some faithful messengers were sent to Donald, governor of the province, in whom the king confided much, even in his greatest affairs, to make inquiry into the fact. He, from a discovery made by a certain harlot, whose mother was noted for a witch, detected the whole conspiracy; for the girl having let drop, a few days before, some words concerning the sickness and death of the king, was apprehended, and brought to the rack to be tortured, at the very sight of which she presently confessed what was designed against the life of the monarch. Upon this, soldiers were sent, who found the mother of the girl, and some other women, roasting the king's image, made of wax, by a slow fire. Their design was, that as the wax did leisurely melt, so the king, being dissolved by perspiration, should gradually pine away, till the figure was quite consumed, when his breath failing him, he should presently die. On breaking this figure to pieces, and punishing the witches, the king was freed from his disease. These things I deliver as I have heard them from our ancestors; but what judgment is to be formed of this sort of witchcraft, must be left to the reader; only reminding him, that this story is not found in our ancient records. Amidst these things, the fear of the king being laid aside, because it was hoped he would shortly die, many robberies and murders were committed every where. Duff, however, having recovered his strength, pursued the robbers through Murray, Ross, and Caithness, and slew many of them in several skirmishes, as occasion offered; but he brought the chief of them to Fores, that their punishment might be the more conspicuous in that town. There Donald, governor of the town and castle, petitioned the king to pardon some of his relations, who were of the gang; and on being denied, he fell into a great passion, as if he had been personally wronged. His whole mind was now taken up with the thoughts of revenge; for he concluded that the services which he had rendered to the king were so great, as to have entitled him to the grant of whatever he should choose to demand. The wife of Donald also, finding that some of her kindred were like to suffer, further inflamed the already disaffected heart of her husband, by artful and bitter expressions; exciting him to contrive the death of the king, and affirming, that, since he was governor of the castle, he had the life and death of Duff in his power; so that he could not only perpetrate the murder easily, but conceal it after it was committed. Accordingly, when the king, fatigued and wearied out with business, was sounder asleep than ordinary, and his attendants, who were purposely made drunk by Donald, happened to be immersed in a deep sleep also, he sent in assassins, who, after they had murdered the monarch, carried him out so cunningly by a back way, that not so much as a drop of blood fell in the passage. The body was buried two miles from the abbey of Kinloss, under a little bridge, in a retired place, having the green turf laid over it, so that there might be no sign of any ground having been recently dug there. This seems a more likely story to me, than what others relate, that the course of the river was turned, and his body cast into a hole at the bottom; but that when the waters returned again to their own channel, then his grave, such as it was, became covered. The perpetrators of the bloody deed were sent out of the way by Donald, because there is an opinion received from our ancestors, and which as yet obtains amongst the vulgar, "That blood will issue from a dead body, many days after the murder, on being touched by the criminal, just the same as if the fact had been but newly committed." The following day, when the report was spread abroad that the king was missing, and that his bed was sprinkled over with blood, Donald, as if he had been surprised at the atrocious offence, flew into the king's bedchamber, and, apparently maddened with anger and revenge, slew the officers appointed to attend him; after which, he presently made diligent inquiry every where, for a discovery of the dead body. The rest, being amazed at the villany, and afraid of their own lives, returned every one to his own house. Thus this good king was most inhumanly and impiously cut off in the flower of his age, after he had reigned four years and six months; and, as soon as conveniently could be done, the states assembled to elect a new sovereign.



CULENUS, *the seventy-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 966.*

When Culenus, the son of Indulfus, was made king by the assembly of the estates, the next thing they did, was to inquire into the murder of the late monarch, and they made the more haste to examine the affair, because of some prodigies that had happened, one of which seemed particularly to regard that event. A hawk was shot, trussed by an owl, which cut its throat. Other signs also were referred to the same calamity, by the interpretation of the vulgar. For six months after the murder, extraordinary fires appeared in the element; the air was agitated with dreadful hurricanes; nay, the heavens were so obscured and defaced with clouds, that neither sun nor moon could be seen in Scotland all the time. This made men intent upon revealing the death of the good king; and, to that purpose, Culenus went into Murray, hoping to make some certain discoveries of the murder upon the spot where it was committed. Donald, hearing of his coming, and conscious of his guilt and parricide, of which also his over-curious and seemingly without inquisitiveness made in search of the perpetrators, rendered him still more suspected, procured a vessel at the mouth of the river Spey; where, with some others, he embarked, unknown even to his wife and children. This he did out of fear, lest the truth should have been extorted from him by the rack. His hasty flight, dejected countenance, few attendants, and great agitation on entering into the ship, which was but casually riding there, without any preparation for his voyage, raised so great a suspicion of him in the minds of all who were present, that they publicly vented all manner of reproaches against him, calling him an impious, sacrilegious wretch, and a parricide, and whatever other contumacious terms their inflamed anger could suggest. They added also, that though he had escaped from the presence of the king, he could never avoid the vindictive providence and avenging judgment of the Almighty. In a word, they pursued him with all the execrations which the highest indignation could excite in minds thoroughly provoked, till the ship was quite out of sight. When Culenus heard of his hasty flight, he hastened to the castle of Fores, where he apprehended the wife of Donald, and her three children; and by shewing them the rack, compelled them to discover the whole of the conspiracy; as also how, by whom, and where the body was buried. The wife, on her trial, not only confessed herself to have been privy to the murder, and accessory to it, but that she was the person who persuaded her husband to the bloody deed. When the people heard this, they were so infuriated, that it was with difficulty the magistrates could keep them from tearing her to pieces. Shortly after, Donald having been tossed about some days at sea, was shipwrecked and cast ashore, and being brought to the king, he and all his associates underwent the punishments they so richly deserved. His castle was burnt, and all that were in it were put to death on the spot, while those who brought him to the king were liberally rewarded. The body of Duff was honourably interred among his ancestors. But though these things highly ingratiated Culenus with those who were good, the remaining part of his life brought as much odium upon him as ever any king before laboured under; for, whether induced by his own nature, or urged through fear of danger, as his conduct implied, he suffered the severity of the discipline that had been used under Indulfus and Duff, to grow cold and remiss; permitting the younger people, who were given up to debauchery and foreign pleasures, to run into those licentious practices which were forbidden by the laws, till at last they broke forth into open violence and robbery. When the king saw the greatest part of the young nobility addicted to these vices, he plunged himself into the like wicked courses; so that he refrained not from corrupting noble matrons, and even religious nuns, who, in that age, on the account of their special regard to chastity, were had in great veneration, nor yet from his own sisters and daughters. He kept also numbers of other harlots, who were sought out by his panders, and thus he turned his palace into stews.

When admonished and put in mind of these things by persons of prudence and wisdom, he answered, in behalf of the young nobility, that something was to be allowed to their age, and that, though he could not help pleading guilty to many charges, he was forced, he said, out of fear, to tolerate them;

for I remember, he added, what great calamity the unseasonable severity of the former king brought, not only on himself, but on the whole kingdom; that the nobility were the stay and prop of the throne; that it was not true, that the martial spirits of men were always broken by this free kind of life, or made low and abject; nor that the thoughts of arms were so neglected by them in peace, as if they expected that there would never more be a return of war. It is true, proceeded he, the luxury of youthful age is so far to be restrained, that it may not run to excess, for fear the good seed of ingenuity should be choked as it were in the bud, and lost in too much licentiousness; yet it is not wholly to be abridged or taken away, lest the seeds of virtue should suffer in common with the vices, and be both plucked up together. When the nobles heard this plea, which he urged in his own defence, and perceived that, instead of doing any good with him by their persuasions, they should probably create trouble to themselves by taking farther liberty with him in their replies, they withdrew from court, that they might not be even witnesses of the foul practices which they detested. The king, now freed from such troublesome advisers, gave himself wholly up to wine and women; proposing rewards to those who could invent any new kind of pleasure, though ever so scandalous: insomuch that his whole court rung both night and day with the lewd songs of debauchees, and the raving of drunkards. These indecent outrages were as much admired by him, as modesty and chastity are wont to be esteemed by virtuous princes; and those vices which, though allowed or connived at by the law in other men, are, notwithstanding that impunity, committed even by them in secret, were here openly practised without shame. The young nobility, who were thus grown corrupt with pleasure, and a multitude of parasites and flatterers with them, extolled the king to the skies, as if he were the first monarch who had united splendour and magnificence to authority; by tempering the severity of his government with lenity, and easing the burdens of care and labour with freedom of spirit.

To continue these extravagant courses, there was need of great expense; and, therefore, the wealthier sort were fined upon feigned accusations; and the plebeians were suffered to be made a perfect prey, and harassed with all sorts of servile offices. He that felt displeased with the state of things, was accounted no better than a clown, or a savage; but, if he had a higher spirit than ordinary, he was presently accused, by a pack of informers, as one who aimed at innovation in the state. After three years spent in this licentiousness, and when men were silent, out of fear or sloth, luxury began to produce its own punishment; for, when the king's strength was exhausted by debauchery, and his body had contracted deformity by riot and luxury, those diseases followed, which are the usual and almost constant companions of such vices; so that there only remained an emaciated carcase, fit for nothing but to bear the punishment of its irregular life. The king, thus disabled for all the duties and functions of his station, his body and mind being enervated and weakened by intemperance; and his attendants also following the same practices; some audacious fellows were emboldened to commit public robberies and murders, regarding the plebeians as men of poor and servile spirits, and the courtiers as persons enfeebled by intemperance.

The better part of the nobility, finding themselves surrounded with so many evils, and seeing the kingdom on the brink of destruction, called an assembly of the states at Scone, where the king also was desired to be present, that he might consult in common with the rest, in such a dangerous juncture of affairs, for the public safety. Inwardly struck at this summons, and awakened, as it were, from his drowsy sloth, Culenus began to advise with his confederates, what, in such difficulties, he should do. At length, though he neither knew how to resist, nor how to fly, and his mind presaged no good to him; he resolved to go to the assembly. And, as miserable men are wont to flatter themselves in adversity, so he did not altogether despair, that, either out of pity, or out of respect to his father's memory, he should procure some favour, and not be suddenly hurled down from so high a dignity, to the lowest abyss of woe and wretchedness. Accordingly, he set out for Scone, with a large, but unarmed and dispirited train; so that, on his arrival at a neighbouring village, called Methven, he was set upon and slain by the thane or sheriff

of the country, out of revenge for having ravished his daughter. When his death came to be publicly known, though all men were heartily glad at having got rid of such a monster with less trouble than they expected, yet the pepretration of the fact by Rohard, or Radard, the thane, was very much disliked by all people. He reigned, as the former king had done four years and six months.

**KENNETH III. the eightieth King, began to reign A. D. 970.**

Kenneth, the brother of Duff, and third of the name, succeeded Culuin. He, being the reverse of his predecessor in his disposition, manners, and course of life, used as much diligence in reforming the lives of the younger sort, as the other had done in corrupting them; though his task was the greater, because men are carried down headlong into vice, with an ardent propensity of mind; while the way to virtue is by a steep ascent. And, indeed, this was the thing that gave the chief occasion to the opinions of some philosophers, who contended that man is naturally made to enjoy pleasure; but that he is drawn to virtue, as it were, violently, and against his own inclination. I maintain both parts of the assertion to be false; but perhaps the origin of the mistake arose from hence, that seeing there is a double power of nature in man, one of his body, the other of his mind, the vigour of the former seems to exert itself sooner and quicker than that of the intellect; and as plants first send forth stalks, leaves, and flowers, pleasant to behold, before the seed begins to be formed in its proper pod and receptacle; but when the seed ripens, all other things fade away, and at last quite wither and decay; so in like manner our bodies grow youthful betimes, and before the virtue of our minds, which is then but weak and tender, can exert its force; but as the members grow old by degrees, so the strength of the mind and judgment expands and unfolds itself more and more; and therefore, as in corn, we restrain the luxuriant growth of it, either by causing it to be eaten up, or by cutting down its luxuriant blade; so in young men, the law supposes, that the forwardness of wit, which is ever eager in shewing itself, should be restrained by careful culture, till improved reason may be able, of itself, to repress the violence of the infirm body. But to return to Kenneth.

Knowing that the commonalty usually comply with the humour of the prince, and diligently imitate what he loves, he first formed a good discipline in his own court and family, that so he might manifest in deeds what he commanded in words; and as he propounded his own life to be an example to his household, so he would have the manners of his domestics to be the patterns for other people. He first purged his court from all the vile ministers of licentiousness and wickedness, that he might be the better justified, when he undertook to do the same in other parts of his kingdom. To this good end he resolved to travel over the whole country, to call together assemblies, for the preventing and punishing of thefts, murders, and robberies; to encourage men to labour by rewards, and to exhort them to concord by courteous speeches, that so the ancient discipline might be restored. But, in the execution of this purpose, he found greater difficulty than he imagined; for the major part of the nobility were either conscious of their want of virtue, and so feared their own personal punishments; or else they were allied in blood to those who were guilty. Therefore, when the first assembly was called at Lanark, a town of Clydesdale, some of those who were summoned to appear, being forewarned of the danger that awaited them, by their relations, fled into the Western isles; and some to other places that were infamous for robberies. The king understanding the fraud that had been practised upon him, and being not ignorant of the authors of it, dissembled his anger, but dissolved the assembly; and so passed on with a few of his familiar attendants into Galloway under the pretext of performing a vow he had made to St. Ninian. On his arrival there, he consulted with those whom he judged most faithful to him, what was to be done in such a case. The result was, that a convention of all the nobility should be held the next year at Scone, ostensibly for the consideration of important matters, concerning the good of the nation in general; that so the heads of the factions might be apprehended without any tumult; and when imprisoned, their clans and tenants might be made to bring

in the malefactors to the king. This project was judged most advisable; but it was kept secret, and communicated only to a few, till the appointed meeting at Seone. There the king caused his servants to prepare soldiers, and to keep them privately in the house adjoining to the palace, the day before the assembly; and, at the opening of it, the nobility, being very numerous, came, where they were courteously treated by the king; but, upon a sign given, they were immediately beset with armed men. They were all in a surprise, and overwhelmed with fear, at this sudden appearance; but the king encouraged them by a gentle speech, telling them, "That they need not be afraid, for he intended no hurt to any good man; and that those arms were not provided for their destruction, but defence. He farther told them, that none of them could be unacquainted with his motives and endeavours, since his accession to the crown; which were, that the wicked and lawless should be punished according to their crimes; and that the upright should be protected in the enjoyment of those estates which were either left them by their ancestors, or had been acquired by their own industry. The king also observed, that it was his firm intention to secure to honest men the quiet enjoyment of those rewards, which he either had bountifully bestowed, or might hereafter confer upon them, according to their respective worth and merit. These things, he said, might easily be brought to pass, if the nobility would lend their helping hands. The last year, added he, when I summoned some of the offenders to appear on a certain day, none of them at all came; which failure, as I understand, by common report, was not so much out of confidence of their own strength, as of the assistance of their relations and friends; and this, if true, is both dangerous to the public, and a great reflection upon those families. Now, therefore, the king continued, was the time when they might redeem both themselves from imputations, and the nation from being molested by robbers. This was easy to be done, if those who were most powerful in every county, would cause the malefactors to be apprehended, and brought to condign punishment; and who those malefactors were, was evident to all; but if they made excuses, and, after so fair an opportunity of deserving well of their country, proved deficient in improving it, the king, to whose care the safety of the whole people was committed, could not be excused, if he set them at liberty, before the offenders were brought to punishment. This, therefore, he told them, was the end he had in view, in taking them into custody; and, if any one thought his long confinement would be a trouble to him, he might thank himself, since it was in his own power, not only to procure his own liberty, but also to obtain honour, reward, and the praise of all good men into the bargain." The nobles, having heard this harangue, after consulting one with another, answered, "That they had rather assert their innocency by deeds than words." Accordingly, they promised him their assistance, and desired him to lay aside all suspicion, if he had conceived a sinister opinion of any of them. Upon this, their solemn engagement, the king told them the names of the offenders. The nobles, by their friends, made diligent search after them; and, in a short time, they were brought to the king, and punished according to law. After that the nobles were dismissed, having received some gifts, and many large promises from the king; while the common people prayed heartily for them and his majesty.

Matters being thus composed at home, Kenneth faithfully observed the league made by some former kings with the English. But this great tranquillity of Britain was soon disturbed by the Danes, who appeared with a great fleet, and anchored near the promontory of Red-Head, in Angus. Off this coast they staid some days in consultation, whether to land there, or direct their course towards England, as they originally intended. Many of them were of opinion, that it was most advisable to make for England, because it was an opulent country, and where they might have provision enough for their army, and also meet with auxiliaries and reinforcements, in regard that many descendants from Danish ancestors were yet alive in those parts, and that many others stood obliged to them for old courtesies and friendships, who, upon the first notice of their arrival, would presently flock in to them, as they had usually done in former times; but that, as for the Scots, they were a fierce nation, and very hardy, as those use to be who are bred in

barren and hungry soils ; that every attempt made against them was attended with great and remarkable loss ; and that, in the present case, if they overcame them, it would hardly be worth their labour ; but that if they were overcome by them, they must endure the utmost extremity and rigour. Others of the Danes were of a different opinion, alleging, that if they made their descent on the English coast, they should be obliged to fight both nations at once ; but, that if the Scots were first beaten, the war against the English would be easy, as being deprived of foreign aid, and terrified with the loss of their friends. They farther urged, that it was not the part of great and magnanimous spirits, to be intent on prey and booty only ; but they should rather call to mind the blood of their kindred and ancestors, who had been so often cruelly slain in Scotland ; and that now, especially, having a great army, and being furnished also with things necessary for war, they ought to take that revenge, which might punish the savage inhumanity of the Scots, according to their deserts, and might also carry the terror of the Danish name to all the neighbouring nations.

This last opinion prevailed, and they sailed, with their whole fleet, into the mouth of the Esk, where, landing their forces, they plundered the next town to them, and destroyed all with fire and sword. As for the castle, they levelled it to the ground ; and slaughtered all the inhabitants of the place, without distinction of age or sex. They made the like desolation all over Angus, even to the frith of the river Tay. The news of this irruption was soon brought to the king, then residing at Stirling ; but those who had escaped the fury of the enemy made things worse in the relation than they were in reality. The king, by the advice of the nobles who were present, propounded a short day to such as lived near, to come in to him ; those who dwelt farther off, he charged by letters to hasten up with their forces ; while, with such strength as he had about him, he drew towards the enemy, both to make what discovery he could of their posture, and likewise to prevent their plundering. In a short time a great multitude came into his camp, which was pitched at the confluence of the rivers Tay and Earn. As he was there ordering his forces, news came that the enemy had passed over the Tay, and were besieging Perth ; upon which, the king, much concerned at the danger of a town so near to him, marched directly to its relief. As soon as the Danes were in sight, the Scots, bent upon revenge, made haste to encounter them, and, pitching upon a convenient place for their army, approached the enemy. But the Danes having encamped on an opposite hill, where they could not, without much hazard, be attacked, the archers and dartsmen compelled them to come down ; so that a most cruel fight began at the bottom of the hill, much blood was spilt, and the victory remained uncertain, when the Danes gave forth a proclamation, through their whole army, "That no man must ever hope to return again to their camp, unless as a conqueror." Then, after a great and universal shout, they made such a brisk charge and assault upon the Scots, that both wings were routed, and the Danes eagerly followed in the pursuit. That day would certainly have been most ruinous to the Scots, unless aid had been afforded by one man, who was sent, as it were, from heaven, in this desperate posture of affairs. A certain yeoman, whose name was Hay, was casually ploughing, with his two sons, in the field over which the Scottish fugitives were making the best of their way. They were all three able-bodied men, stout and courageous, and great lovers of their country. The father instantly took up a yoke, and the sons what instruments they could lay hand of, and stood in a narrow pass, where the Scots flew the thickest ; and there, first by reproaches, and next by menaces, they endeavoured to stop them. But not prevailing, they fell upon those that pressed nearest, saying, "That they would be as so many Danes to them who thus ran away." Hereupon, those who were of a more dastardly spirit made a halt, and the stouter, who were rather carried away by the rout than fled for fear, joined them, crying out, "Help was at hand ;" so that the whole company turned back again on the enemy, and forced the Danes to as dreadful and precipitate a flight as they themselves had been lately guilty of. This shock to the Danes, occasioned as great a shout among the baggage-men and country-people, as if a new army had been coming ; which gave such encouragement to the Scots,

and struck such a terror into their enemies, that it raised the spirits of the one, who were almost upon the point of desperation, and threw the other into a complete disorder.

This victory was obtained at the village of Luncarty, and was not only celebrated for that and some days after, but transmitted down to posterity with great rejoicing. When the conquerors were dividing the spoils, the name of Hay was in every mouth; and many credible persons affirmed that they saw, wherever he or his sons made an onset, there the Scottish ranks were restored, and the Danes broken. In fine, they all unanimously ascribed the glory, the victory, the honour of the day, and their own lives, to Hay and his sons. When Hay was brought to the king, he spoke very modestly of himself, and when rich and splendid garments were offered to him and his sons, that he and they might be the more taken notice of, at their entrance into Perth, he refused them; being content with wiping off the dust from his coat, which was the same he wore every day, and thus carrying the yoke which he used in the fight, he entered the place; a great train being commanded to follow him at a distance, as well as some to go before him; and such a confluence of people there was at this new spectacle, that he alone occupied almost the whole solemnity of the day. After the departure of the Danes, and this sudden and unexpected calm, an assembly of the states was held at Scone, where the first debate was, what honours and rewards should be bestowed on Hay and his sons. Accordingly, a grant of some of the most fertile lands in all Scotland was made to him, which his posterity enjoy to this day, and their family is happily increased into many opulent branches. The family was also promoted from the rank of the plebeians to the order of the nobility; and a coat of arms was assigned to it, according to the custom of noble houses, namely, argent three escutcheons gules; which bearing shews, in my opinion, that the public safety was procured by the eminent fortitude of those three persons in that fight.

After this battle, peace seemed to be settled for many years, when some troublesome matters at home disturbed the calm. The commotion of the islanders, who, in a marauding course, roamed all over Ross, was quickly suppressed: some of the robbers being slain in fight, others were taken in pursuit, and executed. But Crathilinthus, the son of Fenella, or, as some call her, Finabella, produced far greater disturbance. He was then the chief of all Mearn, both in descent and wealth. Crathinetus, his grandfather on the side of his mother, was made governor by the king over that part of Angus which lies between the two rivers, each bearing the name of Esk, where he gathered the royal taxes and revenues. His grandson coming with a great train to visit him, a sudden quarrel arose amongst their respective servants, so that two of the attendants of Crathilinthus were slain. He complained of this to his grandfather, who laid the blame of the tumult upon his grandson's rude retinue and company; and after a sharp reproof dismissed him, but not without some sarcastic language from his servants and domestics. On his return home, he, in great wrath, complained of the affront to his mother; who, instead of endeavouring to allay the rage, and quiet the mind of the increased youth, by grave and wholesome counsel, provoked him with exhortations to commit parricide upon her own father, and his grandsire. Not long after this, Crathilinthus, having gathered an armed company fit for his purpose, came by night into Angus, to the castle of his grandfather; where he, with some few followers, were admitted without suspicion. Being entered, he gave the word to the rest, who lay in ambush, and having let them loose, he slew his grandfather, with his whole family, plundered the castle, depopulated the surrounding country; and, as if he had done a famous exploit, returned pompously with a great booty into Mearn. But the people of Angus did not suffer this injury to pass long unrevenged; for, soon after, gathering a number of their party together, they made great havock in the district of Mearn; and from this time forward, slaughters and rapine were occasionally committed on both sides. Kenneth, hearing of this, published a proclamation, that the chiefs of both parties should appear at Scone, within fifteen days, to answer what might be objected against them; for he feared, that if a greater number should resort together, farther tumults might arise.

Some few being terrified by this threatening edict, made their appearance accordingly; but the greater part, of whom Crathilinus was chief, being conscious of their own guilt, escaped in the best manner they could. The king caused a diligent search to be made after them, in consequence of which the greatest part were taken in Lochaber, and others elsewhere. Crathilinus, and the chief of the faction, were put to death; while others, according to the degree of their crimes, suffered less punishments; and those against whom little guilt appeared, were discharged.

This moderation and lenity procured to the king fear from the bad, but great love from the good; and settled peace in all his kingdom, till the twenty-second year of his reign. From thence, if he had persisted in the course of life which he had begun, he might well have been reckoned amongst the best princes; for he so performed all the offices both of peace and war, that he gained great renown on account of his equity, constancy, and valour. But the excellency of his former life was blemished by one wicked act, which to him seemed of a more heinous nature, as it appeared incredible and contrary to his disposition, who had before so severely punished great offenders. The occasion was this; the king, being now in years, had a son named Malcolm, a prince of great ingenuity; but, in point of age, not mature enough to govern so fierce a people, in case his father should die. Besides, the custom of our ancestors was against it, that he should reign next after his father; for they were wont to choose, not the nearest but the fittest among the relatives of the deceased king, provided he were descended from Fergus, the first monarch of the Scots. Further, the favour of the nobility was inclined to another Malcolm, the son of Duff, the most praiseworthy king of the royal race of Scotland. He was then governor of Cumberland, which county the Scots held as feudatories of the kings of England, on such terms, that this praiseworthy prince was always looked upon as an introduction to the throne, and it had been so observed for some ages past. The king, perceiving that this Malcolm, for the reasons here mentioned, would be an hindrance to the succession of his son, yet not daring to destroy him openly, caused him privately to be made away with by poison. Thus died that excellent young man, much lamented, and near to his greatest hope. Some signs of poison appeared in his body, but it entered into no man's conception to suspect the king. Nor, his deportment was such, as to avert all idea of the kind; for he mourned and wept on account of his death, and made honourable mention of his name whenever occasion offered. He also caused him to be magnificently interred, no ceremony being omitted that could be devised to do honour to the deceased. But this extraordinary concern of the king to remove all suspicion from himself, gave a shrewd jealousy to the more sagacious. They forbore, however, to express their opinions publicly, for the reverence they all bore to, and had conceived of, the king's sanctity. But soon after, the king himself scattered some words abroad, to try the minds of men, how they would bear the abolition of an old law, and the enacting a new one, concerning the succession of their kings, namely, "That, according to the custom of many nations, if a king died, his son should succeed him; and if he were under age, then to have a guardian or tutor assigned him, so that the royal name might rest in the heir; while the executive government lay in those who had the charge of him, till he should come to maturity." Though a great part of the nobles assented to his proposition, as willing to gratify him; yet the suspicion concerning the death of Malcolm prevailed among the major part, especially those of the blood-royal, who were afraid of the king.

While men's minds were thus affected, ambassadors came from England, to condole with the king on the loss of his kinsman; and to desire, that in appointing another governor, he would remember, that Cumberland, being the bond of concord betwixt the two nations, he would set such a person over it, that might be of a pacific character, and one who would maintain the ancient alliance betwixt the two nations, for the good of both; and who, if any new suspicions or jealousies should arise, might labour to extinguish them. The king, judging this embassy fit for his purpose, convened the nobility at Scone, where he made a grave harangue to them, against the ancient custom of the assemblies of states in this point, wherein he recited all the seditions that had

happened on this account, and with how great impiety some of the surviving hundred had treated the children of former kings; and what wars, rapines, slughters, and banishments, had been the fatal consequences. On the other side, he put them in mind, how much more peaceable, and less turbulent, the parliamentary assemblies of other countries were; and what great reverence was borne to the royal lineage, when, without canvassing for succession, children succeeded their parents in the throne. Having thus spoken, he referred the matter to that great council to come to a determinate measure in this case; acquainting them also with the request of the English ambassador. To give a greater and more manifest proof of his condescension and civility, whereas it was in his power alone to appoint a governor of Cumberland, he left it to them to nominate one; supposing that, by this moderation, he should the more easily obtain his desire concerning the succession to the crown; for if he himself had nominated his son as governor, he thought he might prejudice his object: because, as I have already said, the prefecture over Cumberland was looked upon as the designation of the person to be the succeeding king of Scotland. Constantine, the son of Calenus, and Grimus, the son of Moyal, brother to king Duff, who were thought most likely to oppose both propositions, being first asked their opinions in this case; partly for fear of danger, and partly that they might not run against the major part of the nobility, who had been prepossessed and influenced by the king, gave their vote, "That it was in the king's power to correct and amend such laws as were inconvenient to the public; and also to appoint what governor he pleased over Cumberland." The rest, though aware that they had spoken contrary to their private sense, yet assented to what they said. By this means, Malcolm, the king's son, though not of age, and unqualified for the post, was declared Governor of Cumberland, and Prince of Scotland; which title signifies as much as Dauphin doth in France, or Cæsar amongst the old Roman emperors, and the King of the Romans amongst the modern Germans, whereby the successor to the reigning sovereign is understood. Among other laws that were made, one was, "That, as the king's eldest son should succeed his father, so, if the son died before the father, the grandson should succeed the grandfather: that when the king was under age, a tutor or protector should be chosen; some eminent man for interest and power, to govern in the king's name and stead, till he attained the age of fourteen, and then he should have liberty to choose guardians for himself." Many other things were enacted concerning the legitimate succession of heirs, as well for the whole body of the nobility, as for the royal family. Though the king had thus, by indirect and evil practices, settled the crown on his posterity, as he thought, yet his mind was not at rest. He was courteous, indeed, to all, highly obliging to many, and managed the government so, that no part of a good king was wanting in him; yet his mind being disquieted with the guilt he had committed, suffered him to enjoy no peace; for, in the day, he was vexed with the corroding thoughts of that foul wickedness which would always force themselves into his mind, and in the night terrible visions disturbed his rest. At last, a voice was heard from heaven, either a true one, according to the opinion of some, or else such as his perturbed mind suggested, as it commonly happens to guilty consciences, speaking to him in his bed to this effect: "Dost thou think, that the murder of Malcolm, an innocent man, secretly and most impiously perpetrated by thee, is either unknown to me, or that thou shalt longer go unpunished for the same? There are already plots laid against thy life, which thou canst not avoid; neither shalt thou leave a firm and stable kingdom to thy posterity, as thou thinkest to do, but a tumultuous one, and full of storms and tempests." The king, terrified by this dreadful warning, hastened early in the morning to the bishops and monks, to whom he declared the disorder of his mind, and the compunction which he felt for his impiety. These men, who were degenerated from the piety and simplicity of their predecessors, instead of prescribing a true remedy, according to the doctrine of Christ, reproached him those absurd and fallacious ones, which evil and selfish men had contrived for their own gain, and unwary people had as greedily received; namely, to bestow gifts on temples and holy places, to visit the sepulchres of saints, to kiss their relics, to expiate his sins by masses and alms; and withal,



to respect and reverence monks and priests, more than he had hitherto done. The king did not neglect to perform all that they enjoined him, thinking, by these expiations, to be healed in his conscience. At length, when he came to Mearn, to do reverence to the bones of Palladius, who was a very holy person, he turned a little out of his way to take a view of a neighbouring castle, called Fettercalra; which was then, as reported, very pleasant, with shady groves, and piles of curious buildings, of which, however, there now remain no vestiges. The lady of this castle, who was called Fenella, of whom mention has been made before, bore the king a mortal grudge; not only for the punishment of her son Crathilithus, but also on account of her kinsmen, Constantine and Grimus, who, by this new law, were excluded from the succession to the crown. But, dissembling her anger, she entertained the king with great magnificence; and, after dinner, carried him out to view the pleasantness of the place, and the structure of the castle. Among other things, she led him into a privy parlour, to see a brass statue, most curiously and artfully cast, which was made with so much ingenuity, as they say, that when a string or cord, which was secretly bent therein, was remitted and let go, it would shoot out arrows of its own accord; so, whilst the king was intent in viewing this figure, an arrow darted out from it, and slew him. John Major and Hector Boetius both say, that the king came thus to his end, though, in my judgment, it is far from probable; for it is not credible, that, after the decay of noble arts amongst other nations, so curious a statue should be then made; and that too in the remotest part of Britain; and, though John Major writes, that Edmond, the son of Eldred, was slain by the same artifice, I cannot bring myself to think otherwise than that both stories are fabulous; neither can I easily persuade myself, that all Scotland together had so many jewels, as Boetius affirms were in the possession of this lady. Therefore, I rather incline to the opinion of some others, among whom is Winton, who says, that the king was slain by some horsemen, placed in ambush by Fenella. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign; and, if the murder of Malcolm, and the too great affection to his kindred, had not made such a foul blot in his execution, he would have been pre-eminent for excellence. His death happened in the year of Christ 904.

*CONSTANTINE IV. the eighty-first King, began to reign A. D. 904.*

After the death of Kenneth, Constantine, the son of Culenus, surnamed the Bald, used so much diligence in canvassing to get the kingdom, as never any man had done before him. He insinuated himself with all sorts of people, complaining, that he, and others of the royal blood, were circumvented by the fraud of Kenneth, and so excluded from the hopes of the kingdom, under the force of a most unjust law; to which he, with others of the lineage of the ancient kings, were compelled by fear to consent. He farther alleged, that the inconvenience of the law was very manifest and visible in itself. For what, said he, could be more imprudent and ridiculous, than to take away one of the greatest concerns in government, from the suffrage of the wise, and to leave it to the chance of fortune; or to bind themselves to obey a child, because it happened to be the son of a king, who, perhaps, might be ruled by such a woman; and, in the mean time, to exclude brave and virtuous men from sitting at the helm? He added, farther, what if the children of the king should have some defect, either of mind or body, which made them unfit for government? What, continued he, would have been the consequence, if children had enjoyed the kingdom in those days, when they fought so many battles with the Romans, Britons, Picts, English, and Danes, not so much for dominion as for a mere being and subsistence in the world? Nay, what could be more upon madness, than to bring that upon themselves, by a law, which threatened as the severest judgment to the rebellious; and by this means, either to despise the warnings and predictions of the Almighty, or to run the risk of their own accord? Neither, said he, was that true, which the flatterers of Kenneth pleased themselves with urging, that the slaughter of the avarice of the king's kindred might, by this means, be avoided; for the royal children, whilst under age, had as much reason to fear the frauds of their guardians, as they did, before, the plots of their kindred. And therefore,

now the tyrant is removed, said he, let us valiantly recover the liberty he has taken away; and, in abrogating that law, which was enacted by force, and submitted to out of fear, (if it may be called a law, and not rather a public enslaving of us, and a prostitution of our liberties,) let us, I say, return to the ancient institutions and customs, by which this kingdom rose almost out of nothing; and which, from small beginnings, advanced it to that splendour, that it is inferior to none of its neighbours: nay, and which have erected it again to a new tide of glory, after being at a low ebb. Therefore let us not neglect or slip over this present opportunity which offers itself, lest hereafter we seek it in vain." By these, and the like harangues, with diligent application to the great ones, he drew a great multitude to his party, who assembled at Scone, twelve days after the funeral of Kenneth, and proclaimed him king.

In the mean time, Malcolm, who was busy about his father's funeral, hearing that Constantine was elected to the throne, called his friends together to deliberate what was proper to be done. Some were of opinion, that, before he proceeded any farther, he should sound how the nobles stood affected, so that he might know what strength he was able to raise against a popular man, supported by so many factions and alliances; and then to form a resolution according to the number of his forces. But those who were young and headstrong despised this course, as slow and dilatory; alleging that it was best to obviate the danger in its beginning, and to proceed against the enemy before he was settled in his new kingdom. Malcolm being young, embraced the latter opinion, as the more specious of the two; and having gathered an army of about ten thousand men, marched towards the enemy. Neither was Constantine backward in his preparations; for in a short time he levied so great an army, that Malcolm, at the news of his approach, disbanded his soldiers, and retired into Cumberland. But Kenneth, his natural brother, the son of a concubine, judging that course to be very dishonourable, persuaded some of the most valiant troops to stay behind, and to resist the enemy at the river Forth, near Stirling, which was the boundary to both armies. There the two camps lay idle on the high banks of the river, which was fordable but in few places; by which means they were so afflicted with pestilence and famine, calamities which raged very much in that year, that each army was forced to disband. Thus the kingdom being divided into two factions, the commonalty was miserably afflicted with hunger, pestilence, and frequent robberies. In the mean time, during the absence of Malcolm, who, according to his league, was assisting the English against the Danes, Constantine, thinking he had now got a convenient opportunity to subdue the adverse faction, marched in great force into Lothian. Kenneth, who had been left by his brother to observe all the motions of Constantine, opposed him at the mouth of the river Almon; but being inferior in number, he supplied that defect by stratagem; for he so disposed his army, that he got the advantage both of the sun and wind; besides which, his army was flanked, as much as it could, by the river, and this proved the chief cause of his victory. For the adherents of Constantine, trusting to their numbers, rushed violently into the battle, having the sunbeams darting into their faces, while at the same time, a storm suddenly arose, which drove so much dust into their eyes, that they could scarcely lift their heads against the enemy. A great slaughter was made in both armies, and the two generals, upon a charge, wounded and slew one another. This happened after Constantine had invaded the kingdom one year and six months.

*GRIMUS, the eighty second King, began his reign A. D. 996.*

Grimus, the son of king Duff, or, as others say, of his brother Mogallus, after the death of Constantine, was brought to Scone; and there, by the men of his faction, made king. He, perceiving that some nobles of his party were already corrupted by messengers sent from Malcolm, and that more of them were solicited by him to a defection, took some of the messengers, and committed them to prison. Malcolm, being incensed at the imprisonment of his ambassadors, as being done against the law of nations, broke forth into open war. While Grimus was making preparations to meet him, a sudden rumour spread through Malcolm's army, of the vast and prodigious strength of the forces

that were coming against them; so that all his measures were broken, many of his soldiers deserted secretly, and several, under frivolous pretences, openly desired to be dismissed. This fear first proceeded from the merchants, who, preferring their private concerns before the public good, scattered the report among the troops. Besides this, there were some among them, who privately favoured the party of Grimus; for there were many things in him very pleasing to the vulgar, as the tallness of his stature, his personal comeliness, singular courtesy, and a graceful manner in all his actions. Further, as there was occasion, he was severe in punishing offenders, and he managed matters with such great prudence and despatch, that many promised themselves a tranquil and honourable life under his government. In this diversity and combustion of men's spirits, Malcolm, not daring to trust the hazard of a battle, by the advice of his friends, dismissed the greatest part of his men; and, with some select troops, resolved to stop the passage of the enemy over the Forth.

In the mean time, the bishop of that diocese, called Fothadus, of whom all had a high opinion for his sanctity, endeavoured to compose matters by his authority; and, interposing betwixt both parties, he at length managed matters that a truce was concluded for three months; during which Grimus was to retire into Angus, and Malcolm into Cumberland; while arbitrators were to be chosen on both sides, with mutual consent, to determine the main points in dispute. Fothadus did not cease his endeavours, till a peace was settled on these conditions:—"That Grimus should retain the regal title as long as he lived; and that, after his decease, the kingdom should return to Malcolm, that in future, the law of Kenneth, respecting the succession of the royal children, should be observed as sacred and inviolable. In the mean time, it was stipulated that the wall of Severus should be the boundary between both: that part within the wall being allotted to Malcolm, and that without to Grimus. Both were required to be satisfied with these limits, and neither was to invade the territory of his neighbour, or to assist the enemies of the other." Thus peace was made, to the great joy of all men, and it was religiously observed for nearly eight years. Grimus gave the first occasion of a breach, for though, in the beginning of his reign, he carried himself amidst those turbulent times as a good prince, his diligence slackened by the quiet he enjoyed, and he wholly plunged himself into voluptuous courses; which kind of life being, as usually it is, attended with great expense, reduced him to some necessity, and so he was forced to pretend crimes against the richer sort, that he might satisfy his avarice, and seize their estates. Being remonstrated with on the danger of this course, by his grave counsellors, he was so far from reforming it, or from abating any thing of his injustice, that he resolved to imprison his monitors, and thus terrify others, by their punishment, from using the like freedom in reproving kings. To effect this, he invited them kindly to his court, but they, having notice of his design by their friends, withdrew: at which Grimus was so enraged, that he gathered a band of men together, and pursued them, wasting their lands more than any foreign enemy could have done; sparing neither men, horses, cattle, nor corn: and what he could not carry away, he spoiled, that so it might be rendered useless to the owners. In this manner he made a promiscuous havock of all things, whether sacred or profane, by fire and sword. Complaint of this being brought to Malcolm, who was then engaged in assisting the English against the Danes, he presently returned home: for he was incensed, not only at the undeserved sufferings of so many brave and innocent persons, but much more at the indignity offered him by Grimus; who, knowing that the lands were shortly to pass over to another, had, without any respect to future times, ravaged and devastated the country, as if it had been that of an enemy. There was a great resort to Malcolm at his return; insomuch, that though Grimus had for a time been dear to, and much beloved by the people, yet now the greatest part of the nobles forsook and abandoned him. However, he collected what forces he could, and with them made head against his opponent. When the two camps were near each other, Grimus, knowing that Malcolm would religiously observe Ascension-day, resolved then to attack him, in hopes of finding him unprepared. Malcolm, having notice of his design, kept his men under arms.

and though he augured well as to the victory in so good a cause, yet he sent to Grimus, desiring that, as Christians, they might not pollute so holy a day with shedding the blood of their countrymen. Grimus, however, was resolved to fight, telling his soldiers, that the fear the enemy was in, though pretended to be out of reverence to so holy a feast, was a good omen of their victory. Then a fierce and eager battle began; but Grimus, being deserted by his men, was wounded in the head, and taken prisoner. Soon after, he had his eyes put out; and in a short time, partly out of grief, and partly through the anguish of his wounds, he died in the tenth year of his reign. Malcolm behaved nobly towards the conquered, and caused Grimus to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors. He also received the party that had followed him into his grace and favour, and blotted out the memory of all past offences. Then going to the assembly of the states at Scone, before he would take the government upon him, he caused the law made by his father, concerning the regal succession, to be publicly ratified by the votes of the whole parliament.

*MALCOLM II. the eighty-third King, began to reign A. D. 1004.*

At his entrance into the government, Malcolm laboured to restore the order of the kingdom, which was sorely shaken by factions. As, therefore, he forgave all offences that had been done to himself, so he took care that the seeds of faction and discord amongst all different parties might be rooted out. After this, he sent just and pious men as governors, selected from the nobility, into all the provinces, to restrain the licentiousness of robbers; who had with impunity, through the iniquity of the former reign, habituated themselves to plunder. These governors also encouraged the common people to practise tillage and husbandry; so that provisions grew cheaper, commerce between man and man became safer, and the public peace was better secured. Amidst these transactions, Sueno, the son of Harold, king of the Danes, being banished from home, came into Scotland. He had been oftentimes overcome, was made prisoner by, and ransomed from, the Vandals; and having sought for aid in vain from Olave king of Norway, and Edward king of England, at last he came into Scotland, and being converted to Christianity, to which before he was a most bitter enemy, he received some small forces there, and so returned into his own country: from whence, soon after, he passed over with a great army into England. First, he overthrew the English alone, and afterwards he had the same success against them when they were assisted by the Scots; whom he grievously threatened, because they would not forsake their allies, and return into their own country. Neither were his menaces in vain; for Olave of Norway, and Enecus, general of the Danes, were sent by him with a great army into Scotland; who ranged throughout Murray, killed all they met, took away what they could seize, whether sacred or profane; and, at last, gathering into a body, proceeded to assault castles, and other strong places. While they were besieging these fortresses, Malcolm raised an army in the neighbouring countries, and pitched his camp not far from them. The day after, the Scots perceiving the multitude and warlike preparations of the Danes, were struck with such terror, that, though the king endeavoured to encourage them, his words had little effect. At length a clamour was raised in the camp, by those who were willing to seem more valiant than the rest; and when excited, others received and seconded it; so that, presently, as if they had been wild, they ran in upon the Danes, without the command of their leaders, and rushed upon the points of their swords, who were ready to receive them. After the most forward were slain, the rest retreated faster than they had advanced. The king was so severely wounded in the head, that it was with much difficulty he could be carried off the field into an adjacent wood, where he was put on horseback, and so escaped with his life. After this victory, the castle of Nairn surrendered to the Danes, the garrison being dismayed at the event of the late unhappy battle; but they were all put to death by the victors. The Danes strongly fortified the castle, because it was seated in a convenient pass; and, from being a peninsula, they made it an isle, by cutting through a narrow neck of land, for the sea to surround it; and then they called it, by a Danish name, Burgus. The other castles of Elgin and Forres were deserted, for fear of the cruelty of the Danes. The

conquerors, upon this success, now resolved to fix their habitation in Murray, and accordingly sent home their ships to bring over their wives and children, exercising, in the mean time, all manner of cruelties over the captive Scots. Malcolm, to prevent their farther progress, got a stronger and more compact body of troops together; and when the Danes were gone into Marr, he met them at a place called Mortlach, both armies being in great fear; the Scots dreading the barbarity of the Danes, and the latter apprehending unknown dangers more than enemies, in places remote from the sea and fit for ambushments. At the commencement of the fight, the Scots were much discouraged at the slaughter of three of their valiant worthies, namely, Kenneth, thane of the islands; Grimus, thane of Strathearn; and Dunbar, thane of Lothian, who all fell shortly one after another; so that the rest were forced to retreat, and retire to their old fastnesses, in the rear; where, fencing their camp with a trench, ditch, and large trees, which they cut down in a narrow place, they made a stand, and stopped the enemy. Some of the Danes, who, as if they had fully gained the victory, ventured to assault the Scots, were slain, amongst whom was Enecus, one of their generals. His loss, while it made the Danes less forward to fight, gave new courage to the Scots, who had before been intimidated. The scene was now altered in a moment, the Danes being put to flight, and the Scots pursuing them. Olave, the other Danish general, procured come guides, and bent his course that night towards Murray; and though Malcolm knew it, yet, having slain the principal of his enemies, and wounded more, he desisted from farther pursuit. When the news of this overthrow came to Sueno in England, he bore it with undaunted bravery, and sent some of his old soldiers, and others that were newly arrived from his own country, under Camus, their general, to recruit his old and shattered army in Scotland. Camus first came into the Frith of Forth; but being prevented from landing by the country-people, who observed all his motions, he steered for the Red promontory of Angus; where he landed his men, and attempted to take some places; but, being disappointed, he fell to plundering. Having pitched his tents at the village of St. Bride, word was brought to him by his spies that the Scottish forces were not more than two miles from him. Upon this, the generals of both armies, according to the exigence of the time, exhorted their men to fight; and the next day, all were ready at their arms, almost at the same instant. The third day, they fought with such ardour and fury, as either new hopes or old animosities could occasion and suggest; but, in the end, the Scots prevailed; and Camus, in his attempt to secure the remainder of his army, by flying to the mountains near Murray, was overtaken by the pursuers before he had gone two miles, and he and all his men were cut off. There are still extant some monuments of this victory, in an obelisk, and a neighbouring village, which retains the memorable name of Camus. A fresh band of Danes was destroyed not far from the town of Brechin, where also another commemorative obelisk was erected. The remainder, being few in number, under the covert of the night made to their ships, which were tossed up and down several days in the raging sea by adverse winds; till at length coming to the inhospitable shore of Buchan, they rode there so long at anchor, that, pressed by want, they sent about five hundred men ashore, to get some relief out of the neighbouring country. Mernanus, the thane of the place, hindered them from returning to their ships, and compelled them to retire to a steep hill, where, assisted by the convenience of the place, they defended themselves with stones, and slew many of the Scots, who rashly attempted to dislodge them. At last the assailants encouraged one another, and several numerous parties climbed the hill, and put every one of the Danes to the sword. There also, as well as at St. Bride's, when the wind blows up the sand, bones are discovered of a greater magnitude than can well suit with the stature of the men of our times.

Sueno, however, was so far from being discouraged even by this new overthrow, that he sent additional levies into Scotland under his son Canute, who landed his soldiers in Buchan, and so plundered the surrounding country. Malcolm, though he had hardly recovered the loss sustained in former battles, collected an army, but not being willing to hazard all, by fighting a pitched battle, he thought it best to weary the enemy out with light skirmishes, and to keep him

from plundering. By this means he hoped in a short time, to reduce him to a great want of provisions, as being not only in an enemy's country, but one that was almost quite wasted, and desolated by the miseries of former wars. He pursued this design for some days; but at last, when the Scots became thoroughly acquainted with the strength of the invaders, they less distrusted their own; and both armies, being equally pressed with want, were anxious for the signal to engage; declaring, that unless it was speedily given, they would begin the battle, even without the consent of their generals. Upon this, Malcolm drew out his army in order, and the fight was carried on with such desperate rage and fury, that neither party came off in triumph. The mere name of the victory, indeed, fell to the side of the Scots, but a great part of the nobility were slain, and the rest, wearied and depressed in spirit, returned to their camp, allowing the Danes to retreat without pursuit. The next day, when both parties mustered their men, they found so great a slaughter had been made, that they willingly accepted the mediation of some priests as the negotiators of peace between them. Accordingly, a treaty was concluded, the conditions of which were:—"That the Danes should leave Murray and Buchan, and depart; and that, as long as Malcolm and Sueno lived, neither of them should wage war with one another, nor help the enemies of each other: and that the field in which the battle was fought, should be set apart, and consecrated for the burial of the dead." Upon this, the Danes withdrew, and Malcolm gave orders for the interment of the slain.

Shortly after, he called an assembly of the states at Scone; and that he might reward those who had deserved well of their country, he divided all the royal lands among them. On the other side, the nobility granted to the king, "That, when any of them died, their children should be under the wardship of the sovereign till they arrived at the age of twenty-one; and that in the mean time the king should receive the rents of the estates of each minor, except what was necessary for education; and, also, that he should have the power to give them in marriage, or otherwise to dispose of them, when they were grown up; and should likewise settle and receive their dowry." I apprehend that this custom came rather from the English and Danes; because it yet continues throughout all England, and in part of Normandy. The king afterwards turned his thoughts to repair the damages sustained by the war: he rebuilt many churches and places applied to sacred uses, that had been demolished by the enemy; and he also erected new castles, or repaired the old, in every town. Having thus restored peace to the kingdom by his great valour, he endeavoured farther to adorn it with laws and ordinances; and annexed new titles, borrowed, as I think, from his neighbours, to certain dignities and offices: but which appellations served rather for vain ambition, than for any real use. For, in former times, there was no name superior in honour to that of a knight, except that of thane, meaning the governor, or sheriff of a province; which custom, as I learn, is still observed amongst the Danes. But, at present, princes observe no medium in the institution of new names, and titles of honour; though there is no utility at all in them, beyond the bare sound. Thus Malcolm, having finished his toilsome wars, reigned some years in great splendour and glory; but, as he advanced in age, he sullied the excellence of his former life by the deformity of avarice. This vice, being incident to old men, partly grew up in him with his years, and partly arose from the want to which he had been driven by his exorbitant grants. The lands, therefore, which he had unadvisedly distributed amongst the nobility, he as unjustly and wickedly laboured to resume; and by excessive fines laid upon the possessors, he broke the hearts of some, and reduced others to great penury. Thus the present sense of suffering, however just, blotted out the memory of all former favours; so that the injury reaching to a few, but the fear to many, the friends and kindred of those who were slain and impoverished, bent all their thoughts to revenge their relations, and to secure themselves. At last, the conspirators, by bribing the king's domestics at Glamis, in Angus, were admitted in the night to the king's bed-chamber, where they murdered him. When the bloody deed was committed, the treacherous servants, together with the paricides, took horse, which they had ready bridled and saddled for all events; and being not able to find the way, as a deep snow had covered all

the tracks, they were confounded, and wandered in the fields, till they arrived at a lake by the town of Forfar; where, endeavouring to pass over, the ice not being firm, their own weight sunk them, and they were all drowned. Their bodies lay undiscovered for some time, under the ice; but when a thaw came, they were found, and taken up, and the bodies being ascertained, were hung on gibbets in the highways, there to rot, for a terror to the living, as well as infamy to them after they were dead. This is the common report about the end of Malcolm: though some write, that he was slain in an ambush laid by the relations of Grimus and Constantine, the former kings, after a bloody battle fought betwixt them. Others say, that he was killed by the friends of a noble young lady, whom he had ravished; but all agree, that he came to a violent death. Malcolm reigned so justly above thirty years, that if avarice had not corrupted his mind in his old age, he might well have been numbered amongst the best of princes. The year in which he died was distinguished by prodigies; for, in the winter, the rivers overflowed in an extraordinary manner, and in spring there were great inundations of the sea. Moreover, a few days after the summer solstice, there were very severe frosts, and deep snows, which quite destroyed the fruits of the earth, and produced a grievous famine.

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## BOOK VII.

I HAVE mentioned, in the preceding book, how eagerly Kenneth and his son Malcolm strove to fix the regal succession in their family; in order "that the eldest son might succeed the father;" but what the success of it was, will appear in the sequel. This is certain, that neither the public benefit, which was promised to the whole nation, nor yet the private advantage, alleged to arise to our kings from it, were at all obtained by this new law. The universal good was the pretext for thus settling the succession, that seditions, murders, and treacheries might be prevented amongst those of the blood-royal, and also that ambition, with its attendant mischiefs, might be rooted out from amongst the nobles. But, on the contrary, when I inquire into the causes of public grievances, and compare the old state of things with the modern, it seems to me, that all those evils, which we would have avoided, are so far from being extinguished by the abolition of the ancient customs, that they rather receive a great increase from the new institution. For, not to speak of the plots of kindred against those who are actually on the throne; nor of the evil suspicions which the reigning king is apt to conceive of those whose nature and the law would have accounted most dear to him; I say, omitting these things, which in the series of our history will be farther stated, all the miseries of former ages may seem light and tolerable, compared with the calamities which followed the death of Alexander III. Neither will I insinuate upon the following particulars, that this law doth enervate the force of public councils, without which no lawful government can subsist; that by it we do willingly, and by consent, create those evils to ourselves, which others who have interest in public governments, chiefly deprecate, namely, to have kings, over whom other governors must be appointed; and so the people are to be committed to the power of those who have none over themselves; inasmuch, that those who are hardly brought to obey wise, prudent, and experienced kings, are now required to yield obedience, as it were, to the very shadow of a prince; by which means, we willingly precipitate ourselves into those punishments threatened by the Almighty to those who despise and contemn his holy Majesty; namely, that we should be in subjection to children, male or female, whom the law of nations, and even the mother of all laws, nature itself, hath subjected to the rule of others. As for the private benefit, that kings aim at by this regulation, that they may perpetuate their name and family, how vain and fallacious it is, the examples of the ancients, nay, even nature itself, might inform them, if they would but consider, by how many

lives and rewards the Romans endeavoured to perpetuate the splendid names of their families; of which not a footstep remains at this day, no, not in any part of the world which they had conquered. This disappointment most deservedly attends those who fight against nature itself, by endeavouring to clothe a fading frail thing, subject to momentary alterations and blasts of fortune, with a sort of perpetuity; and to endow it with a kind of eternity which they themselves neither are nor can be partakers of; nay, they strive to effect it by those means which are most cross to their purpose: for what is less conducive to perpetuity than tyranny? yet this new law goes a great way towards it; for a tyrant is, as it were, a mark exposed to the hatred of all men, inasmuch, that he cannot long subsist; and, when he falls, all goes with him. It seems, therefore, to me, that Providence sometimes gently chastises and disappoints this endeavour of foolish men; and sometimes exposes it even to public scorn, as if it were set up in emulation of a divine power. As a proof of this divine will, I know not any fitter or plainer instance than the present history. For Malcolm, who so much laboured to confirm the law, which his father almost forcibly enacted, though with the common suffrage and consent, that the king's children should be substituted in the room of their deceased parents, left no male child behind him; but had two daughters, one called Beatrix, whom he married to a nobleman named Crinus, thane of the western islands, and, as being the head of the other chiefs, was styled, in that age, Ab-thane; the other, named Duaca, who married the thane of Angus, and became the mother of Macbeth, or Macboda, of whom in his place.

*DUNCAN I. the eighty-fourth King, began to reign A. D. 1034.*

Malcolm being slain, as hath been related, Duncan, his grandson by his daughter Beatrix, succeeded him; a prince of great courtesy, and of more indulgence to his own kindred than became a king. He was of a mild disposition, and from his youth gave remarkable tokens of his popularity; for, in the most difficult times, when he was made governor of Cumberland by his grandfather, but could not come to the king, to take the necessary oaths, on account of the Danish troops which swarmed over the country, and stopped all passages, he faithfully took part with the English, till Canute, having obtained the rest of that kingdom, made an expedition against him; and then he submitted himself to the Danes, on the same conditions. In this also he was popular, that he administered justice with great equity; and every year visited the provinces, to hear the complaints of the poor; and, as much as lay in his power, he hindered the great men from oppressing their inferiors. But, as these virtues endeared him to the good, so they lessened his authority amongst the lovers of sedition; and his clemency to the former encouraged the latter to become audacious. The origin of that contempt into which his government fell, happened in Lothaber, upon the account of one Bancho, chief of that country, and a strict lover of impartial justice. Some ill men, not enduring his severity in punishments, formed a conspiracy against him, plundered him of his goods, and, after wounding him, left him almost dead. Upon his recovery, and as soon as he was capable of taking the journey, he went and complained to the king; who sent a public officer to do justice upon the offenders. This man, however, was grievously affronted, and afterwards murdered by them; so secure did they fancy themselves to be, by reason of the lenity, or, as they interpreted it, sloth, of a good king. The chief of the faction, that raised this disturbance, was named Macduald; who, desiring of pardon, prepared himself for open war. He called in the Picts, who were always prone to sedition, to his assistance, and also such of the enterprising Irish, as were eager to undertake any thing for the sake of booty. He told these confederates that, under an effeminate and slothful king, who was fitter to rule monks than warriors, there was no fear of punishment, but great hopes of advantage; and that he had no doubt but that the Picts, who were in a manner fettered with the chains of a long peace under the former king, when an alarm was sounded to war, would rise to recover their ancient liberty. These exhortations were seconded with a successful reasoning, which much heartened the party. Malcolm, one of the principal nobles, was sent by the king against them with some forces: but his



army was presently overthrown, and he himself, being taken prisoner, lost his head. The king, troubled at this overthrow, called a council to consult what measure should be adopted. Some were slow in delivering their opinions; but Macbeth, first cousin to the king, by his mother's side, laid the blame of the misfortune on the decay of military virtue; promising, that, if the commands were bestowed upon him and Bancho, who was well acquainted with that country, they would quickly subdue the insurgents, and bring things to a state of tranquillity. This Macbeth was of so sharp an understanding, and lofty a spirit, that, if it had been accompanied by moderation, he would have merited the highest command, but in punishing offenders, his severity, without legal restraints, seemed likely to degenerate soon into cruelty. When it was known that he was made commander in chief of the army, many were so terrified, that, laying aside the boldness which they had conceived from the king's slothful temper, they hid themselves in the most retired places. The islanders and the Irish, being impeded in their flight, were driven to the last despair, and fought stoutly till every one of them was slain. Macduald himself, with a few others, fled into a neighbouring castle, where, being without hope of pardon, he saved himself from the insults of his enemies by a voluntary death. Macbeth, not satisfied with this, cut off his head, and sent it to the king at Perth, while the rest of the body was hung up in a conspicuous place for an example. Those of the party called Redshanks, whom he took, he caused to be executed.

This domestic sedition being appeased, a far greater terror succeeded, occasioned by the Danes; for Sueno, their most powerful king, dying, left three kingdoms to his three sons; England to Harold, Norway to Sueno, and Denmark to Canute. Harold dying soon after, Canute succeeded him in the kingdom of England. Sueno, or Swain, king of Norway, emulous of his brother's glory, crossed the seas with a great navy, and landed in Fife. Upon the news of his coming, Macbeth was sent to levy an army; while Bancho, the other general, remained with the king. Duncan, or Donald, however, as he was just roused from a slumber of indolence, was forced to go and meet the enemy. They fought near Culross, with such obstinate courage, that, as one party was scarcely able to fly, so the other had no heart to pursue. The Scots, who looked upon themselves as overcome, rather by the incommodiousness of the place, than by the valour of their enemies, retreated to Perth, and there stood with the remains of their conquered forces, watching the motions of the adversaries. Swain thinking, that, by pressing eagerly on them, he should secure all Scotland to himself, marched towards Perth, with his entire army to besiege Duncan; while he sent his ships about by the Tay, to meet him. Duncan, though he had much confidence in the present posture of his affairs, because Macbeth was near him with a powerful reserve; yet, being counselled by Bancho to add stratagem to strength, sent messengers, one to Macbeth, to desire him to stay where he was, and another to Swain, to treat about the surrender of the town. The Scots desired, that, upon the surrender, they might have liberty to depart with their families in safety; but Swain, supposing that the request proceeded from depth of despair, would hear of nothing but an unconditional submission. Upon this, Duncan sent other messengers with unlimited instructions, and a command to delay time in making conditions; who, to ingratiate themselves the more, told the Norwegians that, whilst the articles of peace were considering and settling, their king would send abundance of provisions into the camp, as knowing that they were now overstocked with victuals for the army. This gift was very acceptable to the Norwegians, not so much on account of the generosity of the Scots, or their own want, as that they thought it indicated in the donors a despondency of spirits. Upon this a great store of bread and liquor was sent them, both expressed from the grape, and also strong drink made of barley, mixed with the juice of a poisonous herb, abundance of which grows in Scotland, called sleepy nightshade. Its stalk is above two feet in length, and in its upper part spreads into branches; the leaves are broadish, acuminate at the extremities, and faintly green; the berries, which are large, and of a black colour when ripe, proceed out of the stalk under the bottom of the leaves; the taste is sweetish, and almost insipid; and the seeds are as small as the grains of a barley.

quality of the fruit, root, and especially of the seed, is soporiferous, and will make men mad, if taken too copiously. With this herb all the liquor was infused; and they who carried it, to prevent any suspicion of fraud, tasted of it before, and invited the Danes to drink freely of it. Swain himself, in token of good-will, did the same, according to the custom of his nation. But Duncan, knowing that the force of the potion would penetrate to their very vitals, when asleep, silently admitted Macbeth with his forces into the town, by a gate which was farthest off from the enemy's camp. When he understood, by his spies, that the enemy was fast asleep, and full of wine, he sent on Bancho, who well knew all the avenues of the place, with the greatest part of the army, while he placed the rest in ambush. Bancho, on entering the camp and making a great shout, found all things more neglected than he had imagined. Some few, roused at the noise, ran up and down like madmen, and were slain, but the others were killed in their sleep. The king, who was deeply intoxicated, wanting not only strength, but sense also, was caught up by a few, who were not so far overcome with wine as the rest, and laid like a log or beast on a horse, which they casually lighted on, and so was carried to the ships. There, however, the case was almost as bad as in the camp, for almost all the seamen were slain on shore; so that there could hardly be collected a sufficient number to navigate a single vessel, yet, by this means, the king escaped to his own country. The rest of the ships, by stress of weather, fell foul of one another, and were sunk; and by the hills and mountains of sand, and other slime and weeds which the water carries, meeting together in one great heap, thence grew a place of great danger to sailors, which is commonly called Drumilaw Sands.

While the Scots were rejoicing for this victory, obtained without any loss of blood on their side, news arrived, that a fleet of Danes, sent by Canute to the assistance of Swain, was riding at Kinghorn; and that the soldiers and crews had landed in Fife, where they plundered the inhabitants without resistance. Upon this, Bancho was sent with forces against them, who, assailing the foremost, made a great slaughter among them. These were the principal men of the nation; and the rest were easily driven back to their ships. Bancho is reported to have made a great deal of money by the sale of burying-places for the slain; and the sepulchres, they say, are yet to be seen in the isle of *Armona*.

It is also stated, that the Danes, having made so many unlucky expeditions into Scotland, bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to return thither as enemies any more. While matters thus prosperously succeeded with the Scots, at home and abroad, and all things flourished in peace, Macbeth, who had always a disgust at the inactive disposition of his cousin, and had from thence conceived a secret hope of the kingdom in his mind; was further encouraged in his ambitious thoughts by a dream: for one night, when he was far distant from the king, he thought he saw three women, of a more majestic stature than mortals; one of whom saluted him as thane of Angus; another, as that of Murray; and a third, as king of Scotland. His mind, which before was affected with hope and desire, was now mightily encouraged by this dream; so that he contrived all possible ways to obtain the kingdom; in order to which, as he thought, a just occasion presented itself. Duncan had two sons by the daughter of Sibert, a petty king of Northumberland; Malcolm, surnamed Cammor, which is as much as Great Head; and Donald, surnamed Banc, that is, White. Of these, he made Malcolm, though scarcely yet out of his childhood, governor of Cumberland. Macbeth took this matter exceedingly ill, as an obstacle to his advancement: for, having arrived at the enjoyment of the other honours promised him in his dream, he thought this would prove the means either of secluding him altogether from the kingdom, or else that it would much retard his enjoyment of it; for the government of Cumberland was always looked upon as the first step to the throne of Scotland. Besides, his mind, which was fierce enough of itself, was spurred on by the daily importunities of his wife, who was privy to all his counsels. At length, communicating the matter to his most intimate friends, amongst whom was Bancho, he seized an opportunity, at Inverness, to lie in wait for the king, and slew him in the seventh year of his reign: then, gathering a command

together, he went to Soone, and, by the favour of the people, was made king. The children of Duncan, alarmed at this sudden disaster, seeing their father slain, the author of the murder on the throne, and snares laid for them to take away their lives, that so, by their death, the kingdom might be confirmed to Macbeth, shifted up and down, and hid themselves, and so for a time escaped his fury; but perceiving that no place could long secure them from his rage; and that, being of a fierce and unforgiving nature, there was no hope of clemency to be expected from him, they fled several ways; Malcolm into Cumberland, and Donald to his father's relations in the *Æbudas* islands.

MACBETH, *the eighty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 1040.*

Macbeth, to secure himself in his ill-gotten throne, strove to win the favour of the nobles by great gifts, having no fear of the king's children, on account of their age, nor of the neighbouring princes, in regard to their mutual animosities and discords. Thus, having engaged the great men in his favour, he determined to procure that of the vulgar by justice and equity, and to retain it by severe measures, in case of necessity. Accordingly, he determined to punish the freebooters, or thieves, who had taken courage from the lenity of Duncan; but foreseeing that this could not be done without great tumults and much difficulty, he devised the project of sowing the seeds of strife amongst them by some fit men for that purpose, instigating them to challenge one another to fight, some in small divisions, and others singly. All these combats were to take place on one and the same day, and that in the most remote parts of Scotland; but when the parties met at the time appointed, they were taken by the men whom Macbeth had posted conveniently for the purpose. Their punishment struck a terror into the rest; but he also put to death the thanes of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Nairn, and some other chiefs of the class; by whose feuds the commonalty had been miserably harassed. Afterwards he went into the *Æbudas* islands, where, likewise, he exercised severe justice; and on his return from thence, he repeatedly summoned Macgill, or Macgild, the most powerful man in all Galloway, to appear. This chief, however, refused to come, rather out of fear by being of Malcolm's party, than for the guilt of the crimes objected to him; upon which, Macbeth sent forces against him, who overthrew him in battle, and cut off his head.

The public peace being thus restored, Macbeth applied his thoughts to the enacting of laws, which had been almost wholly neglected by former kings; and indeed he made many good and useful ones, which now are either wholly unknown, or lie obsolete, to the great injury of the public. In a word, he managed the government for ten years, that if he had not obtained it by violence, he might have been accounted inferior to none of the former kings. But when he had thus strengthened himself with the aid and favour of the multitude, so that he had no fear of any force to disturb him, the perturbed state of his mind, owing probably to the consciousness of his guilt in murdering the king, hurried him to dangerous courses, insomuch that he converted the government, which he got by treachery, into a cruel tyranny. He vented his inhumanity first upon Bancho, who was his accomplice in the parricide. Some ill men had spread a kind of prophecy abroad, among the vulgar, "That Bancho's posterity should enjoy the kingdom." Macbeth, upon this, fearing lest he, being a powerful and active man, who had already dipped his hands in royal blood, might be tempted to imitate the example that had been set him, played the smiling assassin, and very courteously invited him and his son to supper; but in his return caused him to be slain, as in a casual affray. His son, Fleance, happening not to be known in the dark, escaped the ambush, and being informed by his friends, in what manner his father had been treacherously slain by the king, and that his own life was also sought after, fled secretly into Wales. This murder, thus cruelly and perfidiously committed, made the nobles so apprehensive for themselves, that they all departed to their own seats, from whence few of them, and those very seldom, came to court. Thus the cruelty of the king being plainly discovered by some, and vehemently suspected by all, raised mutual fear and hatred betwixt him and the nobility; which, being impossible to be concealed any longer, made him an open, professed, and complete tyrant. The rich and powerful were, for

right, frivolous, and oftentimes for mere pretended causes, publicly executed; while their confiscated goods helped to maintain a band of desperate characters, whom he kept about him under the name of a guard. Thinking, however, that his life was not sufficiently secured by them, he resolved to build a castle on the top of the hill called Dunsinane, which gave him a large prospect all over the country. This work proceeding but slowly, on account of the difficulty of the carriage of materials thither, he employed therein all the thanes of the kingdom; and so dividing the task amongst them, compelled them to find workmen and carriages, and to see that the labourers did their duty. At that time Macduff, the thane of Fife, who was a very powerful man in his country, being loth to venture his life so near the king, would not go in person, but sent many labourers and some of his intimate friends, to hasten the work. The king, either out of a pretended desire to see how the building proceeded, or else to apprehend Macduff, as the latter feared, came to view the structure, and, by chance, spying a yoke of oxen not able to draw up the load against a steep hill, he willingly laid hold of the occasion to vent his passion against the thane, saying, "That he knew before, well enough, his disobedient temper, and therefore was resolved to punish it; and, to make him an example, he threatened to lay the yoke upon his own neck, instead of his oxen." Macduff being informed of this, commended the care of his family to his wife, and, without any delay, fitted up a small vessel, as well as the short time would permit, and so passed over into Lothian, and from thence into England. The king, hearing of his intended flight, made haste into Fife, with a strong band of men, to prevent him, but on entering the castle, and finding that he was escaped, he poured out all his fury upon the wife and children of Macduff. His goods also were confiscated, himself was proclaimed a traitor; and a grievous punishment was threatened to any who should dare to converse with, or entertain him. Macbeth also exercised great cruelty against others, that were either noble or wealthy, without distinction; and, from this time, neglecting the nobility, he managed the government entirely by his own counsels. In the mean time, Macduff arrived in England, where he found Malcolm royally treated at the court of king Edward. That monarch, who had been recalled from a state of exile, when the power of the Danes was broken, gave Malcolm a generous reception, as well on the recommendation of Sibert, his grandfather on the mother's side, as for other reasons. One was, because the father and grandfather of Malcolm, when governors of Cumberland, had always favoured the interests of Edward's ancestors, as much as the times would permit them to do. Another motive probably might be, the similitude of the leading events in their lives, both having been unjustly banished by tyrants; and, lastly, because the affliction of kings doth coarctate and move the minds, even of the greatest strangers, to pity and favour them. Macduff, the thane, as soon as he had an opportunity to speak with Malcolm, in a long discourse declared to him the unhappy occasion of his flight, the cruelty of Macbeth against all ranks of men, and the universal abhorrence in which he was held. He then advised Malcolm, in an earnest manner, to endeavour the recovery of his inheritance; especially since he could not, without incurring great guilt, let the murder of his father pass unrevengeed; nor neglect the miseries of the people whom God had committed to his charge; nor, finally, ought he to shut his ears against the just petitions of his friends. Besides, he told him, that king Edward was so gracious a prince, that he would not be wanting to his friend and dependant; and that the people would also favour him, because they hated the tyrant; in fine, that God's favour would attend the good against the impious, if he would not be wanting to himself. Malcolm, who had often before been solicited to return, by messengers insidiously sent to him from Macbeth; to avoid being entrained, before he committed so great a concern to fortune, resolved to try the faithfulness of Macduff, and therefore framed his answer thus: "I know," says he, "that all you have said is true; but I am afraid that you, who invite me to undertake the regal government, do not at all know my disposition; for the vices of lust and avarice, which have already destroyed many kings, do almost reign in me too; and though now my private fortune may hide and disguise them, yet the liberty of a kingdom will let loose the reins of both;

and therefore," continued he, "pray take care that you do not invite me rather to my ruin, than a throne." To this Macduff replied, "That the desire of many concubines might be prevented by a lawful marriage, and that avarice might be also bounded and forborne, when the fear of penury is removed." Malcolm then rejoined, "That he had rather now make an ingenious confession to him, as his friend, than be found guilty hereafter, to the great damage of them both. For myself, to deal plainly with you," said he, "there is neither truth nor sincerity in me; I confide in nobody living, but I change my designs and counsels upon every blast of suspicion, and thus, from the inconsistency of my own disposition, I form a judgment of that of other men." Macduff, hearing this, stercorally replied, "Avaunt, thou disgrace and prodigy of thy royal name and stock, worthier to be sent into the remotest desert, than to be called to a throne;" and, in a great anger, was about to depart, when Malcolm took him by the hand, and declared the cause of his dissimulation, telling him, that he had been so often assaulted by the wiles of Macbeth, he did not dare lightly to trust any body; but that now he saw no cause to suspect any fraud in Macduff, in respect either of his lineage, manners, fame, or fortune.

Thus, plighting their faith to one another, they consulted how to compass the destruction of the tyrant, and advised their friends of it by secret messages. King Edward assisted them with ten thousand men, over whom Sibert, the grandfather of Malcolm, was made general. On the report of the march of this army, a great commotion was raised in Scotland, and many flocked daily to the new king. Macbeth being deserted by almost all his men, in so sudden a revolt, and not knowing what better course to take, shut himself up in the castle of Dunsinane, sending his friends into the *Abodes* and Ireland, with money to hire soldiers. Malcolm, understanding his design, made directly towards him, the people praying for him the whole way, and, with joyful acclamations, wishing him good success. His soldiers taking this as an omen of victory, stuck green boughs in their helmets, thereby representing an army returning in triumph, rather than one going to battle. Macbeth, terrified at the confidence of the enemy, immediately fled; and his soldiers, forsaken by their leader, surrendered themselves to Malcolm. Some of our writers here record many fables, which being like Milesian tales, fit for the stage than a history, I omit them. Macbeth reigned seventeen years. In the first ten he performed the part of a good king; but in the last seven he equalled the cruelty of the worst of tyrants.

*MALCOLM III. the eighty-sixth King, began to reign A. D. 1057.*

Malcolm, having thus recovered his father's kingdom, was declared king at Scone the 25th day of April, in the year 1057. In the beginning of his reign, he convened an assembly of the states at Forfar; where the first thing he did was to restore to the children the estates of those persons who had been put to death by Macbeth. He is thought by some to have been the first who introduced new and foreign names, as titles of honour, which he borrowed from neighbouring nations, and no less barbarous than the former ones; such as Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons, and Chevaliers or Knights. Macduff, the thane of Fife, was the first who had the title of Earl conferred upon him; and many others, afterwards, according to their respective merits, were honoured with new distinctions. Some write, that at that time noblemen began to be surnamed by their lands, though I think this is false, for that custom is not yet received amongst the ancient Scots. Besides, all the people of Scotland, conformably to their old language and customs, instead of a surname, added their father's name after their own, like the Greeks of old, or else adjoined a word taken from some event, or from some mark of body or mind. And that this custom did then also obtain amongst the French, is plain, by those royal surnames of *le Gros*, "the Fat," *le Chauve*, "the Bald," *le Brûlé*, "the scorcher"; and also by the surnames of many noble families in England, especially such as followed William the Conqueror, and fixed their habitations there. The custom of taking surnames from lands, was but lately received amongst the French, as appears by the history of Froissart, no mean author. Macduff had three requests granted him as a reward for his service; one,

that his posterity should place the king who was to be crowned in the chair of state; another, that they should lead the van of the king's armies; and a third, that if any of the family were guilty of the unpremeditated slaughter of a gentleman, he should pay twenty-four marks of silver as a fine; and if of a plebeian, twelve marks: which last was observed till the days of our fathers, as long as any one of the race was in being.

Whilst these things were transacted at Forfar, they who remained of the faction of Macbeth, carried his son Luthlac, surnamed *Fatuus* from his want of wit, to Scone, where he was saluted king. Malcolm, however, assaulted him in the valley of Bogian, where he was slain, three months after he had usurped the regal title; yet, out of respect to his lineage, his body and that of his father were buried in the royal sepulchres in Iona. After this, Malcolm reigned four years in perfect peace; when intelligence was brought to him that a great troop of robbers harboured in Cockburn forest, and infested Lothian and March, to the great damage of the husbandmen. Patrick Dunbar, with some trouble, overcame them; and though he lost forty of his own men in the onset, he killed six hundred of them. Forty more of them were taken prisoners and hanged. Patrick, for this exploit, was made earl of March.

The kingdom was now so settled, that though no open force could hurt the king, his life was attempted by private conspiracy. The whole plot being privately communicated to him; he sent for the head of the faction, who readily came, not at all suspicious of a discovery. After much familiar discourse, the king led him aside into a lonely valley, commanding his followers to stay behind. There he upbraided him with the former benefits bestowed upon him, and accused him with having conspired against his life; adding further, "If thou hast courage enough, why dost thou not now set upon me, seeing that we are both armed, that so thou mayest obtain thy object by valor, and not by treachery?" The traitor, amazed at this sudden discovery, fell down on his knees, and asked pardon of the king; who, being as merciful as he was valiant, easily forgave him. Matthew Paris gives a particular relation of this incident.

About this time, Edgar, to whom, on the demise of Edward, the crown of England belonged, being driven by contrary winds, came into Scotland with his whole family: but, in speaking of this person, it is necessary, in order to be better understood, that I should take up his story at an earlier period.

Edmund, king of England, being slain by the treachery of his subjects, Canute, the Dane, who reigned over part of the island, presently seized upon the whole. At first, he nobly treated Edward and Edmund, the sons of the deceased monarch last mentioned, when they were brought to him; but afterwards, instigated by wicked ambition, and desirous to settle the kingdom in his own family, on their destruction, he sent them away privately to Valgar, governor of Sweden, to be murdered there. Valgar being made acquainted with their noble birth, and pitying their age and innocence, condition and misfortune, sent them to Hungary to king Solomon, but informed Canute that he had put them to death. There they were educated suitably to their quality, and so much gracefulness appeared in Edward, that Solomon preferred him to all his young nobles, and gave him his daughter Agatha to wife. By her he had Edgar, Margaret, and Christian. Canute was succeeded by Hardicanute, and when he was slain, Edward was recalled from Normandy, whither he was before banished, together with his brother Alfred. Earl Godwin, a powerful man of English blood, but who had married the daughter of Canute, was sent to fetch them home. He, being desirous to transfer the kingdom to his own family, caused Alfred to be poisoned; but Edward was preserved rather by divine providence than by human foresight, and reigned most devoutly in England. As Edward had no children of his own, his chief care was to recall his kinsmen from Hungary, to take the government; affirming, that, when Edgar returned, he would willingly surrender the throne to him. The modesty of Edgar exceeded even the king's piety, for he refused to accept the crown during the life of the reigning monarch.\*

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\* Buchanan is far from being correct in this narrative. Canute was succeeded by Harold, surnamed Harfoot, who, being a native of Denmark, was not agreeable to the English. How-

At length, on the death of Edward, Harold, the son of Godwin, usurped the throne, who dealt favourably with Agatha the Hungarian, and her children. When, however, he was overthrown by William the Norman, Edgar, to avoid the cruelty of the latter, resolved to return, with his mother and sisters, to Hungary. In the voyage, the vessel by a tempest was driven into Scotland where Edgar was courteously entertained by Malcolm, who made him his kinsman, by marrying his sister Margaret. William, who then reigned in England, was, upon the lightest occasion, very cruel against the nobles, whether of English or Danish extraction. Understanding therefore what was going on in Scotland, and fearing that a storm might arise from thence, he sent a herald to demand Edgar, with a threat of denouncing war unless he were given up; Malcolm looking upon it as a cruel and faithless thing to deliver a guest as kinsman, and one too against whom his very enemies could allege no crime, his capital foe to be put to death, steadily determined to suffer any thing rather than so disgrace himself. He, therefore, not only continued to harbour Edgar but gave admission to his numerous friends, who were banished from their own homes, and granted them lands to live upon; by which means their descendants were incorporated into many rich and opulent families. On this a war ensued between the Scots and English, wherein Sibert, king of Northumberland, took a part with the former, and joined his forces with those of Edgar. The Norman, elated by the good success of his affairs, made light of the Scottish war, and thinking to end it in a short time, sent one Roger, a nobleman of his own country, with forces into Northumberland; but he being overcome and put to flight, was at last slain by his own men.

Then Richard, earl of Gloucester, was despatched with a greater army, but with no better success; for Patrick Dunbar harassed him so much with skirmishes, that his men could not even venture abroad for plunder and forage. At last, Odo, the brother of William, and bishop of Bayeux, being made earl of Kent, came down with a more formidable army, and committed great ravages in Northumberland, slaying those who resisted. But when he was returning with a great booty, Malcolm and Sibert attacked him, slew many of his men, and recovered the prey. The army being recruited, Robert, the son of William, was sent down thither, but he obtained no greater advantages than those who preceded him; wherefore, he pitched his camp by the river Tyne, where instead of carrying on the war, he acted on the defensive, and repaired Newcastle, which was almost decayed by reason of its antiquity. William, thus wearied with a contest that was more tedious than profitable, and his courage being also somewhat cooled, began to think of peace; which was made on the following conditions, "That Stanmore, so called from its being a stony heath, lying between Richmondshire and Cumberland, should be the bounds of both kingdoms, and that, to determine the limits, a cross of stones should be erected containing the statues and arms of the kings on both sides, whence, as it stood, it was called King's Cross: and that Malcolm should enjoy Cumberland on the same terms as his ancestors had done." Edgar was also received into the favour of William, who bestowed upon him a large revenue, and, that he might avoid giving any occasion of suspicion, he never departed from the court. Voldious, the son of Sibert, had his paternal estates restored to him; besides which, he was admitted into affinity with the king by marrying the daughter of his sister.

Tumults at home succeeded peace abroad: for the men of Galloway, and of the Ebuðæ, ravaged and committed murders over all the adjacent parts; while the people of Murray, together with those of Ross, Caithness, and their neighbours, made a conspiracy, and calling in the islanders to their aid, threat-

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ever, he secured possession of the crown; which gave such offence to Emma, the mother of Hardicanute, that she contrived to bring over Alfred and Edward, her sons by Ethelred, to Normandy. Earl Godwin was so far from assisting in this design, that he warned the king of his danger, and, by an artifice, drew Alfred from Winchester to the monastery of Ely, where his eyes were put out, and he soon afterwards died of grief, or was poisoned. Edward, on this, escaped to Normandy, and his mother to Bruges, where she was met by Hardicanute, while they were in consultation Harold died a natural death; upon which Hardicanute returned over to England, and Godwin was one of the first that did him homage; A. D. 1066.

enced the government with a dangerous war. Walter, the nephew of Bancho, by his son Fleance, who had before been received into the king's favour, was sent against the men of Galloway, and Macduff against the other rebels, whilst the king himself collected greater forces. Walter having slain the head of the faction, so quelled the rest, that the king, at his return, made him lord steward of Scotland for his services.

This officer was to gather in the king's revenues; he had also a jurisdiction similar to that of the sheriffs of counties, and he was in every respect the same with what our ancestors called a Thane. But at present, the English speech having supplanted our country language, the Thanes of counties are, in many places, called Stewards; and he who was formerly termed Abthane, is now the Lord High Steward of Scotland; though in some few places the name of Thane yet remains. From this Walter, the family of Stuarts, or Stewarts, who have so long reigned over Scotland, took its beginning.

Macduff, who carried on the war in the other province, when he came to the borders of Mar, was promised by the people a sum of money to spare their lands; upon which, fearing the multitude of the enemy, he protracted the time in negotiations, till the king should arrive with an accession of strength. When the respective forces joined at Monymusk, the king, being troubled at the report of the enemy's numbers, promised to devote the village, whither he was going, to St. Andrew the apostle, the tutelar saint of Scotland, if he returned victorious from the expedition. After a few marches, he came to the river Spey, the most violent current in all Scotland; where he beheld a greater body of soldiers than he thought could have been levied in those countries, placed on the other side of the river, to oppose his passage. Upon this, the standard-bearer making a halt, and delaying to enter the stream, the king snatched the standard out of his hand, and gave it to Alexander Carron, a knight of known courage. The posterity of this man have, ever since, had the honour to bear the royal ensign in the wars; and instead of Carron, the name of Scrimzeour was afterwards given to him, because he, by mere valour, though ignorant of the rules of fencing, conquered one who was a master in the science of arms, and who valued himself highly upon that account. As the king was entering the river, the priests, with their mitres on their heads, prevented him; and, having obtained his permission, passed over first, by which means the war ended without blood. The nobles surrendered upon quarter; but the most seditious, who were the authors of the rebellion, had their goods confiscated, and were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Peace being thus, by his great prudence, obtained at home and abroad, Malcolm turned his pains and industry towards the reformation of the public manners; for, being devout and pious himself, he invited others, by his example, to a modest, just, and sober life. It is thought that he was assisted in this by the counsels and monitions of his wife, who was an excellent woman, and eminent for her piety. She omitted no office of humanity towards the poor or the priests. Neither did Agatha her mother, or Christiana her sister, fall short of the queen in religious duty; and as, in those days, a monastic life was accounted the great nourisher and maintainer of piety, both of them leaving the toilsome cares of the world, shut themselves up in convents. The king, to the four former bishops of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Whitehorn, and Mortlach, where the old discipline, by the sloth and default of the bishops, was either remitted or laid aside, added those of Murray and Caithness; all which sees he filled, according to the times, with men of piety and learning. And as now luxury began to spread, by the increase of commerce with foreign nations, and the influx of English exiles, who were entertained and scattered almost all over the kingdom, he laboured, though to little purpose, to restrain it. But he had the hardest task of all with the nobles, whom he endeavoured to reclaim to the practice of their ancient simplicity; for they, having once caught the bait of pleasure, did not only grow worse and worse, but ran headlong into debauchery; which foul vice they laboured to cover under the false names of neatness, bravery, and gallantry. Malcolm, foreseeing that such courses would be the ruin, not only of religion, but of military discipline, first began to reduce his own family to order; and afterwards to enact severe sumptuary laws, denouncing great punishments against the violators of them.



Though these remedies rather stopped than cured the disease; nevertheless, as long as he lived, he employed all his endeavours to work a thorough reformation. It is also reported, that his wife obtained of him a repeal of the law of *Eugenius*, which gave to certain of the nobility the privilege of lying the first night with the new-married wife of a tenant: This extraordinary custom was now abrogated, and the husband had liberty to redeem his rights by paying half a mark of silver, which payment is yet called *mercheta mulierum*.

Whilst Malcolm was thus busied in correcting the public manners, William, king of England, died; and was succeeded by his son, William Rufus. Peace could not long be continued between two monarchs so widely different in disposition. The king of the Scots was at this time building two temples or cathedrals, one at Durham in England, the other at Dunfermline in Scotland; upon both which piles he bestowed great cost, so that he endeavoured to retrieve ecclesiastical affairs, which then began to slacken and decay; and, withal, he translated Turgot, abbot of the monastery at Durham, to the bishopric of St. Andrew's. While he was thus employed, Rufus was plucking down towns and monasteries, and planting and making forests, that he might have the more range for hunting. And when Anselm, the Norman, then archbishop of Canterbury, took the freedom of rebuking him for his excesses, he banished him the kingdom. He also sought for an occasion of war against the Scots, and therefore surprised the castle of Alnwick in Northumberland the garrison of which he put to death. Malcolm demanded restitution, but in vain, upon which he invested the castle with a large army. The besieged, being reduced to great extremity and want, proposed to surrender, and desired the king to come and receive the keys with his own hand; but as he was about to take them, on the point of a spear, the soldier ran it into his eye, and killed him. His son Edward then, being too forward in revenging the death of his father, and not sufficiently mindful of his own safety, made an unwary assault upon the enemy, wherein he received a wound, of which he died soon after. The Scots, in consequence, being afflicted and troubled at this double slaughter of their two kings, raised the siege, and returned home, where Margaret did not long survive her husband and son, but died of grief. The bodies of these kings, which at first were buried in a monastery, situated at the mouth of the Tyne, were afterwards brought to Dunfermline. Malcolm held the kingdom thirty-six years, not only free from any imputed vice, but famous to posterity for his great and many virtues. He had six sons by his wife Margaret, of whom Edward was slain by the English at the siege of Alnwick castle; Edmund and Ethelred were banished into England by their uncle Donald, where they died; the other three, Edgar, Athelred, and David, succeeded in the kingdom one after another. He also had two daughters; the elder, Maud, surnamed the Good, married Henry, king of England; the younger, named Mary, had Eustace, earl of Boulogne, for her husband. Several prodigies happened in those days; and, in particular, there was such an unusual inundation of the German ocean, that it did not only drown the fields and country, and choked them up with sand, but also overthrew villages, towns, and castles; and besides, there were great and terrible storms of thunder, and more were killed with lightning than were ever known before to have perished by that kind of death in Britain.

DONALD VII. surnamed BANE, the eighty-seventh King, began to reign  
A. D. 1093.

Upon the death of Malcolm, his brother, Donald Bane, that is, the White, who, for fear of Macbeth, had fled into the *Æbudæ*, was, without any difficulty or opposition, declared king; for he had promised all the islands to Magnus, king of Norway, on condition of receiving his assistance in gaining the throne of Scotland. He was further indebted chiefly in obtaining the kingdom to those who did falsely accuse the former king of corrupting the discipline of his ancestors; and who were, besides, vexed that the banished English should enjoy the estates of the natives in Scotland. Edgar, in this sudden change of affairs, being afraid, and anxious about the safety of his sister's children, who were yet young, caused them to be brought over to him into England. But this piety of the good man was evil reported of by some; for Orger, an

Englishman, seeking to gain the favour of William Rufus, accused Edgar of having secretly boasted, that he and his kindred were the lawful heirs of the crown. The calumniator not being able to make good his allegation by any witnesses, the matter was adjudged to be decided by a duel; wherein the accuser was overcome by another Englishman, who undertook the combat instead of Edgar, who was now grown old and sickly. As for Donald, all good men who venerated the memory of Malcolm and Margaret, hated him; because, by foreign aid, in conjunction with those of his own faction, he had seized the kingdom. This enmity he, by his rashness, did much increase, particularly by the severe threats which he uttered amongst his familiars against the nobles, for refusing to swear allegiance to him. They, therefore, sent for Duncan, a natural son of Malcolm, who had served long with credit in the wars under William Rufus, to oppose Donald. At his coming, many revolted from Donald; so that he, out of fear, fled into the *Æbudæ* about six months after his usurpation of the throne.

*DUNCAN II. the eighty-eighth King, began his reign A. D. 1094.*

Neither did Duncan reign long; for he, being a military man, and not equally skilful in the arts of peace, carried it more imperiously than a quiet and civil government required; so that he quickly became an object of hatred to the majority of his subjects. When Donald, who observed all his motions, heard of this in his banishment, he corrupted Macpender, earl of Mearn, and, by him, caused Duncan to be slain in the night, at Monteith, one year and six months after he began to reign. As for Donald, he governed a troublesome kingdom for about three years; good men, for want of a better, enduring, rather than approving, him. The English on the one side, and the islanders on the other, in his time, molested Scotland very much. The general dislike of him was also heightened, on account of the seizure of the Western islands by Magnus, king of Norway; which though he seemed to have done by force, yet all men perceived the cheat, because Donald did not offer to resent the injury. At last the public indignation increased more intensely against him, when the people understood that this act was the result of a secret agreement between him and Magnus.

*EDGAR, the eighty-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 1098.*

In consequence of these animosities, secret messengers were despatched to Edgar, Malcolm's son, desiring him to come and assume the command of the insurgents, in order to obtain the kingdom; promising that, as soon as he appeared upon the borders, the people would resort to his standard. And they were as good as their word; for Edgar, being assisted by Rufus with a small force, at the instance of his namesake and uncle, scarcely entered Scotland, before Donald, being abandoned by his men, fled, but was pursued, taken, and thrown into prison, where he died soon after. Edgar, having recovered the kingdom by the general suffrage of all the states, in the first place made peace with William, king of England; on whose death, without issue, he renewed it with Henry his brother. He also gave him Maud, his sister, to wife, who was surnamed the Good, from her virtuous manners, as I have already said; and by her he had William, Richard, Euphemia, and Maud. Edgar reigned nine years and six months in great peace, revered and beloved by good men; and so formidable to the wicked, that, in all his time, there were no civil tumults or seditions, nor any fear of a foreign enemy. One monument of his public works, was the monastery of Coldingham, dedicated to St. Ebb, the virgin, which he built in the seventh year of his reign; though, afterwards, it was changed into the name of Cuthbert.

*ALEXANDER I. the ninetieth King, began his reign A. D. 1107.*

Edgar dying without issue, his brother Alexander, surnamed Acer, or the Sharp, succeeded him. In the very beginning of his reign, some young men, who loved to be fishing in troubled waters, imagining that he would be a peaceable, or, in their own phrase, a sluggish king, as his brother was, conspired to take away his life, that they might rob and plunder with the greater freedom. The plot, however, was discovered; and he pursued the conspi-

rators to use various part of Ross. On coming to the river Spey, they thought the king's advance would be prevented by the rapidity of the river; besides which, his friends would not suffer him to attempt the passage, because, the tide coming in, they judged it impracticable, yet he set spurs to his horse, and was about to venture; while the rest, lest they might seem to forsake their king in a danger so great, prepared to follow. Some of his own men, however, as I have just said, drew him back; so that he sent over part of his army, under the command of Alexander Carron, the son of him whom I mentioned before, and his wonderful boldness in crossing the river with his force struck such a terror into the enemy, that they presently betook themselves to flight. Many were slain in the pursuit; and their leaders were either then taken, or else were afterwards brought to the king, and executed on a gallows.

This expedition procured him peace for the rest of his life. As he was returning through Mearn, a poor woman met him, grievously complaining that her husband had been scourged with a whip of thongs, by the son of the earl of that county, because he had sued him for a debt. The king, hearing this presently, in great anger, leaped from his horse, and would not stir from the place till the offender had received condign punishment; and so he returned to Invergowrie, or, as some write, to Baledgary, Edgar's town. Some write, that the surname of Acor, or Sharp, was given to him for these exploits; but others say it had a very different original, namely, that some thieves, having corrupted one of his bed-chamber, were privately admitted in whilst he was asleep; and that, awakened by their sudden rushing in, he first slew his treacherous servant, and afterwards six of the robbers. This raised a great clamour in the court, and the rest fled; but Alexander pursued them so closely that most of them were slain. Afterwards, turning his thoughts to the works of peace, he built St. Michael's church, in Scone, from the ground, and the college of priests there, he converted into a monastery. Being once surprised in a tempest, and driven into the isle *Emona*, he was there reduced to such great want and hunger, that neither he nor his companions could procure any food for some days, except what they got from one of those solitary lives called hermits. He built a church there also, in memory of St. Columba, supplying it with canons, as they call them, and lands for their maintenance. He likewise bestowed great gifts and estates on St. Andrew's, which was not enough before. Besides all this, he finished the church of Dunfermline, which his father had begun, and endowed it with revenues.

After these transactions in peace and war, when he had reigned seventeen years, he departed this life, leaving no children by Sibylla his wife, the daughter of William the Norman.

DAVID I. *the ninety-first King, began to reign A. D. 1124.*

His brother David succeeded him in the kingdom, in the year 1124. On seeing that his brothers reigned successively, one after another, in Scotland, he remained with his sister Maud in England. There he married his cousin Maud, a woman of great beauty, wealth, and nobility; for Voldicosus, earl of Northumberland, was her father, and her mother Judith was niece to William the Norman. He had a son by her, named Henry, in whom the dispositions of both parents did presently appear. This marriage increased his revenues very much, by the accession of Northumberland and Huntingdonshire to the lands which he before enjoyed. Thus, with the universal gratulation of his subjects, he came into Scotland to possess the kingdom. It is true, the memory of his parents was of great weight in procuring him the favour of the people; yet his own virtue was such, that he stood in no need of any adventitious help; for, as in other respects, he equalled many excellent kings, so, in his condescension to hear the causes of the poor, he was much superior to them. As for the complaints of the rich, he heard them himself; and if a false judgment had been given, he would not set it aside, but compelled the judge who tried the cause to pay the damages awarded. He restrained luxury, which then began to spread, according to the example of his father. He also banished epicures, and such as studied arts to pamper the appetite, out of the kingdom. He far exceeded the beneficence of his parents and kindred, who, however, were

rather worthy of pardon than praise, in increasing the revenues of the church. He not only repaired monasteries, whether decayed by age, or ruined by the wars; but he also built new ones from the ground. To the six bishoprics which he before founded, he added four more, Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane; but he almost impoverished the succeeding kings to endow them, by bestowing upon them a great part of the crown-lands. John Major, who, in my youth, was famous for his theological studies, having highly praised this king for his other actions, yet, in a solemn oration, which I wish had been undeserved, blames his extravagance in enriching monasteries. And I the more wonder at this immoderate profusion of the public money and patrimony; because, even in those times, St. Bernard sharply reproved the priests and monks in his severe sermons, for their excessive luxury and prodigality; which yet, if compared with that of our age, seems to have been but moderate. The fruits which followed these donations, shew that the design was not well grounded: for, as in bodies too corpulent, the functions of the members cease, so the sparks of wit, oppressed by indulgence, languished in abbeys. The study of learning was neglected, piety degenerated into superstition, and the seeds of all vices sprang up in them, as in an uncultivated field. All the time of this reign there was but one domestic commotion, and that was rather a tumult than a civil war; which as quickly ended in the slaughter of Æneas, earl of Murray, with a great number of his followers. After, this Malcolm Macbeth, for endeavouring to raise a new sedition, was committed prisoner to the castle of Roxburgh. Other matters succeeded according to his desire, but yet a double calamity fell upon him. One from the untimely death of his wife; the other, of his son. As for his wife Maud, she was a woman of high descent, of exquisite beauty, and most accomplished manners; he loved her passionately whilst she lived, and the loss of her in the flower of her age, did so affect him, that for twenty years after, he lived a widower, in perfect continence: yet the greatness of his sorrow did not hinder him from managing the public affairs and concerns, both of peace and war. Concerning his son, I shall speak in the proper place.

Thus David habituated himself to the arts of peace, but some troublesome matters in England drew him unwillingly into a war. The occasion was this: All the offspring of king Henry of England, except his daughter Maud, were drowned in their passage from France into England; which misfortune so grieved him, that, according to report, he was never seen to smile afterwards. Maud, who alone escaped that calamity, married the emperor Henry the Fourth; but on the death of her husband, without children, she returned into England to her father: who, being willing to settle the succession on her, as she was a widow and childless, and considering his own mortality, caused all the nobility to swear an oath of fealty to her. Further, in hopes that she might have children, he married her to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. Five years after this, both Robert duke of Normandy, and king Henry, died; and Geoffrey of Anjou, falling into a dangerous disease, became totally helpless, and was confined to his bed.

In the mean time, Stephen, earl of Boulogne, taking advantage of the want of royal issue, assumed the crown of England. Neither was this a design of any great difficulty, for the adverse party was weak, and he had himself some of the royal blood running in his veins; being born of a daughter of William the Norman, who married the earl of Blois. Besides this, Stephen married Matilda, daughter of the former earl of Boulogne, and the cousin-german of Maud, or Matilda, the empress, by Mary, sister to David king of Scotland. Upon the strength of these affinities, and encouraged by the absence of the lawful queen, and the sickness of her husband Geoffrey, Stephen hoped he might easily get possession of the throne. To make his way clearer, without any regard to the oath, which he, as well as the rest of his kindred, had taken to queen Maud, he drew over to his side, by great promises, the bishops of England, though they were also bound by the same solemn obligation of fealty. The principal of these were, William, archbishop of York, who was the first that swore allegiance to queen Maud; and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who had not only taken the oath himself, but had also pronounced it to the nobles at the time of their taking it.

Thus supported, even while his uncle Henry lay unburied, Stephen usurped the throne, and the two first years reigned peaceably enough; which made him so insolent, that he began both to violate his covenant with the English, and also to deal arrogantly with his neighbours. After bringing the former, either by fear or fair promises, to take the oath of allegiance to him, he sent ambassadors to David, king of Scots, requiring him to do the same, for the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, which he held of him. David answered, that he, together with Stephen himself, and all the nobles of England, had, not long before, bound themselves by oath to obey Maud, as their lawful queen; and that, therefore, he neither ought, nor would, acknowledge any other sovereign as long as she was alive. When this answer was brought to Stephen, he presently began a war: and the English who were in the neighbourhood of Scotland, ravaged the country near them with fire and sword; nor were the Scots backward in retaliating the injuries they received. The year following, an army, under the earls of March, Mercath, and Angus, entered England, and, at the town of Allerton, engaged the forces commanded by the earl of Gloucester. A sharp battle was there fought, with great slaughter on both sides; but at last the English fled, many were slain in the pursuit, and several of the nobility were taken prisoners, amongst whom was the earl of Gloucester, the general. Stephen, being much concerned at this disaster, and fearing that it might alienate the affections of the friends and kindred of the captive nobles, readily acceded to conditions of peace, which were these: "That the English prisoners should be released without ransom; and that Stephen should relinquish the claim which, as chief lord, he pretended to have over Cumberland." But Stephen observed these articles no better than he did the oath which he had formerly taken to his kinswoman Maud; for, before the armies were quite disbanded, and the prisoners released, he renewed the war by privately surprising some castles in Northumberland, and plundering the neighbouring parts of Scotland. The Scots, upon this, gathered another army in the adjacent provinces, and contemning the English, because they had defeated them so lately, rashly provoked a battle near the river Tees; where they paid dear for their folly in undervaluing the enemy, and received such a signal overthrow, that they were compelled to abandon Northumberland. David, to retrieve this loss and obliterate the shame, mustered as great an army as he could, and came to Roxburgh. Thither Thurstan, or, as William of Newbury calls him, Trusticus, archbishop of York, was sent by the English to propose a pacification; and as there was some prospect of an amicable settlement, a truce was made for three months, on condition that Northumberland should in the mean time be restored to the Scots. But Stephen gave this promise only to get the army disbanded; upon which David despoiled that part of Northumberland possessed by the English, and carried off a quantity of plunder. Stephen as quickly gathered a considerable force, and penetrated into Scotland as far as Roxburgh. Finding, however, that his nobles were adverse to the war, as being unnecessary and unjust, he returned hastily into England, without performing any thing of consequence. The year following, being in fear of some intestine sedition, he sent his wife, Matilda, to her uncle David, to negotiate peace. Upon her mediation, it was stipulated that David, whose ordinary residence was at Newcastle, and Stephen, who was at Durham, should send arbitrators for settling their differences, to the town of Chester le Street, situated midway between both places. David sent the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; and Stephen, the archbishops of Canterbury and York. Both parties were the more inclinable to peace, because Stephen was apprehensive of a foreign war, as well as of domestic seditions; and the Scots complained that they were forced to bear the weight of a contest in the cause of Maud, a stranger, who remained passive. Upon this, peace was made on the following conditions: that Cumberland, as by ancient right, should be possessed by David, and that Northumberland, as far as the river Tees, and Huntingdonshire, (so we are told by William of Newbury the Englishman,) should be enjoyed by Henry, the son of David, as being his mother's inheritance; and that he should do homage to Stephen for the same. When things were thus composed, David retired into Cumberland, and Stephen into Kent. This peace was made in 1139, and the same year

Maud, on her return to England, sent her son, who was afterwards king Henry, to David, his great uncle, at Carlisle, that he might be instructed in military affairs. That monarch, who, without doubt, was the most excellent warrior of his time, conferred upon his nephew the order of knighthood, which dignity was, in those days, bestowed with great pomp and ceremony.

At this period, England was so much disturbed by domestic discords, that no part of the country was free from civil war, except that which was in the possession of David, king of Scotland; but, that he alone might not plead exemption from the public calamity, within three years after, his son, the hopeful heir of his power and felicity, died in the flower of his age, leaving three sons and as many daughters. So greatly was he beloved, both by the Scots and English, that, besides the public loss, every one lamented his death as a personal misfortune; for the sincerity and mildness which shone forth in him, even in that age when youth is accustomed to play the wanton, made every one expect most rare and singular fruits of his disposition, when it should be ripened by age. His father's grief was further increased, on account of the tender age of his grand-children, the ambitious and restless temper of Stephen, and the fierce spirit of Henry, the son of Maud, who was the next in succession to the English throne. But when the thoughts of so many apprehended evils assailed his diseased and feeble mind, so that all men imagined he would have sunk under them, he bore up against them firmly, and invited to supper some of the principal nobility, who were solicitous for him, lest he should be too much afflicted, as well they might, and there entertained them with a discourse rather like a comforter than a mourner. He told them, "That no new thing had happened, either to them or his son; that he had long since learned from the discourses of holy and learned men, that the world was governed by the providence of God, whom to resist was both foolish and impious: that, as to himself, he was not ignorant of the law under which his son was born, that he must as certainly die, and so pay the debt to nature which he owed at his birth; that if men were but always ready to submit to this universal obligation, it was no matter when their great creditor should call upon them for it: that if only the wicked were subject to death, then one might justly grieve at the decease of his kindred; but when we also see good men die, every Christian ought to be thoroughly persuaded, that no evil can happen to the virtuous, either living or dying; and therefore why should we be so much troubled at a short separation, especially from our kindred, who have only gone before us, to our common country; whither we likewise, though our lives may be ever so long, must at last follow?" "As for my son," said he, "though he hath taken this journey early, that so he might visit and enjoy the fellowship of my friends and brethren, those holy men, somewhat earlier than usual; let us not be troubled thereby, but take heed lest we seem rather to envy his happiness, than to mourn for our own loss. With regard to yourselves, excellent lords, as I have received from you many acts of respectful kindness; I, therefore, now return you thanks, in my own behalf and that of my son, for your love to me, and your grateful and pious esteem for his memory."

This greatness of mind in the king, as it added much to the veneration that was paid to his royal person, so it increased the sense of the loss of his son in the minds of all, when they considered of what a prince they and their children were deprived. David, that he might make use of the only means of consolation now left him, caused the children of his son to be brought to him, and trained up in the discipline of his court, which was then a pattern of piety. In fine, he provided for their security as far as the ingenuity of man, or human foresight, could provide. He commended Malcolm, the eldest of the three, to the care of all the nobility, particularly of Macduff, earl of Fife, a very powerful and prudent man; whom he caused to carry the prince all over the land, that so he might be received as the undoubted heir of the kingdom. William, the next son, he created earl of Northumberland, and put him into the immediate possession of that county. David, the third son, he made earl of Huntingdon, in England, and of Garioch, in Scotland. He was the more eager in settling these arrangements, because, lingering under a disease that was judged to be mortal, he foresaw that his time could not be long in this world. He died

on the 24th of May, 1153. He was so well beloved, that all men thought they had lost in him the best of fathers, rather than a king; for though his whole life exhibited an unparalleled instance of piety, yet, some few years before his death, he applied himself particularly to the preparation for his interment, so that his deportment then very much increased the general veneration in which he was held. While he equalled his royal predecessors, who were most praise-worthy, in the art of war, and excelled them in the study of peace, yet now leaving off all competition with others, for superiority in virtue, he maintained, as it were, a combat with himself alone, wherein he advanced so much, that if the most learned and ingenious men should endeavour to give the idea or pattern of a good king, they could never comprehend in their thoughts such an exemplary prince as David evinced himself throughout the whole course of his life. He reigned twenty-nine years, two months, and three days.

*MALCOLM IV. the ninety-second King, began his reign A. D. 1153.*

He was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm, who, though then under age, gave great hopes of his future probity; for he had been so educated by his father and grandfather, that he seemed to resemble them as much in the virtues as his mind, as in the lineaments of his person. At the beginning of his reign a great famine raged all over Scotland, by which great numbers of men and cattle were destroyed. At that time, one Somerled was thane of Argyll, whose fortune was above his family, and his mind above his fortune. He, conceiving some hopes of enjoying the kingdom, by reason of the king's youth, and the present calamity, gathered a band of his confidants, and invaded the adjacent provinces. The ravages he committed made a great noise, so that the fear of him, spreading itself abroad, induced many bad men to join him; while others, of a better character, were compelled to do the same. This encouraged Donald, the son of Malcolm Macbeth, to raise another insurrection; but, being taken at Whitehorn, in Galloway, and sent to the king, he was committed to the same prison with his father; and soon after both received the royal pardon, and were released. Gilchrist, earl of Angus, was then sent with an army against Somerled, who, being defeated, and many of his men slain, fled into Ireland. This victory, thus unexpectedly and suddenly obtained, though it brought tranquillity at home, excited envy abroad. Henry, king of England, being an ambitious prince, and desirous of enlarging his dominions, resolved to keep down the growing greatness and power of Malcolm; but he could not well make open war upon him, without a flagrant violation of the covenant which he had sworn to observe; for when he received the customary military girdle from king David, the grandfather of Malcolm, at Carlisle, he promised, and took an oath thereon, as William of Newbury, besides our own writers, say, "That he would never endeavour to deprive either that monarch or his posterity of any part of the possessions which they held in England." Being, therefore, bound by his oath, he resolved to provoke the king's patience in a less affair. While John, bishop of Glasgow, was dedicating churches, ordaining priests, and performing, according to the rule of those times, the other parts of his episcopal office, all over Cumberland; Henry, by Thurstan, archbishop of York, sent a new prelate thither, with the title of bishop of Carlisle. John was so affected at this injury, that, seeing there was no sufficient security either in the king or in the law, he left his bishopric, and retired into the monastery of Tours, in France, from whence he refused to return, until the pope, at Malcolm's request, drove him unwillingly out of his cell, and compelled him to go back to his own country. Malcolm bore the affront better than was expected; and, instead of thinking it a sufficient cause for war, went to Chester le Street, there to quiet suspicions, and to cut off all occasion of discord. On his arrival at that place, by the fraud of Henry he was circumvented, and forced to take an oath of fidelity to him; although it was not himself, but his brothers, who, having lands in England, according to an old agreement, were bound to that obligation. This, however, was craftily and maliciously devised by the English king, to sow the seeds of discord amongst brethren; which, the year following, more fully appeared, when he decoyed Malcolm out of Northumberland.

which was the patrimony of his brother William ; and sent for him to London, that, according to the custom of his ancestors, he might, in a public assembly, acknowledge himself his feudatory for the lands which he held in England. Malcolm, under covert of the public faith, came speedily thither ; but, instead of performing the service for which his journey was pretended, he was forced against his will, with his little retinue, to accompany Henry into France. The design of the latter, in this, was partly that the Scots might not attempt any thing against him during his absence, and partly to alienate the mind of Louis, king of France, from them. Thus was Malcolm compelled, for fear of a greater mischief, to serve against his old friend, and was not suffered to come back to his own country, till Henry, having gained little advantage by the French war, returned to England. Malcolm then obtained leave to revisit Scotland, where, in a convention of the nobles, he related the history of his travels ; but found many of them very much incensed, that he should have joined with a known enemy against a tried friend ; and did not foresee the artifices by which Henry had deceived him. The king, on his part, alleged, that he was drawn unwillingly to France, by a monarch in whose power he was, and to whom he could deny nothing at that time ; and therefore, he said, that he had no doubt but that the French would be satisfied and appeased when they were made acquainted with the manner in which he was hurried thither, and particularly as he took none of his own forces along with him. This harangue, with much difficulty, quieted, for the present, the spirit of sedition, which was almost ready to break out into rebellion.

But Henry, who had his spies every where, knowing that the tumult was only suspended, and that the minds of the people were far from being reconciled to Malcolm, summoned him to a convention at York. There an accusation was brought against him, that the English had been worsted, in France, principally by his means. On this pretence, it was referred to the assembly, whether he ought not to lose all the lands which he held in England ; and though he answered all that was objected to him, and fully cleared himself, yet he found the ears of the assembly so shut against him, and prepossessed by the fears or favour of the king, that a decree was made in favour of Henry ; who, not contented with this injury, suborned some persons, fit for his purpose, to report it abroad, that Malcolm had freely, and of his own accord, relinquished his interest in those territories. At this, his subjects, the Scots, were so incensed, that, on his return home, they besieged him in Perth, and had almost taken him prisoner ; but, by the intervention of some great men, their anger was a little abated, especially when he informed them how unjustly and fraudulently Henry had despoiled him of his ancient patrimony. This made them unanimously come to the resolution, to enable him to recover by arms, what had been unlawfully taken from him by force. Accordingly, a war was resolved upon, declared, and begun, though not without great inconvenience to both nations. At last, the two kings came to a conference not far from Carlisle, and, after much contention on both sides, Henry took Northumberland from Malcolm, and left him the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon. The only pretence Henry had for his sordid ambition, was, that he could not suffer so great a diminution to be made of his kingdom ; and Malcolm, seeing that neither respect to justice and right, agreements nor covenants, not even the solemnity of an oath, could restrain his insatiable avarice ; and being himself a man of low spirit, and too desirous of peace upon any conditions whatever, accepted of his terms, though greatly to the dissatisfaction of the Scottish nobility, who denied that the king could alienate any part of his dominions, without the general consent of the estates.

After this, the king began to be despised by his subjects, as not having fortitude or prudence enough to wield the sceptre ; neither could any thing restrain their fierce minds from rising in arms, but the fear of Henry ; who, they knew, aimed at the conquest of the whole island, being encouraged thereto by the simplicity of Malcolm, and the hopes of foreign aid. This general disaffection to the king did much lessen the reverence of his government. A rebellion was first begun by Angus, or Æneas, of Galloway, a potent man, but one who promised himself more from the king's slothfulness, than his own power. Gilchrist was sent against him, who overthrew him in three



battles, and compelled him to take sanctuary in the monastery of Whitehorn, out of which it was not deemed lawful to take him by force; and, therefore, after a long siege, being driven to the want of all necessities, he was forced to capitulate. He was deprived of part of his estate, by way of punishment, and compelled to give his son as a hostage for his future good behaviour; but he, being of a lofty spirit, and not able to endure this reduction of his former greatness, took the tonsure, and secluded himself in a monastery near Edinburgh, to avoid the scorn of men. Neither was there peace in other parts of the realm; for the people of Murray, who were always given to sedition, rose in arms under Gildo, or rather Gildominick, their captain, and not only spoiled all the countries round them, but even barbarously slew the heralds of arms that were sent to them by the king. Gilchrist was despatched against them also, with a greater army, but with different success; for the valour of an adversary, which is wont to be a terror to other rebels, drove these men, who were conscious of their own demerits, to desperation; and, therefore, resolving to sell their lives as dear as they could, they routed the royal army, and became conquerors. Malcolm, upon this defeat, recruited his forces, and, marching into Murray, met the victors at the mouth of the river Spey: who, though they knew that the king's army was increased, and their own diminished in the late fight, yet, being encouraged by the advantage of the place, and their recent success, they resolved to risk another battle. The fight was carried on with great spirit, and no less slaughter; for the insurgents did not give way till the royal troops, being wearied, were relieved by the reserves sent to them; and then the men of Murray fell into confusion, so that there was no more fighting, but killing, and the soldiers, in their fury, spared neither age nor rank. In this battle the rebels of Murray were almost all slain; which punishment, though cruel, seemed not undeserved; and the greatness of the revenge was allayed and made excusable by the savage cruelty of that perfidious people against others. Upon this depopulation, new colonies were sent into the lands of those who had perished.

Somerled, in this perturbed state of the government, did not choose to remain quiet. This man, as I have already said, after his overthrow, fled into Ireland, and from that time exercised piracy upon the coasts of Scotland; but now, thinking that as a great part of the military men were slain in battle, he might either gain a rich booty from those who would avoid the hazard of fighting, or else procure a cheap and easy victory over those who resisted, he gathered a band of ruffians, and arriving at the frith, or bay, of the river Clyde, there made a descent on the left side of it. Fortune at first favoured his design so much, that he penetrated to Renfrew; but, owing to his want of precaution and eagerness for plunder, he was surprised by a less number than his own, and lost all his followers; he himself being taken prisoner, and brought to the king for further punishment; though some say, that both he and his son were slain in battle. These things occurred about the year of our Lord 1163.

The kingdom being thus freed from tumults, an assembly of all the estates was summoned at Scone, where many things were decreed for the confirmation of the good order of the kingdom; and, amongst the rest, the whole assembly unanimously made it their request to the king, that he would think of marriage, as he was arrived at maturity, being above twenty-two years of age, that so he might have children to succeed him. They told him, that it was a public debt due to the kingdom, as well as a private one to his family, and that he ought to regard not only the present time, but to have an eye to the tranquillity of future ages. To this he answered, "That ever since he had been capable of ordering and directing his own life, he had solemnly made a vow to heaven to live a continent and single life; which obligation," said he, "I think, is the more acceptable to God, both because he has given me the strength to perform it, and also, because he hath prepared heirs already to succeed me; so that I am not compelled to break my vow, neither by the weakness of my own spirit, nor by any public necessity." Thus, dismissing the parliament, and securing peace abroad, he applied his mind to the practice of his forefathers, in building churches and endowing monasteries. In this he would probably have far exceeded his ancestors, if God had given him

a longer life; but he died not long after, on the ninth of December, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and a little more than the twelfth of his reign, in the year 1165.

*WILLIAM, the ninety-third King, began his reign A. D. 1165.*

His brother William succeeded him, who entered upon the kingdom fifteen days after the death of Malcolm; but he would transact no public or private business of any weight, till he had craved of Henry, king of England, the restitution of Northumberland. Henry, instead of complying with his request, commanded him to come to London, to do him homage for the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon, according to custom; which he did not unwillingly, yet at the same time continued to press the restoration of Northumberland. Henry gave him an ambiguous answer, saying, that as Northumberland had been taken from Malcolm, and given to him by the states of the kingdom, he could not relinquish it without their consent; but that he should come to the next parliament, and there look for justice. William could expect no good from the parliament, yet, to avoid all occasion of reproach from his adversary, he resolved to wait in England for the convening and opening of that assembly; and, in the mean time, very reluctantly consented to accompany Henry in his expedition against France. There finding that nothing was to be gained by his daily solicitations, and foreseeing that the king would not speedily return into England, with much difficulty he obtained his passports, and returned to Scotland. The first thing he did, after his arrival, was to repress the insolence of thieves and robbers, by punishing and clearing the country of those offenders; then he erected castles, and placed garrisons in convenient places, to prevent sudden invasions. At last he sent ambassadors into England, to demand Northumberland, denouncing hostilities in case of refusal. Henry, being entangled in the French war, consented to yield up that part of Northumberland which had been held by the great-grandfather of William, who accepted it; but on this condition, that he would neither remit his right nor claim to the rest. The king of England took this very ill, and being sorry that he had given up any part of Northumberland before the difference was settled, made incursions into the Scottish borders. Thus, by sowing the seeds of a new war, he hoped to take away also the other lands, and bring them into the dispute. When a right was claimed by the wardens of the marches, according to custom, the English complained that their borders were molested by the Scottish robbers; so that the ambassadors were sent away, without obtaining what they came for, and almost without an answer. The Scots, to obtain that by force which they could not gain by fair means, levied an army, and entered upon and wasted the bordering lands of the English with fire and sword. As this happened about the time of harvest, the English, in the absence of their king, were content with standing upon the defensive as well as they could. They, therefore, levied no army then, but in the winter following some skirmishing passed, and many incursions were made. The next summer, William raised a great force, and marched into the enemy's country; and, as the English had few or no troops ready to withstand them, they sent ambassadors to the Scottish camp, offering a great sum of money for a truce, and holding out hopes that all things would be satisfactorily settled. William, being a honest man, and preferring peace, if it could be obtained upon reasonable conditions, even to a just war, gave credit to their fallacious assurances. The English, having thus succeeded, spent all the time of the armistice in preparations for hostilities; meanwhile deluding the Scots with ambassadors, who made large promises, though their true errand was to discover the strength of the enemy's camp. These men finding the Scots, in confidence of the truce, remiss and negligent, and the greatest part of their army scattered to get in forage, returned, and made their report, that now was a fair opportunity for action, which they so strongly urged, that the English placed the greatest part of their force in ambush, while about four hundred horsemen, a few hours before sun-rising, marched directly to Alnwick, where the camp of the Scots was pitched. There, finding a more favourable opportunity than they expected, they set upon the king, who was riding up and down, with sixty horse only, as if there had been a settled

peace, and before it could well be discerned whether they were friends or enemies, being disguised with Scottish arms and ensigns, that they might pass for such, they took him prisoner in the ninth year of his reign. A few were roused at the uproar, and pursued them in a scattered manner; but, by rushing amongst their enemies, and not willing to forsake their king, they were made prisoners. William was carried to Henry, who was then engaged in a war with France. The English, elated with this sudden success, invaded Cumberland, thinking to carry it without resistance; but Gilchrist and Roeland, two Scottish commanders, gave them such a reception, that, being repulsed, they made a truce, and were content to enjoy Northumberland only, as long as William was a prisoner. Cumberland and Huntingdon were also left in the possession of the Scots.

In the mean time, David, the brother of William, who was earl of Huntingdon in England, and of Garioch in Scotland, and then fought under the English banners, received a passport, and returned home; where, having settled things for the present, he sent ambassadors to Henry about the ransom of his brother, who was then kept prisoner at Falaise, a town in Normandy. The king gave for his liberty fifteen hostages to the English, and surrendered up the four castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and then was permitted to return home on the 1st of February; but soon after was called upon by the English to appear at York, with his nobles and bishops, on the 15th of August. Being arrived there, he, and all his followers, who were of the chief nobility, took an oath of obedience to king Henry, and gave up the kingdom of Scotland into his guardianship and patronage. Though these conditions were very hard, yet the Scots were willing to accept of them, in order that they might have the best of kings restored to them, according to the language of the English writers. Thomas Walsingham, of England, says, that this surrender was not made at York, but at Constance; yet there are others who assert, that this interview of the two sovereigns was not for the surrender of the kingdom, but for the payment of certain pensions; and that the castles were put into the hands of the English, by way of security only, for the payment. This opinion seems to me most probable, as appears by the league renewed with Richard, the son of Henry, of which in its due place.

William, at his return, in a few months, by Gilchrist his general, quelled the insurrections that had been raised, during his absence, in Galloway. On the 28th of January, there was an assembly summoned at Norham by Tweed, whither William came; and where the English laboured extremely, that all the Scottish bishops should acknowledge the archbishop of York for their metropolitan; in which desire the pope's legate also concurred, and earnestly pressed that it might be so settled. After a long dispute, the Scots answered, that few of their countrymen were present, and that they could not bind the absent by their judgment. Upon this, the matter was deferred to another time; and shortly after, agents were sent to Rome, to justify the cause of the Scottish bishops, before pope Alexander III. who, by his decree, released them from the English yoke, and so they returned joyfully home. Not long after this, Gilchrist, who has been often mentioned, slew his wife, though the king's sister, because she had committed adultery. He was summoned to appear on a certain day, but, being contumacious, sentence of perpetual banishment was pronounced against him; his houses were demolished, and his goods were confiscated. About the same time the castle of Edinburgh was restored to the Scots, on payment of one of the stipulated ransoms: and, to make the concord between both kings more firm, it was agreed, that neither of them should harbour the enemy of the other. In consequence of this contract, Gilchrist, who had lived in England after his banishment, was forced to return; and, shifting from place to place, as an alien and unknown amongst strangers, he passed his miserable life in great penury and distress. Meanwhile, William prepared for an expedition into Murray, to suppress the thieves of the Western isles, whose captain, Donald Bane, or, the White, derived his pedigree from the kings, and had also assumed the regal title. He made frequent descents from his ships, in different places, and not only ravaged the maritime coasts, but increasing in boldness by impunity, he ventured to plunder those places also which were remote from the sea. The king

sent out ships to search for and burn his fleet, whilst he with an army attacked them on land; and, by so doing, he put them almost all to the sword. In his return, being near Perth, he met three countrymen, who yet seemed to be above that condition, even in their mean and uncouth habit; and who looked also as if they wished to avoid all company. The king, struck with their appearance, caused them to be brought to him, and, viewing them intently, was very earnest to know who they were. Gilchrist, the elder of them, fell down at the feet of the king, and, giving a miserable relation of his misfortunes, discovered himself; upon which, the recollection of his former state, which he had passed with so much splendour, did so passionately affect all present, that they could not avoid weeping; while the king commanded him to rise, and restored him to his former dignity, and the same degree of favour he had before enjoyed.

These things happened about the year 1190; at which time Richard, who, the year preceding, had succeeded Henry his father in the throne of England, prepared for an expedition into Syria. He restored the castles to the king of Scotland, and sent back the hostages, freeing him and his posterity from all the covenants made with the English, whether extorted by force, or obtained by fraud; and suffered him, as Matthew Paris relates, to possess his dominions by the same right, and within the same limits, as Malcolm, or any former kings, had held them. William, on his part, that he might not be ungrateful to Richard, upon his going to war into a strange country, gave him ten thousand marks of silver, and commanded David his brother, who was earl of Huntingdon, to follow ~~me~~ into Syria. This David, in his return from thence, having his fleet scattered by a tempest, was taken prisoner by the Egyptians, and redeemed by the Venetians; and at last, being known at Constantinople by an English merchant, after four years' time returned to Scotland, where he was received with the general gratulation of all men, especially of his brother. Boetius thinks that the town where David landed in safety, and which was before named Alecium, was now called Deidonum; but, because the name of Alecium is found in no other author, I rather think it was called Taodonum, a word compounded of Tay and Dun, that is, Dundee.

Not long after, Richard, after many hazards and misfortunes, returned also from the same expedition. William and his brother went to congratulate him upon his arrival, and gave him two thousand marks of silver as a present, being moved thereunto either out of remembrance of his former bounty, or in consideration of his present necessity. Neither, as many assert, were the Scots and English ever more friendly and courteous to each other than at this time. There William fell very sick; and a rumour of his death being spread abroad, caused new combustions in Scotland. Harold, earl of the Orkades, and of Caithness, hated the bishop of Caithness, on the ground, as he alleged, that he was the obstacle to his obtaining what he desired of the king; and therefore he took him prisoner, cut out his tongue, and also put out his eyes. The king, on his return home, defeated Harold in several skirmishes, and destroyed most of his forces. At last, Harold himself, being taken in his flight, was brought to the king; who caused his eyes to be put out, by way of retaliation, and then hung; besides which, his whole male stock were emasculated; while the rest of his kin, and the companions of his wickedness, were heavily fined. These things are thus related by Hector Boetius, and they are confirmed not only by common report, but by the name of the hill where the punishment took place, so that it seems more likely than what others relate of this matter. These things happened in the year of our redemption 1199, in which year also the king had a son born to him, named Alexander; and Richard of England dying, was succeeded by his brother John.

Hereupon the king of Scots went into England, to take the oath of fealty to John for the lands which he held in England. This was in the beginning of the new reign; but his coming was not more acceptable, than his departure was displeasing, because he refused to follow John in his expedition into France, against Philip, the old friend of William. As soon, therefore, as John returned out of France, he sought occasion for a war with the Scots, and began

to build a fort over-against Berwick. William having in vain complained of the injury, by his ambassadors, gathered his forces, and demolished as much of the works as were erected. Upon this, armies were levied on both sides; but when their camps were near each other, peace was made by the intervention of the nobles, on these terms, that William's two daughters should be espoused to John's two sons, as soon as they became marriageable. A great dowry was promised, and caution provided, that no fort should be built; besides which, hostages also were given for the performance of the conditions. William, on his return, fell into an unexpected danger; the greatest part of the town of Berth being swept away in the night, by an inundation of the river Tay; neither was the king's palace exempted from the calamity; for his son, an infant, with his nurse, and fourteen more, were drowned; the rest escaping with difficulty: and many of the people lost their lives. The king, perceiving that the water had inundated the greatest part of the ground on which the town stood, and that almost every house had suffered, caused a new one to be built a little below, in a more commodious place, on the same river; and, making some small variation of the name, called it Perth, in memory, as some say, of a nobleman, who gave the king the land on which the town was built. About the same time, the king took Gotfred Mackel, captain of the rebels in the north, who was betrayed by his own men. After he was prisoner, he constantly abstained from all food, to prevent, as it was thought, a more heavy punishment. This was, in a manner, the last memorable act of William; though, considering his advanced age, it was rather performed by his captains; for he died soon after, in the 74th year of his age, and the 40th of his reign, A. D. 1214.

Not long before his death, leagues were renewed with John king of England, almost every year; for, he being a man desirous of enlarging his dominions, though he had a war with the French abroad, and the people at home; and, moreover, was never on certain terms of peace with the Irish or Welsh: yet did not break off his inclination to invade Scotland, which had then an old man for its king, and the next heir to him a child. Frequent conferences were held on these occasions, rather to try what might be obtained, than in hopes of any good issue; but at length the matter broke out into open suspicion; and, after many covenants made between them, William was called to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; whither he came, but there falling into a dangerous disease, he returned without doing any thing. In fine, a little before his death, he was invited to Norham on the Tweed; and when his sickness would not permit him to go, his son was desired to come in his stead, which, by the advice of the council, was refused. The leagues established in these interviews, I shall not particularly mention, for they all contain nearly the same things, baving in them nothing new, except that in one of them, it was agreed, that not the Scottish kings, but only their children, should swear, or be feudatories to the kings of England, for the lands they held in that country. But no mention of these things is to be found in the English writers, I believe for this very cause.

#### ALEXANDER II. the ninety-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 1214.

William was succeeded by his son Alexander, whose mother was Emmeard, the kinswoman of the king of England, and daughter of the earl of Beaumont. He was only sixteen years of age when he began to reign. And though he entered upon the government in troublesome times, he composed and settled things more prudently than could be expected from one of his years. At the beginning of his reign, he called a public convention of the states, and there, by a decree, confirmed all the acts of that good and prudent prince, his father. His first expedition was into England, not out of any private ambition, but to restrain the tyranny of John; and it was then said, that he was invited by the ecclesiastics of that kingdom. Having laid siege to Norham, he left it upon certain conditions; and, penetrating farther into the realm, treated the adherents of the king very severely. Soon after his return home, John invaded Scotland, where he made a great devastation in Dunbar, Haddington, and the neighbouring parts of Lothian; and, to spread the war and ruin further, he determined to take a circuitous course in his passage back.

Alexander being desirous of coming to a decision by a battle, pitched his tents between Pentland hills and the river Esk, to intercept John in his return; but he, to avoid fighting, marched along the sea-coast, and burnt the monastery of Coldingham: after which, he took and destroyed Berwick, which was then but meanly fortified. While he thus hastened home, Alexander followed him as fast as he could, and making great havoc all over Northumberland, came to Richmond; but John, by speedy marches, having retreated into the heart of England, Alexander returned by Westmoreland, and laid the whole country waste to the very gates of Carlisle; which city he also took by storm, and fortified it. The next year, Lewis, the son of Philip, king of France, was sent for to London, by those who favoured the ecclesiastical faction; that, upon the deposition of John, he might possess the kingdom. At the same time also, Alexander came thither to assist his old friend the French prince; but John being deserted by his subjects, and invaded by foreign arms, upon the present payment of a great sum of money, which he promised to continue yearly, and by transferring the sovereignty of England to the pope, whose vassals the kings were to be for the future, was received into favour. In consequence of this, John obtained letters from Rome by cardinal Galo, a man of known avarice, wherein the Scots and French were, with great threats, forbidden to meddle with a people who were tributaries to the holy see.

Upon this sudden change of things, Lewis returned to France, and Alexander to Scotland; but his passage home was not so easy as his entrance had been; for the English pressing upon the rear of his army, took many of the stragglers prisoners; besides which, John had destroyed all the bridges on the Trent, fastened sharp pikes or palisadoes in its fords, and removed the vessels and boats; so that these were such obstacles to the retreat, as in appearance threatened sure destruction. In the mean time, John was poisoned by an English monk at Newark, a town seated on the Trent, and being carried in a litter, died within two days.\* This event opened the way for the progress of Alexander; who, then blaming his men for their former carelessness, marched on more circumspectly, but not without great injury to the inhabitants of the countries through which he passed; for whatever could be driven away, or carried off, he took with him, and so returned home with a great booty. Galo, the papal legate, after placing Henry, the son of John, on the throne, paid the nobles of England in a great sum of money, and then received them into favour. But to give them some recompense for their loss, at the expense of their enemies, he excommunicated Lewis of France, and Alexander of Scotland, in hopes of obtaining thereby some additional plunder or contributions. The Scots were interdicted all divine offices; for he imagined that his thundering anathemas would prevail more over the simple people than with their kings: but at last peace was made between the two monarchs; by which the Scots were to restore Carlisle, and the English Berwick; both covenanting to observe the ancient boundary of King's-cross. Alexander and his subjects were now released from excommunication by the English bishops, who were authorised for that purpose, but Galo was so much enraged at having this great prey taken out of his hands, that he turned his anger on the prelates, and the rest of the clergy of Scotland, as being his own peculiar, over whom kings had no authority. He, accordingly, summoned them to appear at Alnwick, whither, when they came, the more timid appeased his wrath with money, while those who were resolute were cited to Rome. But these prelates, having received many letters from some of the English bishops and abbots, directed to the pope, concerning the sordid spirit of the legate, made grievous complaints against him, calling him the firebrand of all mischief, because, instead of studying the public good, he consulted nothing but his own avarice, trafficking for, and selling peace and war between princes, at his own pleasure. Galo, not being able to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge, was deprived, by the pope, of the money he had procured, which was ordered to be divided amongst his accusers, who, however, received none, but returned home with a cargo of large promises, and empty purses. A few years after

\* This old story appears to be perfectly fabulous, for the best accounts ascribe the death of John partly to grief, and partly to a surfeit.

this, Henry of England, being now grown to maturity, both in years and judgment, came to York; where he agreed, in the presence of Pandulph, the pope's legate, that Alexander should take his sister Joan to wife; by whom, through her untimely death, he had no children.

From this period, there was peace between both kings as long as they lived; and there Henry also solemnly promised, and swore before the same Pandulph, that he would bestow the two sisters of Alexander in honourable marriage, according to their dignity, as his father had pledged himself before; but one of them returned home single, the other only being provided with a husband. The next year, that is, in 1220, cardinal Giles came into England, under the pretence of collecting money for a holy war; and, accordingly, having obtained, by his fraudulent arts, a great sum in both kingdoms, from those who were over credulous, he spent it luxuriously in his journey; so that he came empty to Rome, falsely alleging that he had been robbed by thieves in the way. Another legate presently succeeded him; but the English, having been twice cheated by Italian fraud, forbade him, in a public decree, to set his foot upon their ground. Alexander was at this time busied in suppressing those vices at home which had sprung up by the licentiousness of war; for which purpose he travelled over the whole kingdom, accompanied by his queen, to administer justice; whilst Gillespie, a man of Ross, spoiled that and the neighbouring countries; for, passing over the river Ness, he took and burnt the town of Inverness, and cruelly slew all those who refused to swear obedience to him. John Comin, earl of Buchan, was sent against him, and having taken him and his two sons as they were shifting about, and changing their quarters to secure themselves, he cut off their heads, and sent them to the king. About this time, the people of Caithness entered by night into the residence of Adam, their bishop, and killed a monk, who was his usual companion, he having been before abbot of Melrose, and one of his bed-chamber; then they dragged the bishop himself, grievously wounded, into the kitchen where they burnt him, together with the house. The cause of this great cruelty was, it is reported, because the bishop was more severe than usual in exacting his tithes; but the offenders were diligently sought for, and severely punished. The earl of Caithness, though he was not present at the deed, was yet somewhat suspected of being concerned in it; but, afterwards, being brought privately to the king on the Christmas holidays, which are the Saturnalia of the Scots, he humbly begged his pardon, and obtained it.

About this time, Alan of Galloway, the most powerful man in Scotland, departed this life. He left three daughters behind him, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Thomas, his bastard son, taking advantage of their age and sex, set up for himself as lord of the family; and not content with that, gathered ten thousand men, slew all that opposed him, and plundered the adjacent country far and near. At last the king sent an army against him, when five thousand of the rebels were slain, together with their general. The same year Alexander, with his wife, went into England, to assist in quelling the tumults that were raised against Henry, and to reconcile him to the nobility. While he was busy about this at York, his wife accompanied the queen of England on a pilgrimage to Canterbury; but, at her return, fell sick in London, where she died, and was buried. Not long after her death, that is, in 1230, the king, being childless, married Mary, the daughter of Ingebrum, earl of Couci, in France, by whom he had Alexander, who succeeded his father in the throne. Two years after this, namely, in 1241, the king set out for England, to visit that monarch, who was newly returned from France. In this journey Alexander amused himself in Haddington with horse-races, but, while there, the lodging, or inn, of Patrick of Galloway, earl of Athol, was set on fire, where that nobleman, and two of his servants, were burnt, the fire spreading itself a great way farther. It was thought not to have casually happened, because of the noted feuds between Patrick and the family of the Bissets. And though William, the chief of that house, was at Forfar, above sixty miles from Haddington, on the night that the fire happened, as the queen could testify in his behalf; yet, because the adverse party, the kindred of Patrick, pleaded that many of his tenants and servants were seen at Haddington at the time, Bisset was summoned to appear; he came to Edinburgh

as the day appointed; but not daring to stand a trial, on account of the power of his adversaries, who were the Cumins, he would have contested the matter in a duel; which challenge being refused, he and some of his friends emigrated into Ireland, where he left a noble family of his name and house. There was also another seditious tumult in Argyle, raised by the son of Somerled; but he being defeated in a few days by Patrick Dunbar, and submitting to the king's mercy, obtained pardon for all his offences. The king, not long after this, fell sick, and died in the fifty-first year of his age, the thirty-fifth of his reign, and of our Lord 1249.

ALEXANDER III. *the ninety-fifth King, began to reign A. D. 1249.*

Alexander III. his son, though a child not more than eight years old, was crowned king at Scone the same year. The power of all things was now mostly possessed by the faction of the Cumins; who turned the public revenue to the enrichment of themselves, oppressed the poor, and, by false accusations, cut off such of the nobles as opposed their desires, and dared to speak freely of the state of the king. These persons being condemned, had their goods confiscated, and brought into the king's exchequer; from whence the Cumins, who rather commanded than obeyed the king, drew them out for their private emolument. A convention of the estates being held, the chief matter in agitation was, to keep peace with the king of England, lest, at such a troublesome time, he should make any attempt upon them; and, to do this more easily, an affinity was proposed; which course, the party adverse to the Cumins thought more likely than force, to undermine their power. Accordingly, ambassadors were sent to England, where they were kindly received, and munificently rewarded by the king, who granted them all their desires. The next year, which was 1261, both kings met at York on the 24th of November; and there, on Christmas-day, Alexander was made a knight by the English monarch; the day after which, a match was concluded betwixt him and Margaret, the daughter of Henry. Peace was also renewed between them, which, as long as Henry lived, was inviolably observed. But, because Alexander was yet a child, and under age, it was settled by the advice of his friends, that he should consult his father-in-law, as a guardian, in all matters of weight. The effect of this decree was, that some of the principal nobility, falling under charges of peculation, and other offences, secretly withdrew themselves. When the king returned home, Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, chancellor of the kingdom, was accused, because he had declared the wife of Alan Durward legitimate, though she was the natural daughter of Alexander II.; the object of which was, that, if the king should die without issue, she might claim the throne as heiress. Upon this, the chancellor immediately surrendered up the seal to the nobles, and was succeeded by Gamelin, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrew's.

The three next years, the members of the privy council did, almost all of them, conduct themselves as kings, appropriating whatever they could seize to their own use; so that the poor commons were left destitute, and miserably oppressed. The king of England, being made acquainted with this, out of paternal affection to his son-in-law, came to Wark castle, situated on the borders of Scotland, and sent for Alexander and his nobles thither. There, by his advice, many beneficial regulations were made, especially in the enactment of profitable statutes, and in changing those magistrates who had, by their misconduct, caused insurrections. The king returned to Scotland with his wife, and, having an English guard to convey him home, resolved to reside in the castle of Edinburgh. Walter Cumin, earl of Monteith, then kept the castle, who was disaffected on account of the reform of the public state that had been made by the king of England; yet he was compelled to give up the place by Patrick Dunbar, with the assistance of the English forces. The greatest part of the nobility, as well as the ecclesiastics, were also offended, because their power was abridged by the new statutes, which they regarded as a yoke imposed upon them by the English, and a beginning of their servitude: nay, they proceeded to that height of contumacy, as to disobey the summons which they received to appear and give a legal account of their former conduct in the management of affairs. The same persons, who were the principal actors in



disturbing things before, were now the chief fomenters of disaffection. There were generally the clans of the Cumins, Walter earl of Monteith, Alexander earl of Buchan, John earl of Athol, William earl of Mar, and other considerable men of the same faction. They did not, however, dare to put their case on a legal trial, as being conscious to themselves of the many wrongs done to the poor and meaner sort, nay, to the king himself; and therefore they resolved to outface justice by effrontery and audacity; for, being informed that the king was only lightly guarded, and lived securely in Kinross, as in a time of peace, they immediately gathered a band of their vassals about them, seized him as he was asleep, and carried him to Stirling; and, as if there had been no force in the case, but they had been rightfully elected, they discharged and expelled his old servants, appointed new ones, and directed all things to their own will and pleasure; so that now the former counsellors were viewed with terror and consternation.

But this sedition was damped by the death of Walter Cumin, who is supposed to have been poisoned by his wife, an English woman; and the suspicion of its being done by her was increased, because, though she was courted by many noblemen, yet she married a young Englishman, named John Russel, who had been her gallant. She was therefore accused of poisoning her husband, and thrown into prison, though she soon purchased her liberty. Russel and his wife also obtained letters from the pope, permitting them to commence an action of the case against their adversaries, for the wrong that was done them, before the legate; but it was to no purpose, because the Scots set up an ancient privilege, exempting them from going out of the kingdom to plead in any of their own causes.

When the king was of age, on the humble petition of the Cumins, he pardoned them, as if all their offences had been expiated by the death of Walter. He was induced to do this, as some say, on account of the greatness of the family; and also, because he was apprehensive of a foreign war, when matters were so unsettled at home; but the war that was dreaded did not begin so soon as men thought it would.

On the first of August, in the year 1263, Acho, king of Norway, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, came to Ayr, a maritime town of Kyle where he landed twenty thousand men. The cause of the invasion, as he pretended, was, that some islands which had been promised to his ancestors, by Donald Bane, were not yet put into his hands, namely, Bute, Arran, and both the Cumbræes. Though these were never reckoned amongst the *Ælædr*, it was enough for him, who sought any pretence for war, that they were islands. Acho took two of the largest of them, and reduced the castles before he met with any opposition. Elated with this success, he made a descent upon Cunningham, the next mainland opposite Bute, and in that part of it called the Largs. There he met with two disasters almost at the same time. The first was, in being defeated by Alexander Stuart, the great-grandfather of the first king of Scotland of that name; when Acho, being almost taken by his numerous pursuers, hardly escaped, in great terror, to his ships. The other was, that his fleet, being tossed in a mighty tempest, could hardly carry him, with his few followers that were left, into the Orkades. There were slain in this battle sixteen thousand of the Norwegians, and five thousand of the Scots. Some writers say, that king Alexander himself was in this fight; but they also make honourable mention of the name of Alexander Stuart. Acho died of grief for the loss of his army, and that of his kinsman, a valiant youth, whose name is not mentioned by historians.

When his son Magnus, who had but lately joined him, found things in a more desperate state than he thought they could have been brought to; that there were no hopes of obtaining supplies from home before the spring; that the minds of the islanders were alienated from him; and that he was forsaken by those Scots, in confidence of whose aid his father had undertaken the war, he easily inclined, on these considerations, to terms of peace. The spirit of the young man also was depressed by the late unfortunate battle, and also by his fear of the islanders; for Alexander, having sent about some ships, had recovered the Isle of Man, situated almost in the midst between Scotland and Ireland; upon these conditions, that the king of it should send ten galleys to

assist the Scots, whenever required; and that they, on their part, should defend him from a foreign enemy. When Magnus saw that the inhabitants of the other islands inclined to follow the example of those of Man, he sent ambassadors to treat of peace, which Alexander refused to make, unless the *Frisians* were restored. At last, by the exertions of the commissioners, it was agreed that the Scots should have these islands; on condition of paying down four thousand marks of silver, and one hundred every year. It was also agreed, that Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, who was then but four years old, should marry Hangonan, the son of Magnus, as soon as she was of age for wedlock.

About this time, the king of England being troubled with a civil war, had five thousand Scots sent to his assistance, under the command of Robert Bruce and Alexander Cumin, which last the English writers call John. The greatest part of these were slain in fight; and Cumin, with the English king himself, his son, and a great part of the nobility of the royal party, were taken prisoners.

Moreover, the Scottish monarch was much disturbed by the arrogance of the priests and monks in his kingdom; who, being enriched by former princes, began not only to grow insolent in a continued peace, but endeavoured to be equal, if not superior, to the nobility, because they excelled them in wealth. The young men of rank resented this with indignation, and used the ecclesiastics so roughly, that complaints were made by them to the king, who imagining either that their wrongs were not so great as they represented them, or else that they suffered deservedly, paid no regard to their pretended grievances. Upon this, they excommunicated the whole body of the nation, except the king; and, in great wrath, determined to go to Rome. But Alexander remembering what great commotions Thomas Becket, the main promoter of ecclesiastical ambition, had lately raised in England, recalled them from their journey, and caused the nobility not only to satisfy their avarice, but even to submit to their arrogance. But in truth the priests were more inclinable to a compromise with the king, because he had lately undertaken the patronage of the religious orders against the avarice of the Romanists; he a little before, Ottobon, the pope's legate, came into England to appease the civil discords; but not being able to effect that object of his mission, he omitted the public business, and, consulting only his own private gain, called an ecclesiastical assembly, summoning thereto delegates from Scotland. In the mean time, he also endeavoured to exact four marks of silver from every parish in Scotland, and six from every cathedral, by way of procuration money. On the refusal of this contribution, or tax, news came that another legate had arrived in England, with the intention also to visit Scotland, under the pretence of collecting money for the holy war. Further, besides also what was obtained in the sale of indulgences, and other lures to catch money, he endeavoured to wrest from all bishops, abbots, and parish priests, as judging them to be immediately under papal jurisdiction, the tenth part of their yearly revenues; that so Edward and Edmund, sons to the king of England, might so more nobly and numerously attended to the war in Syria. The Scots considered this tax as the more grievous and unjust, because the English, in their eagerness for the grant, seemed to treat their country not as an absolute, but a dependent kingdom. Moreover, they were afraid lest the legate should riotously mispend the money designed for the war, as had been done some years before. Upon these considerations, they forbade the legate from entering their borders, but sent him word that they would of themselves, without his presence, gather money, and furnish soldiers for the Syrian war. They, accordingly, did send troops, under the command of the earls of Carrick and Athol, two of the chief nobility, to Lewis, king of France; while to the pope, lest he might think himself altogether slighted, they sent one thousand marks of silver.

The year after, Henry king of England died, and his son, Edward I. succeeded him, at whose coronation Alexander and his wife were present; but, in returning, she died soon after. David, the king's son, and also Alexander, who was but lately married to the daughter of the earl of Flanders, followed her to the grave shortly after, and thus made a continuation of mourning and

funerals. Margaret also, the king's daughter, departed this life, who left behind her a daughter by Hanganan, king of Norway. Alexander being thus, in a few years, deprived both of his wife and children, espoused Joleta, the daughter of the count de Dreux; but, within a year after, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck, not far from Kinghorn, in the year of our Lord 1286, on the nineteenth of March; having lived forty-five years, and reigned thirty-seven.

He was more missed than any king of Scotland had been before him; not so much for the eminent virtues of his mind, and personal accomplishments, as because the people foresaw what great calamities would befall the kingdom upon his decease. Those wholesome laws which he made are grown obsolete, and out of use, through the negligence of men, and the length of time; so that their utility is rather celebrated by report, than known by trial and experience. He divided the kingdom into four districts, and almost every year travelled over them all, staying about three months in each, to administer justice and hear the complaints of the poor, who had free access to him during the whole time of his stay. Whenever he went to an assize or sessions, he commanded the prefect, or sheriff of the district, to meet him with a select number of men, and to accompany him at his departure to the bounds of his jurisdiction, where he was received by the next sheriff. By this means he gained a thorough knowledge of all the nobility, and was himself as well known to them; neither were the people, in his progress, burdened with a troop of courtiers, who are commonly imperious, and given to rapacious practices wherever they come. He commanded the magistrates to punish all idle persons who followed no calling, nor had estates to maintain them; for his opinion was, that idleness is the cause of all wickedness. He restricted the train of horsemen that attended the nobles in travelling, to a certain number; because, in his opinion, a multitude of horses, that were not wanted for war, devoured too much provision. Further, since through the unskillfulness of men in navigation, or their avarice in venturing out rashly to sea, many shipwrecks had happened; so that thereby, together with the injury sustained from the violence of pirates, merchants were almost ruined, the king commanded that they should carry on no more a maritime trade. This order lasted about a year; but being complained of by many, as a public prejudice, at length so great a quantity of foreign commodities was imported, that they were never cheaper in Scotland within the memory of man. In this case, that he might consult the good of the company of merchants, he issued a decree that none but themselves should buy of foreigners what was imported by wholesale; and that what every man wanted, he should purchase it of the merchant by retail.

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## BOOK VIII.

ALEXANDER and his whole lineage, except a female child of his daughter, being extinct, a convention of the estates was held at Scone, to consult on the election of a new king, and for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom. When most of the nobility were come, they, in the first place, appointed six vicegerents to govern the nation for the present; so dividing the provinces, that Duncan Maoduff should preside over Fife, of which he was earl; John Cumin, earl of Buchan, over Buchan; William Fraser, archbishop of St. Andrew's, over the northern part of the kingdom; while Robert, bishop of Glasgow, another John Cumin, and John Stuart, governed the southern countries, fixing the river Forth as the boundary in the middle. In the mean time, Edward, king of England, knowing that his sister's grandchild, who was the daughter of the king of Norway, was the only surviving person of all the posterity of Alexander, and that she was the lawful heirress of the kingdom of Scotland, sent ambassadors thither, to desire her as a wife for his son.

The ambassadors, being admitted to the session, discoursed much of the public utility likely to accrue to both kingdoms by this marriage, nor did they

find the Scots averse to it; for Edward was a man of great courage and power, which he desired to increase; and his valour highly appeared in the holy war in his father's life-time, as also after his death in his conquest of Wales. Neither was there ever more cordiality subsisting betwixt the Scots and the English, than under the last kings; insomuch, that the ancient hatred seemed no way more likely to be abolished than by uniting both nations, on just and equal terms, into one.

For these reasons the marriage was easily assented to; and, by the consent of both parties, it was agreed that the Scots should have their own laws and magistrates, till the offspring of the marriage should come to govern the kingdom; but that if there should be no such issue, or they should die without coming to the crown, then the kingdom of Scotland should go to the next of kin to the blood-royal. Matters being thus settled, two ambassadors were sent into Norway, Michael, or, as others call him, David Weems, and Michael Scot, both eminent knights of Fife, and much famed for their prudence in those days. But Margaret, which was the name of the young princess, died before they came thither; so that they returned home in a despondent state, without having accomplished their mission.

The untimely death of the princess, occasioned a controversy concerning the kingdom, which gave a mighty shock to England, and nearly proved the ruin of Scotland. The competitors were men of great power, John Baliol and Robert Bruce. Baliol had lands in France, as Bruce had in England, but both of them enjoyed possessions and alliances in Scotland. Before I enter, however, upon their disputes, in order to render all things more clear to the reader, I must carry the relation a little higher.

The three last kings of Scotland, William, and the two Alexanders, the second and third, with their whole offspring, being extinct, there remained none who could lawfully claim the crown, but the posterity of David, earl of Huntingdon. This David was brother to King William, and great-uncle to Alexander III. He married, in England, Mand, daughter of the earl of Chester, by whom he had three daughters. The eldest, named Margaret, married Alan of Galloway, a man very powerful amongst the Scots; the second was united to Robert Bruce, surnamed the Noble, of high English descent, and large estate; the third espoused Henry Hastings, an Englishman also, whose posterity deservedly enjoy the earldom of Huntingdon to this day. But to omit the latter, because he never set up any claim to the kingdom, I shall confine my discourse to the stock, cause, and ancestry of Baliol and Bruce only. Whilst William was king of Scotland, Fergus, prince of Galloway, left two sons, Gilbert and Ethred; between whom, to prevent the seeds of discord, William equally divided their father's inheritance. Gilbert, the eldest, took this so much amiss, that he not only conceived an hatred against his brother, as his rival, but also against the king too, for a distribution which he considered unjust. Afterwards, when the king was prisoner in England, Gilbert, being then freed from the fear of the law, discovered his long-concealed animosity against both. In the first place, he seized his brother unawares, put out his eyes, deprived him of his tongue, and, instead of killing him at once, caused him to endure grievous and excessive tortures before he died. He then joined with the English, and preyed upon his neighbours and countrymen, whose lands he wasted with fire and sword, as if they had been those of an enemy. In this state of disorder, unless Rolland, the son of Ethred, had gathered a band of his countrymen, who remained firm to the king, together, to resist Gilbert, he would have carried destruction further, or have drawn the people entirely over to his party. This Rolland was a forward young man, of great abilities, both of body and mind. He not only abated the fury of his uncle, but always fought valiantly, and often successfully, with the English, whenever he met them; repressing their plunderings, and spoiling their lands. At last, when the king was restored, Gilbert, by the mediation of his friends, got a pardon on the promise of a sum of money for the wrongs which he had done, and giving pledges to that purpose. But he dying a few days after, those who were accustomed to blood and plunder by following him, and who had since placed themselves under the protection of the king of England, either through the inconstancy of their dispositions, fear of punishment,

or stung by the remorse of an accusing conscience, which pricked them for what they had formerly done, took up arms again under the command of Kilpatrick, Henry Kennedy, and Samuel, the assistants and companions of Gilbert in his wickedness. Rolland, therefore, being sent with an army against them, after a great battle, slew their principal leaders, and a great part of the soldiers. Those who escaped fled to one Gilcolumb, a captain of freebooters and robbers, who had committed considerable depredations in Lothian, and much injured the nobles and wealthy, some of whom he put to death. Then, marching into Galloway, he took up the cause of Gilbert, when every body else looked upon it as desperate; not only claiming the lands as his own by deporting himself with as much state as if he was the lord of all Galloway. At last Rolland fought with him on the 1st of October, about three months after the defeat of Gilbert's adherents, and slew him, together with the greater part of his army, while very few fell on his own side; amongst whom, however, was his brother, a young man of experienced bravery.

The English king being troubled at the overthrow of these men, who had put themselves under his protection the year before, marched with an army to Carlisle. Thither also came Rolland, being reconciled to that monarch by the mediation of William, where he refuted the calumnies of his enemies, and shewed that he had done nothing maliciously, or without a cause, against one who was as much his foe as that of the public; upon which he was honourably dismissed by the king. William, the king of Scotland, also returned home, and calling to mind the constancy of Rolland's father, Ethred, and how many noble exploits he had performed for the good of the nation, gave him all Galloway. Besides this, he also bestowed Carrick on the son of Gilbert, though his father had not deserved so well of him. William of Newbury, the English writer, records these things as having been done in the year 1183. Rolland took to wife the sister of William Morvill, who was lord high constable of Scotland; and who, dying without issue, Rolland enjoyed that great station as being hereditary in his family. He had a son called Allan, who, for the assistance afforded to John, king of England, in his Irish war, was rewarded by him with large possessions; on which account, by the permission of William of Scotland, he became a feudatory to the English king, and swore fealty to him. This Allan took to wife Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon; by whom he had three daughters. The eldest of these, Dornagilla, married John Baliol, the father of that John who was king of Scotland for some years. But Robert Bruce, who espoused Isabella, David's second daughter, had by her a son, Robert, who came to be earl of Carrick in the following manner. Martha, countess of Carrick, being married to the sole heir of her father, who died in the holy war, happening to cast her eyes upon Robert Bruce, the handsomest young man of his time, as he was hunting, courteously invited, and in a manner compelled, him to come into her castle, which was near at hand. Being come thither, their agreeable beauty, kindred, and manners, easily produced mutual love, and they were soon quickly married. When the king was informed of this, he was much offended with them both, because the right of bestowing the lady in marriage lay in him; yet, by the mediation of friends, he was afterwards reconciled to them. Of this marriage was Robert Bruce born, who afterwards became king of Scotland.

But enough by way of preface. I come now to the matter in hand, and to competitors for the kingdom: who were Dornagilla, the grandchild of David of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter; and Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, great-grandson of the said David, by his second daughter. Dornagilla's pretensions were grounded on the custom of the country, whereby the nearest degree, without regard to sex, had a prior right. Robert Bruce, on the other hand, insisted, that, in the order of propinquity, males were to be preferred before females: and, therefore, he denied it to be just, that while a grandson was alive, a grand-daughter should inherit the estate of her ancestor; and though sometimes the contrary might be practised in the inheritances of private men, yet that the matter was far otherwise in those estates which are called feuds, and the succession of kingdoms. And of this there was urged a late example in the controversy concerning the duchy of Burgundy; which

the count of Nevers, who married the grand-daughter of the last duke by his eldest son, claimed, yet the inheritance was adjudged to a younger son of the duke's brother; so that Robert contended he was nearer in degree, as being a grandson, than John Baliol, who was but a great-grandson: and that, with respect to Dornagilla, with whom he stood equal in degree, he was to be preferred before her, as a male before a female.

The Scottish nobles could not decide this dispute at home; because, through the power of both parties, the land was divided into two factions; for Baliol, by his mother, held all Galloway, which is a very large county; and besides, he was allied to the Cumin family, which was the most powerful next to that of the king; for Mary, the sister of Dornagilla, had married John Cumin. Robert, on the other side, in England, possessed Cleveland; and in Scotland, Annandale and Garioch; and, by his son, the earl of Carrick, who was afterwards king, he was related to many noble families; besides which he was also very gracious with his own people. For these reasons, the controversy could not be settled in Scotland; and even if it had been equitably determined, there was not a sufficient party in the kingdom to compel both sides to stand to the award. On this account, Edward of England was almost unanimously chosen to be the arbitrator of this important point; neither could any doubt be made of his fidelity, as he was the son of a man in whom the liking of Scotland had found both a loving father-in-law and a just guardian. Moreover, the English king had received a late and memorable testimony of the good-will of the Scots towards him, in so readily consenting to the marriage of his son with their queen.

Edward, on his arrival at Berwick, sent letters to the peers and governors of Scotland to come to him, protesting that he summoned them, not as subjects, to appear before their lord or supreme magistrate, but as friends before an arbitrator chosen by themselves. First of all, he exacted an oath of the competitors to stand to his award; and in the next place he required the nobles and commissioners to promise upon oath that they would accept and obey that person for their king, whom he, upon his oath, should declare so to be; and for this he desired there should be given to him a public scroll, or record, signed by all the estates, and each one's seal affixed to it. This being done, he chose, out of the most prudent of all the estates, twelve Scots, to whom he added as many Englishmen; enjoining them upon oath, to judge rightly and truly, according to their consciences, in the case. The open, and apparently candid, manner of these proceedings, gave great satisfaction to the people. But the English king had a private design, which was that of bringing Scotland under his dominion, though he managed it very covertly, and imparted his scheme only to a chosen few. The thing was thought feasible enough, as the kingdom was divided into two factions; but to make the way more intricate, and to cover the fraud the deeper from every eye, he raised up eight other competitors, besides Bruce and Baliol, that he might the more easily bring over one or more to his party, during the contention of so great a number.

And, lest a matter of such moment might seem to be determined unadvisedly, he consulted with those who were most eminent in France for piety and prudence, as well as most learned in the law, having no doubt but that, as this class of men are seldom, if ever, of one opinion, he should draw something out of their answers which might make for his purpose. The new competitors, seeing no grounds for their pretensions, quickly desisted of their own accord; but as Edward governed and influenced the lawyers according to his pleasure, a false and fabricated case was thus stated and propounded to them: "A certain king, that was never either crowned or anointed, but only placed in a kind of seat, and declared sovereign by his subjects, while he was in fact not his own master, being under the protection of another king, whose minister or beneficiary he professed himself to be, died without issue. Two of his kinsmen, the children of Sempronius, great-uncle of the deceased, claim the inheritance, namely, Titus, great-grandson by the eldest daughter of Sempronius, and Sejus the grandson by his younger daughter; now, which of these is to be preferred, in an estate, the nature and essence of which is, that it can never be divided?" The case being propounded in almost these very

words, they all generally answered, "That if any law or custom obtained in the kingdom which was sued for, they were to be guided by, and stand to it if not, then they must be directed by him under whose patronage they were, because, judging of freehold, custom doth not ascend; that is, the usage and award of the superior is to be a law to the inferior, but not the contrary." It would be too prolix a task, to specify the several opinions and answers which were, almost all of them, very doubtful and ambiguous, as to the right of the competitors; but, as the case was falsely stated, they all gave the supreme power of judgment, in the controversy, to Edward. Thus the matter was made more intricate and involved than before; so that the next year they met again at Norham. There Edward, by agents fit for his purpose, gently tried the minds of the Scots, whether they would willingly put themselves under the power and jurisdiction of the English, which, as was alleged, their ancestors had frequently done; but when they all unanimously refused so to do, he called to him the competitors whom he himself had set up; and, by great promises, extorted from them an oath of fealty; and next he persuaded the rest to remove the assembly to Berwick, as a more convenient place. There he shut up the twenty-four judges, who were elected as before in a church, without any person else amongst them, commanding them to give their judgments in the case; and no man was to have access to them, till they had unanimously come to a conclusion. But they being slow in their proceedings, he every now and then went in alone to them, and, by discourse, sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, gained a great majority to his opinion, that the right lay in Baliol, though he was inferior in favour and popularity. Edward, upon this, went to Bruce, thinking that, as he was cast by their votes, he would more easily be persuaded to close in with his design; and promised him the crown of Scotland, if he would put himself under the patronage of the king of England, and be subject to his authority. Bruce answered him ingenuously, "That he was not so eager of a crown, as to accept of it by abridging the liberty which his ancestors had left him." Upon this reply, he was dismissed, and John Baliol sent for, who, being more desirous of a kingdom, than of honest methods to come by it, greedily accepted the condition offered him by Edward.

JOHN BALIOL, the ninety-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 1293.

Accordingly, John Baliol was declared king of Scotland, six years and nine months after the death of Alexander. The rest of the Scots, desirous of the public tranquillity, conducted him to Scone, and there crowned him, according to custom, all swearing allegiance to him, except Bruce. He being thus made king by the English, with the acceptance of the Scots, and standing now in full security of the nation, came to Edward, who was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and, according to his promise, swore fealty to him; while the noblemen, his attendants, not daring to contradict two monarchs, especially at such a distance from home, did the same. As soon as the rest of the nobility heard of this, they were extremely offended; but, conscious of their want of power, they, for the present, dissembled their anger.

However, soon after, an occasion was offered them to shew their resentment. Macduff, earl of Fife, one of the six governors of Scotland during the interregnum, being murdered by the rich and potent family of Abernethy: they threw the charge upon his brother, and brought him to answer for the same before the assembly of the states, when the king gave sentence in favour of the accusers. Macduff, in consequence, was dispossessed of the land that was contested betwixt them; which made him doubly displeased with the king; first, on account of his own wrong; and, secondly, because he had not severely punished the murderers of his brother. Upon this, he appealed to the king of England, and desired that Baliol might answer the matter before him. Accordingly, the cause was removed to London; and, as Baliol was sitting next to Edward in the parliament-house, on being called, he would have answered by a procurator, but it was denied him; so that he was forced to rise from his seat, and plead his cause from a lower place. He bore this affront silently for the present, not daring to do otherwise; but, immediately on his departure, such flames of anger burnt in his breast, that his thoughts were wholly taken

up how to appease his own subjects, and to be avenged of Edward. While his mind was taken up with these meditations, it opportunely happened for him, that a new discord arose betwixt the French and English, which soon after broke out into a war. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the assembly of estates in Scotland, from both kings. The message from France was to desire a renewal of the ancient league with the new king. That from England was, to call upon them, by virtue of their late oath to Edward, to contribute aid to him in the war that he had commenced. Both embassies were referred to the council of the estates, where the nobles, prone to rebellion, gave it as their opinion, that the request of the French was just, but that the demand of the English was otherwise. They said that the league made by universal consent, with the French, more than five hundred years before, had been kept sacred and inviolable to that very day, on account of the equity and utility which went with it; but that this late subjection and surrender of themselves to the English, had been extorted from the king against his will. And they went on to say, that even though he had been consenting thereto, yet it neither obliged him nor the kingdom, because the covenant was made by the king alone, without the consent of the estates; whereas the king could do no act relating to the rights of the nation, without, much less against, their advice. Therefore, a decree was made, that ambassadors should be sent into France to renew the ancient league; and that a wife should be desired for Edward Baliol, the son of John, from the royal family of that nation. Another embassy was also sent into England, to signify that the king of Scots revoked the surrender of the kingdom and himself, which he had been forced unjustly to make; and that, renouncing Edward's friendship for that cause, and also for the many other wrongs which that king had done to him and his, he was resolved to assert his ancient liberty. As no man of any eminence would carry this message to Edward, whose temper, naturally fierce, was rendered still more so by the indulgence of fortune, which made him almost forget himself; a certain monk, or, as some say, the abbot of Aberbrothick, undertook to be the bearer of the letters; but he was forced to undergo many affronts for his pains, and had great difficulty in escaping home, being rather protected by the meanness of his condition, and so undervalued, than by the reverence due to an ambassador.

In the mean time, Edward made a truce with the French for some months, hoping that before it terminated he should have subdued the Scots, by taking them unprovided. Accordingly, he sent the fleet, which had been designed for France, against Scotland; commanding it to stop all provisions from being carried into Berwick, where he understood there was a very strong garrison. The Scots, having encountered this fleet at the mouth of the river, destroyed and took eighteen ships, and put the rest to flight. Edward, who was of an impetuous and irascible disposition, fired by this loss, breathed nothing but fury and revenge. He summoned Baliol, repeatedly, to appear before him; and then he levied a great army, with which he came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. There also he issued forth an edict, commanding John to appear, in order to clear himself from the crimes objected against him in a legal way. But as neither Baliol, nor any one for him, came at the time appointed, Edward added policy to force, and sent for Bruce, promising him the kingdom, if he would do his endeavour faithfully to depose and drive out his rival; "to do which," said he, "you need be at little labour or cost; only write letters to your friends, persuading them either to desert the royal party, or to be neutral if it comes to a battle." Then, by long marches, he came to Berwick; but not being able to carry it, by reason of the strength of the garrison, he pretended to raise the siege, and caused a rumour to be spread abroad, by some Scots of Bruce's party, stating that he despaired of taking it; because Baliol was coming with a great army to relieve the place, and was now near at hand. Upon this, the chief men of the garrison hastened out to receive their king honourably, but without any order, horse and foot promiscuously; of which Edward took the advantage, by sending in his cavalry, who trod down and killed some, separated others from their company, and, having opened the nearest gate, entered the town. Edward followed with his foot, and made a miserable slaughter among the people of all orders. About seven



thousand Scots are reported to have been there slain, amongst whom were the flower of the nobility of Lothian and Fife.

Though it was my intention, from the beginning, not to interrupt the series of the narration with any unnecessary digression, yet I cannot forbear to expose that unbridled liberty of evil-speaking, which Richard Grafton,\* was lately compiled the History of England, has assumed to himself; that so they who read what I here write, may judge of the degree of credit due to him. He quotes Hector Boetius, as saying, in his 14th book, chap. ii. "that so much blood was spilt upon this occasion, that rivers of it, running through the city, might have driven a water-mill for two days." Now, to this, I say, that Boetius never divided his book into chapters; and, besides, what Grafton affirms, is no where to be found in his writings. But, to leave this unlearned and shameless chronicler, I return to Edward; who, big with the exorbitant power and numbers of his army, sent part of it to besiege Dunbar; and, within a few days after, the castle of Berwick, despairing of any relief, was surrendered to him. Soon afterwards he joined his forces together at Dunbar to fight the Scottish army which came to relieve that place. It was a very short engagement; and the victory inclining to the English, the chief of the nobility retired into the castle, which was soon taken either by the treachery of Richard Seward the governor, or else because he had not provisions for so great a multitude as were shut up in so narrow a compass. Edward was very cruel to all the prisoners. Some cast the blame of this overthrow upon the elder Bruce, alleging that his friends, by giving way in the battle, struck a terror into the rest. All our writers agree in saying, that when Bruce demanded of Edward the crown of Scotland, according to his promise, as the reward of his services on that day, the other answered in French, of which language he was a perfect master, "What, have I nothing else to do, but to win kingdoms for you?" When Dunbar, and some other castles near the borders of England were taken, the surrender of Edinburgh and Stirling followed soon after. Next, Edward passing over the Forth, directed his march to Forfar, where Baliol was; who, when the English king had advanced as far as Montrose, without any opposition, by the persuasion of John Cumin of Strathbogie, went and surrendered to him both himself and the kingdom. Baliol was sent into England by sea; and Edward, returning to Berwick, issued a strict and severe summons to all the Scottish nobility to attend him there; and, on their arrival, compelled them to swear fealty to him. But William Douglas, who was a man of great distinction, as well on account of his family, as his own famous exploits, obstinately refused to do so, for which he was thrown into prison, where, in a few years, he died.

Edward, having thus succeeded in his expedition according to his method, left behind him John Warren, earl of Surrey, as his viceroy; and Hugh Cressingham, as lord chief justice, or treasurer; and then returned to London, where he committed John Baliol to prison, in the fourth year of his reign. At some time after, at the entreaty of the pope, and upon his promise that he would raise no further tumults in Scotland, he was allowed to go into France, his son Edward being retained as a hostage. King Edward having prepared all things for the French war, which, on account of the commotions in Scotland, had been suspended, now sailed thither with a great army. The Scots took advantage of his absence, and, stimulated by some hopes of regaining their liberty, chose twelve men to govern the state; with whose unanimous consent John Cumin, earl of Buchan, was sent into England, at the head of a considerable force; and as the English, who were scattered in garrisons over Scotland, dared not stir, he ravaged Northumberland without opposition, and laid siege to Carlisle, but to no purpose. Though this expedition somewhat elevated the spirits of the reduced Scots, and hindered the English from doing them farther mischief, yet it contributed little or nothing to the general benefit, because all the places of strength were garrisoned by the enemy. But as the nobility had neither strength nor courage to undertake great matters, there presently arose one William Wallace, a man of an ancient and noble

\* Grafton was a printer of eminence in London, who published a large Chronicle of the English History, in 1569.



*Engraved by Major from an ancient portrait.*

## **WILLIAM WALLACE.**

WILLIAM WALLACE, 1296-1305.



family, but who had lived poorly and meanly, as having little or no estate. The actions of this man, however, during the present contest, not only surpassed the expectation, but even the belief, of all the common people; for he was of a bold spirit, and vigorous constitution; who, when but a youth, had slain a young English nobleman, that had insulted and domineered over him. For this fact, he was forced to fly, and hide himself in several places for some years, to save his life; by which course of hardship his body was fortified against wind and weather, and his mind was likewise rendered capable of undergoing greater dangers when such should occur. At length, growing weary of this wandering and unsettled mode of living, he resolved to attempt something, though never so hazardous; and therefore, gathering a band of men together, of like fortune with his own, he did not only assault single persons, but even large companies, though with an inferior number, and slew several persons in various places. He performed these deeds with as much despatch as boldness, and never gave his enemy any advantage to fight him; so that, in a short time, his fame was spread over both nations, by which means many joined him, moved by the similarity of their condition, or with the like love of their country; so that at last he mustered up a considerable army. This tumultuary band, observing that the nobles, either out of fear or indolence, were tardy in the management of affairs, proclaimed Wallace regent of the kingdom; and, in virtue of this election, he directed things as a lawful magistrate, and the substitute of Baliol. He accepted this title not out of any ambition, or desire to rule, but because it was given him by his countrymen out of pure love and goodwill. The first remarkable exploit which he performed with his army was at Lanark, where he slew the major-general of that precinct, an Englishman of good descent. Afterwards he took and demolished many castles, which were either slenderly fortified, meanly garrisoned, or negligently guarded; and these petty attempts so inspirited his soldiers, that they shunned no service, however hazardous, while under his conduct, known, by experience, that as his boldness was guided by counsel, so his counsel was seconded by success.

When the report of these things was spread abroad, and perhaps somewhat enlarged beyond the bounds of truth, out of men's respect and favour to him; and that wished well to their country, or were afraid of their own particular condition, flocked in to him, as judging it fit to take opportunity by the forelock; so that in a short time he reduced all the castles which the English held on the other side of the Forth, though well fortified, and more carefully guarded, for fear of his attacks. He took and demolished the fortresses of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; he seized on Dunnottar by surprise, and garrisoned it; he entered Aberdeen, which the enemy had plundered, burnt, and abandoned, even whilst it was in flames; but a rumour being raised, that the English army was advancing, prevented his taking the castle; being determined to meet them at the Forth, and not willing to hazard a battle except in a place that he himself should select. King Edward, when he went into France, as I have already said, put English garrisons into all the strong fortresses of Scotland. Besides this, many of the Scots remained faithful to him, though disloyal to their country, but those of the nobility whom he suspected, he banished into the heart of England till his return. Amongst these was John Cumyn, lord, or petty king, of Badenoch; and Alan Logan, a man fit for either the cabinet or the field. Edward, having thus settled matters, was so far from fearing any insurrection in Scotland, that he carried all his army over along with him. But when he heard of the exploits of Wallace, he deemed it necessary to send an expedition against him; though, after all, the force which he despatched on this service was unworthy of a king; because the English considered Wallace only in the light of a wandering robber. Therefore, Edward wrote to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and William Latimer, that they should speedily levy what forces they could out of the neighbouring parts, and join themselves with Cressingham, who as yet remained in Scotland, to subdue the rebels in that country. Thomas Walsingham says, that the earl of Warren was the commander of this expedition. But Wallace, who was then besieging the castle of Cupar in Fife, lest his army, which he had increased against the approach of the English, who were

near at hand, should be idle, marched directly to Stirling. The river Forth, hardly any where fordable, may be there passed over by a bridge of wood even when increased by the addition of other rivers, and by the coming in of the tide. There Cressingham passed over with the greatest part of his army, but the bridge, either having its beams loosened and disjoined on purpose, as our writers affirm, by the artifice of the builder, that so it might not be able to bear any great weight; or else, being overladen with the heavy weight of so many horse, foot, and carriages, gave way, whereby the march of the rest of the English was obstructed. The Scots, seeing this, attacked those who had crossed, before they could form themselves into order; and having slain their captain, drove the rest into the river; so that they were almost all either killed or drowned. Wallace returned from this exploit to besiege the castles; and, in a short time, so changed the aspect of affairs, that he left none of the English in Scotland, except such as were prisoners. This victory, wherein the only man of distinction that fell was Andrew Murray, whose son, some years after, was regent of Scotland, happened on the thirteenth of September, in the year 1297. Some say, particularly John Major and a few monastic chroniclers, that Wallace was called off to this battle, not from the siege of Cupar, but that of Dundee, whither he also returned after the fight.

Owing to these commotions, the fields lay untilld, inasmuch that after this overthrow a famine ensued, to which a pestilence succeeded; from whence a greater destruction was apprehended than from the war. Wallace, to prevent this mischief as much as he could, called together all those who were fit for service, to appear on a certain day, with whom he marched into England; judging not only that their bodies, being exercised with labour, would be thereby invigorated, but that, by wintering in an enemy's country, provisions would be saved at home; and that the soldiers, who were in great want of necessaries, would reap some fruit of their labours in a country rich and flourishing through a long continuance of peace. When he entered into England, no man would venture to attack him, so that he staid there from the first of November to the first of February; and having refreshed and enriched his soldiers with the fruits and spoils of the enemy, he returned home with great renown. This expedition, while it increased the fame and authority of Wallace amongst the common people, heightened the envy of the nobles against him in a great degree. For his praise seemed a tacit censure of them, who being men of great power and wealth, either out of slothfulness durst not, or out of treachery would not, attempt what he, though a mean man, and destitute of all the advantages of fortune, not only bravely undertook, but successfully performed. Moreover, the king of England, finding the business to be greater than could well be managed by those whom he had deputed, made an arrangement of his affairs in France, and returned home; where he collected a great army, but one that was hastily levied, for he brought not back his veteran soldiers from beyond sea. With these raw and unexperienced recruits he marched towards Scotland; supposing that he had only a disorderly band of robbers to encounter. But when he saw the armies in battle-array, about five hundred paces from each other, on the plains of Stanmore, he could not help admiring the discipline, order, and boldness of his enemies. Upon this, though he had much the greater force, yet he durst not put it to the hazard of a battle, against a veteran and captain so experienced, and soldiers inured to all hardships, but turned his ensigns, and marched slowly back. Neither did Wallace, on the other hand, dare to follow him, for fear of ambuscades, but kept his army within their trenches. Having thus, however, gained a victory, without blood, over a powerful monarch, his enemies were so much the more enraged against him, and caused rumours to be spread, that Wallace openly affected a supreme or tyrannical power. This greatly provoked the nobles, especially Bruce and Cumyn, of the royal stock; who said within themselves, "That if they must be slaves, they had rather be those of a great and potent king, than of an upstart, whose rule was not only likely to be base, but dangerous;" and therefore they determined, by all means, to undermine the authority of Wallace. As Edward was not ignorant of these jealousies, he, the next summer, raised a great force, consisting partly of English and partly of Scots, who had remained faithful to him, and came to Falkirk, which is a village built in the

very tract of the wall of Severus, and distant from Stirling little more than six miles. The army of the Scots was not far from them, of sufficient strength, being thirty thousand, if the generals and leaders had been united amongst themselves. Their generals were John Cumyn, John Stuart, and William Wallace, the most distinguished persons of their time and nation; the two former, for their high descent and opulence; the latter, for the splendour of his exploits.

When the army, in three divisions, was ready to fight, a new dispute arose, besides their former envy, who should take the lead; and, while all three were asserting their claims, the English decided the controversy, hastening with banners displayed and a swift pace towards them. Cumyn and his forces retreated, without striking a blow; Stuart, being surrounded, was slain, with all his followers; and while Wallace was sorely pressed in the front, Bruce fetched a circuitous course, about a hill, and fell on his rear. Yet, in this conflict, his spirit remained unsubdued, and by his prudence he contrived to effect a retreat beyond the river Carron, where, availing himself of his situation, and the advantage which the river gave him, he acted on the defensive, and collected the scattered fugitives. Here Bruce desired a conference, to which Wallace agreed; and they two stood over against each other, where the river hath the narrowest channel, and the highest banks. First, Bruce began, and told Wallace, "He wondered what could be in his mind, that, hurried on by the uncertain favour of the people, he should expose himself to such incessant labour and imminent danger against the most potent king of the time, and who was also assisted by a great number of the Scots. That his enterprise tended to no purpose; for, if he defeated Edward, the Scots would never grant him the kingdom; and that if he should be overcome, he had no refuge but in the mercy of his enemy." To whom Wallace replied, "I never proposed any such end of my labours, as to obtain the kingdom, of which my fortune is not capable; neither doth my mind aspire so high; but when I saw my countrymen, by your slothfulness, to whom the kingdom doth rightfully appertain, destitute of governors, and exposed, not to the slavery only, but even to the butchery of a cruel enemy, I had pity on them, and undertook the cause which you deserted; neither will I forsake the liberty, good, and safety of my countrymen, till life shall forsake me. You, who had rather choose base servitude with security, than honest liberty with hazard, may follow and embrace the fortune which you so highly esteem; as for me, I will die free in my country, which I have so often defended, and my love to it shall remain as long as my life continues." Thus the conference was broken off, and each of them retired to their forces. This battle was fought on the 22d of July, where, of the Scots there fell above 10,000, amongst whom, of the nobles, were John Stuart, Macduff, earl of Fife; and of Wallace's army, John Graham, the most valiant person of the nation, next to Wallace himself. Of the English were slain Frere Briangy, a man highly famed, and noticed for skill in arms and military exploits. After this disastrous conflict Wallace went to Perth, and dismissed his army, yielding to that envy which he knew he could not resist, and from that day forward he never acted as a commander; yet he ceased not, with a few of his friends, who still adhered to him, though he renounced the name of a general, as often as a convenient opportunity was offered, to attack the English.

Edward, after wasting the whole of the country beyond the Forth, as far as Perth, and receiving into his obedience those who durst not, while he was present, venture to make an insurrection, drew back his army. Those of the Scots, who, after the enemy's departure, did most consult the liberty of their country, being now a little heartened, made the youngest John Cumyn their regent. He, according to the advice of council, sent ambassadors to Philip of Valois, king of France, desiring him, that, by the mediation of his sister, who was then betrothed to Edward, they might obtain at least a truce. Accordingly, by her endeavours, a suspension of arms was obtained for seven months, which, however, was not faithfully observed; for the English detained the ambassadors who were sent to pope Boniface VIII. and committed them to prison. In the mean time, the Scots, who could neither bear the tyranny of the English, appease the cruel mind of Edward by their sufferings, no.

obtain equitable terms of peace from him, became resolute to a state of desperation, and resolved to fight it out to the last. In the first place, therefore, they expelled all the English governors, who had been put by Edward into the towns and castles; and further, they tormented the Scots who adhered to that faction as much as they could. Things remained in this posture almost two years, at the expiration of which time, Edward sent Ralph Confray with a great force, to reduce the robbers, as he called them, and to put an end to the war. These troops met with no opposition, but plundered the country far and near, till they came to Roslin, in Lothian, about five miles from Edinburgh, where they divided their army into three parts, to make the greater havock, and so formed their camps. John Cumin, with the assistance of John Frazer, the most potent man in all Teviotdale, gathered eight thousand men, and marched towards the enemy, thinking to contract the limits of their ravaging excursions; or otherwise, to seize any favourable opportunity that might offer itself for action. In this he proved more fortunate than he could have anticipated, for the English, little expecting an assault from an enemy whom they had so often conquered, and brought so low, became careless, and dispersed themselves, in a very imprudent manner, about the country; so that their first camp was soon taken, by the sudden approach of the Scots, and with a great slaughter. Those who escaped, carried terror to the next camp; where again all were in confusion, and crying out to "arm, arm," exhorted one another to succour their fellow-soldiers; but perceiving this purpose was too late, they prepared for revenge. A furious combat now commenced betwixt them, as men eager and desirous of conquest and revenge; but, in the end, the English were routed and put to flight, and the victory, though a sanguinary one, remained with the Scots. In the mean time the soldiers of the third camp, which was farther off, came up, and produced some disorder among the Scots; for, as many of them were wounded, and the greatest part wearied with the toil of two actions, they saw that there was imminent danger in fighting, and assured destruction in retreating. In this emergency, by the command of their leaders, they slew all their prisoners, lest, in the contest, they should be annoyed by them in the rear; then, arming their servants with the spoils of the slain, they made a show of a greater army than in reality they were. Upon this, the battle was renewed with increasing fury on both sides; but though the fight was for a long time doubtful, the Scots, by the encouragement of their leaders, who put them in mind of their recent victory, took fresh courage, and charged the enemy with violence, that they broke their ranks, and put them to flight. This happened at Roslin, on the 24th of February, in the year 1302.

This extraordinary achievement was the more famous, being obtained by only one army over three, on the same day. Edward, therefore, being mightily incensed, to blot out the ignominy, and put an end to a long and tedious war, levied a greater force than ever he had before, and assailed Scotland both by sea and land, devastating it, even unto the extremities. At Ross, no one daring to oppose this powerful army in the field. Only Wallace and his men, sometimes in the front, at others in the rear, and now on the flanks, harassed the English greatly in their progress, falling suddenly upon those who were separated from the rest; and thus, by obliging them to remain compact in one body, prevented them from committing much mischief by plundering. Edward, finding himself so much annoyed by this enterprising chief, strove, with great promises, to bring him over to his party; but his constant answer was, "That he had devoted his life to his country, in which it was due, and if he could do it no other service, yet he would die exerting himself for its defence." There were some castles yet remaining, not surrendered to the English, particularly Urquhart in Murray, which was taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword; upon which the rest were given up through fear. After these exploits, the English king joined his son Edward, whom he had left at Perth, and, with this addition of force, he invested Stirling, which, at the end of a month, the garrison being reduced to the want of all things, surrendered, the conditions being only life and liberty. Notwithstanding this, William Oliver, the governor, contrary to the articles of capitulation, was sent prisoner to London. All Scotland being

now reduced, an assembly of the states was called by Edward, to be held at St. Andrew's, where, the whole body, being overawed, took an oath of allegiance to him, except Wallace alone; who, fearing that he should be given up, by the envious nobility, to Edward, his mortal enemy, retired, with a few followers, to his old hiding places.

Edward, having appointed governors and magistrates over all Scotland, returned into England. At his departure, however, he gave an evident demonstration of his inveterate hatred to the whole Scottish race; for, not content with taking away all those whom he feared would raise new seditions, he endeavoured, as much as he could, to root out the very memory of the nation, by abrogating their old laws, and modelling the ecclesiastical state and ceremonies, according to the manner of England. He likewise caused all histories, leagues, and ancient monuments, whether left by the Romans, or formed by the Scots, to be destroyed; and he carried away all the books, together with the teachers of learning, into England. Besides this, he sent also to London an unpolished marble-stone, wherein it was vulgarly reported and believed, lay the fate of the kingdom; neither did he leave any thing behind him, which, on the account of its celebrity, might excite generous minds to the remembrance of their ancient fortune and condition; or excite them to any true greatness of mind. Thus, having broken their spirits as he thought, as well as their forces, and cast them into a servile dejection, he promised himself perpetual peace from Scotland. At his return, he left Ailmer of Valence as his lieutenant, or viceroy, who was to check all seditious attempts, if any should break forth, in the very bud. Yet a new war sprang up against him, and that too in a quarter of which he had no suspicion.

There were some of the prime nobility in Scotland, with Edward, as Robert, the son of that Robert Bruce who contended with Baliol for the kingdom, and John Cumin, called the Red, on account of the colour of his face, cousin-german to John Baliol, the last king of Scotland. Edward called these persons often to him aside, and gave each of them vain hopes of the kingdom, by which means he made use of their assistance in the conquest of Scotland. At last, when they discovered the mockery and cheat, both of them desired nothing more than a fit occasion to repay the king for his perfidy; but, as they were rivals, their mutual suspicion withheld them from communicating their counsels to one another.

At last, Cumin, perceiving that the conduct of Edward was distasteful to Bruce, spake to him, and began his discourse by lamenting their common miseries, deploring the lamentable condition of their native land, and greatly inveighing against the treachery of the English monarch; at the same time grievously accusing himself and Bruce too, that they had, by their labour and assistance, contributed to plunge their countrymen into an abyss of misery. After this discourse, they proceeded farther, and, each of them promising silence, they agreed, that Bruce should enjoy the kingdom, and that Cumin, waiving his right, should enjoy all those large and fruitful possessions which the former had in Scotland; and, in a word, that he should be the second man in the kingdom. These conditions were drawn up in writing, sealed, and sworn to, betwixt themselves. Upon this, Bruce, watching an opportunity to rise in arms, left his wife and children in Scotland, and went to the court of England. After his departure, Cumin, according to report, either repenting himself of his agreement, or else endeavouring fraudulently to remove his rival, and so obtain an easier way to the kingdom, betrayed the secret combination to Edward, in evidence of which, he sent him the covenants signed by both. Upon this, Bruce was pleaded as guilty of high-treason; forbid to depart the court; and a privy guard set over him, to respect his words and actions. The king's delay to punish Bruce for a crime so manifest, arose from the desire he had to take his brothers too, before they should have heard of his execution. In the mean time, Bruce was informed of his danger by the earl of Montgomery, the old friend of his family, who, not daring to commit his advice to writing, being discouraged by what had just happened, sent him a pair of gilt spurs, and some pieces of gold, under the pretext that he had borrowed them of him the day before. Robert, on the receipt of this present, as dangers make men sagacious, soon understood the



meaning, therefore he sent for a smith the same night, and commanded him to shoe three horses the reversed way, that his slight might not be traced by the marks of the feet in the snow. This being done, he and two companions immediately commenced their journey, and, with great fatigue to man and horse, in seven days came to his castle, situated by Lochmaben. There he found David his brother, and Robert Fleming, to whom he had scarcely declared the cause of his flight, before he met with a flying post, who was conveying letters from Cumin to Edward; purporting, "That Robert ought speedily to be put to death; for that there was danger in delay, lest a man so nobly descended, and popular, as he was, by adding boldness to cunning, should raise new commotions." The perfidious treachery of Cumin being in this, as well as other circumstances, plainly detected, inflamed Robert to such a degree of anger, that he rode presently to Dumfries, where his adversary was in the church of the Franciscans, whom he confronted with his own letters, which he then shewed him, and when the other impudently denied them to be his, Robert, no longer able to bridle his wrath, ran him through the body with his dagger, and so left him for dead. As he was mounting his horse, James Lindsay and Roger Kilpatrick, one his kinsman, the other his old friend, perceiving by his countenance that he was troubled, asked him the cause: on which he told them in brief the whole business, adding withal, that he thought he had killed Cumin. "What," said Lindsay, "will you leave a matter of that consequence to a supposition?" And as soon as he had spoken these words, he ran into the church, and despatched him quite, and also his kinsman, Robert Cumin, who endeavoured to save him. This murder was committed on the tenth of February, in the year 1305. About the same time also, Wallace was betrayed in the county of Glasgow, where he then lay concealed, by his own familiar friend, John Monteith, whom the English had bribed with money, and so he was sent to London; where, by Edward's command, he was wofully butchered, and his limbs, for the terror of others, hung up in the most noted places of England and Scotland. Such was the end of this person, who was the most famous man of the age in which he lived, and who deserved to be compared with the most renowned captains of ancient times, both for his greatness of mind in undertaking dangers, and his wisdom and valour in overcoming them. In love to his country he was second to none: for, when others were slaves, he was alone free; neither could he be induced by rewards, or moved by threats, to abandon the public cause in which he had once embarked. His death was the more to be lamented, because he was not conquered by his enemy, but betrayed by his friend, who had little reason to be guilty of so treacherous an action.

*BRUCE, the ninety-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 1306.*

BRUCE was obliged to wait long, till he had obtained his pardon from the Pope, for killing a man in holy church; and then in April following, 1306, he went to Scone, and was crowned king.

The first thing he did, knowing that he had to do with a powerful enemy, was to levy all the force he could raise; and notwithstanding he had to encounter the whole family of the Cumins, whose greatness was paramount, and never equalled in Scotland, either before or since; and though the minds of many were offended with him, for his former alliance with the English; while most of the Scots, out of fear, desired to be at peace under their power, yet he ventured, with a small army, to try his fortune at Methven, where he was overthrown by Ailmer, the general of Edward, but with little slaughter, because his men, seeing their own weakness, fled in a body almost at the first charge. This happened on the 20th of July; and not long after he came to Athol, with the intention of passing into Argyll, but his design being discovered by the Cumins, he was forced in his march, to try his fortune in a battle at a place called Dalree, or Kingsland, where he was defeated again, but lost few men, because they all fled several ways as they thought fit. After this time, he had but two or three in his company; for he found himself more secure with a few attendants, and thus he wandered up and down in secret places, living mostly a forester's life, and despairing of any aid, even as he had a mind again to try his fortune; for the common people, upon his

double discomfiture, drew thence discouraging omens, and so they all left him; only two of his old friends, Malcolm Earl of Lennox, and Gilbert Hay, never forsook him, but remained constant to him in all his misfortunes. The English, not yet satisfied with his miseries, sent about through all parts of the kingdom, to apprehend his adherents and kindred; besides which, they commanded all the wives and children of those who were banished to depart the kingdom by a set time. The wife of Robert was taken by William Earl of Ross, and sent into England. Neil, his brother, with his wife and children, fell into the hands of the English; his castle of Kildrummy being betrayed to them by the governor. Moreover, his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, in endeavouring to pass from Galloway to Carrick, were taken at Loch Ryan, (called by Ptolemy, the Bay of Rerigonius,) and sent into England. These three were put to death in different places. The rest of the party of Bruce were also diligently sought after, executed, and their estates confiscated. In the mean time, the king himself, with one or two, and sometimes alone, wandered up and down through uncouth places, daily, and even hourly, changing his recesses. But, not thinking himself safe from the cruelty of his enemies, and the perfidiousness of his subjects, he passed over to another friend of his into the Western Isles, where he lurked for some months: and as he appeared so where, he was thought to be dead, and so they gave over searching for him. This report, though it secured his person, would, if it had continued long, have taken away all the hopes of his friends, of his ever obtaining and recovering the kingdom. Upon this account, he judged it fit to make some attempt, and having procured a small force from his protectors where he had concealed himself, he sailed over into Carrick, and, by his sudden arrival, surprised a castle, which was his own inheritance, but garrisoned by a strong party of English, whom he put to the sword. Then, lest his passage might be prevented by the enemy, he crossed over the bay of Clyde, and came to the strong castle of Inverness, situated on a pretty high hill by the side of the river Ness, which, as being in a remote country, and negligently guarded, he succeeded in capturing.

The report of these things being provulged, occasioned great emotions and a spirit of courage all over Scotland: for, besides his old friends, who came to him from all places out of their retreats, the insolence of the English raised him many new ones; for those oppressors, thinking he had been dead, began to lord it more imperiously and cruelly than ever they had done before. The forces therefore of Robert, being considerably increased, and that too with good soldiers, whom either labour had hardened or despair urged to the most desperate attempts, he took all the castles in the north of Scotland, and demolished them, partly that he might not weaken his forces by dividing them into garrisons, and partly that the enemy might be wholly deprived of all fortified places. Thus, overcoming all resistance, he made his way into the very heart of the kingdom. John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, being informed of it, quickly gathered a body of Scots and English, as many as were able to bear arms; and when Bruce came to the forest, through which the river Esk falls down into the plains of Mearn, overtook him at a place called Glenesk. Bruce, perceiving that the narrowness of the pass was advantageous for his men, who were few in number, stood on the defensive, waiting for the enemy. Cumin drew out his army at great length, imagining that his opponent would be astonished at the sight of such a multitude; but when he saw that Bruce stirred not from the place, and being also conscious of the weakness of his own force, he was afraid to venture an action. Accordingly he first sent an herald to Bruce for a truce, wherein they might treat of terms of peace; which being accorded to, Cumin made no more mention of a treaty, but increased his numbers as much as he could; neither would he trust the Scots that were with him, because he knew that many of them inclined to Robert, but craved aid from England. In the mean time, Bruce, to remove the degrading opinion which the English might conceive of him, and to encourage the spirits of his friends, was always on the alert; now taking one castle, and now another; always surprising the weakest garrisons; and never remaining long in a place, nor giving an opportunity to the enemy to bring him to a general battle.

About this time, Simon Fraser and Walter Logan, two brave soldiers, and lovers of their country, were taken by some of the Cumyn faction, delivered up to the English, and put to death in London. Amidst these transactions, James Douglas joined the party of Bruce; he was the son of William, and a young man extremely well instructed in all the liberal arts: who, while studying at Paris, hearing that his father was cast into prison by the English, where he soon after died, returned home to consult with his friends, how he might order his future conduct; but being deprived of his patrimony, and all his family variously dispersed, he in great want repaired to William Lambert, Bishop of St. Andrew's; by whom he was admitted into his household, and kindly entertained, until king Edward came to besiege Stirling, after having conquered almost all the rest of Scotland. Lambert going thither to salute the king, carried Douglas along with him, and having gained an opportunity, solicited Edward to restore the young man his patrimony, take him into his protection, and make use of his faithful endeavours in his service; adding other things in his praise. The king, on hearing his name and family, threw out some severe reproaches on the memory of William, his father, for his perverseness; and then concluded with saying, that he neither would make any use of the son, nor of his assistance; and as for his paternal estate, he could not restore it if he would, because he had gratified his friends with it, who had merited well of him. James being thus dismissed by the king, continued with Lambert till Bruce came to Mearns; and then, that he might neglect no occasion to injure Edward, whose mind, he found was implacably bent against him, he carried off Lambert's horses, and some money, though not without his privacy. Thus furnished, he joined Bruce; and his service was of great use to him afterwards on many trying occasions.

Not long after, both kings, almost at the same moment of time, fell grievously sick. Edward, being busy in preparations for war against Scotland, died within a few days at Lancaster, leaving the crown to his second son Edward, who was named Carnarvon from the place of his birth. This prince marched into the country of his enemy with the army which his father had raised; and sent a proclamation before him, summoning the Scots to meet him at Dumfries. The mandate, however, was slowly obeyed, and the few who came to him were mostly from the neighbouring parts. At this time he received information that his affairs were in a very indifferent state abroad: so which, leaving a force sufficiently strong, as he thought, to quell any insurrection in Scotland, and settling things as soon as he could, he went over to France. Meanwhile Robert, hearing of the death of Edward the First, was somewhat relieved, and began to augur a favourable change in his circumstances. The strength of his mind supported his enfeebled body; but being aware how much the sole conduct of a general contributed to victory, he so prepared himself for the extremities of fortune, as to look for an enemy, and a battle. On the other side, the English king retarded his return more than his friends wished; which made John Cumyn ambitious of the honour of ending the war alone, and thinking that Robert was dead by reason of his disease, joined to his hardships, or at least that his sickness would hinder him from being present with the army, he gathered together all the forces he could muster, and marched directly towards his enemy. Robert, on the other hand, to encourage his men, caused himself to be set on horseback, supported between two, and though he remained but a short space, the very sight of him had such an effect upon the soldiers, that they never began a fight more courageously. Cumyn, who had placed his hope of victory in the sickness of his antagonist, being unable to keep his men together either by persuasions or threats, was forced to fly with them. Many were taken in the pursuit, and all of them were courteously used. This victory, which was gained at Inverary, restored the king to health, and proved the omen of his future successes; for, from that day forward, he prospered in all that he attempted. Some time after he marched into the country of Argyle, which he pillaged, and compelled its lord, Alexander, to relinquish the possession. That chief then retired into England, where shortly after he ended his miserable life in great poverty. The same year, on the 30th of June, Edward Bruce was also very fortunate in a battle fought at Doe, a river in Galloway, Rolland, a noble knight of that

county, was slain in the fight; Donald the highlander, in his attempt to escape, was taken prisoner, and the whole country was wasted far and near. These commotions roused Edward, who was rather desirous of living in peace, to a war against his will. Perceiving that his affairs were ill conducted, he the next year, with a great army of English, entered Scotland, and there joined a numerous body of the natives, who had not yet revolted. With these forces he advanced as far as Renfrew, but then retreated, without performing any memorable act in his expedition; either because he was of a dull inactive nature, or that Robert, availing himself of the scarcity which then prevailed in Scotland, caused all the provisions to be carried off from the places through which the enemy had to march, and laid them up in security. After his departure, Bruce spent the rest of the year in recovering those castles the English yet held, many of which surrendered before they were besieged, because the garrisons despaired of being relieved.

The next year, which was 1310, Bruce, to repay the English for the damage they had done in Scotland, made two incursions with his army across the borders, and returned back laden with spoils, without coming to any engagement. The two next years, he recovered almost all the strong garrisons, which yet remained in the hands of the English. He took Perth by storm, and put all the garrison, Scots as well as English, without distinction, to the sword; and that others might be deterred from holding out by this example, he razed the walls, and filled up the trenches. The terror of this stroke caused Dumfries, Lanark, Ayr, and Bute, and many other weaker fortresses, to surrender at discretion. Early in the spring, Roxburgh was taken by James Douglas, while the garrison was intent upon their sports and pastimes, at those revels which were wont to be celebrated about the beginning of Lent. Not long after this, Thomas Randolph recovered the strong castle of Edenburgh: the isle of Man was also surrendered, and the castles thereof demolished, that they might not again be a receptacle to the enemy. In the mean time, Edward Bruce laid close siege to the castle of Stirling, situated on a rock, which was every where steep, except by a single passage. It was defended by Philip Moubray, a vigilant commander, who, perceiving the success of the party of Bruce in Scotland, and foreseeing an attack, took care to store and fortify the place beforehand with provisions and arms. Therefore, when Edward had fruitlessly spent many days in the siege, and had no hopes of carrying it by force, in order that he might not seem to be repulsed without doing any thing, he entered into a treaty with Moubray, "That if he was not relieved in a year, to commence that very day, by the English, the castle should be delivered up, and the garrison have liberty, with their baggage, to march whither they pleased." Though these conditions greatly displeased the king; yet, that he might not detract from his brother's credit, he resolved to observe them. However, as he had no doubt but that the English would come at the time appointed, he made as much preparation, as in so great a scarcity he was able, to encounter his potent enemy. And indeed Edward, considering that he was not only dispossessed of Scotland, a nation lost to him by his father, conquered and broken—but that he was also forced to fight for England,—had a desire to root out a people who were often rebellious, and always disobedient and turbulent. In order to this, he levied an army, not only of English, and such Scots as still adhered to him, but increased it by supplies from his foreign dominions, which then were many, great, and opulent; so that his force was larger than any king of England had ever raised before.

He received also additional succours from his allies beyond the seas, especially from Flanders and Holland, whose princes his father had powerfully assisted against Philip king of France. Thus, it is reported that his army consisted of above one hundred thousand fighting men. There also followed him a multitude of baggage-men, attendants, and sutlers, who carried provisions by sea and land, because they were going into a country not very fruitful of itself; and which, besides, had for several years been harassed with all the calamities of war. Moreover, as there were numbers who set out on this expedition for the purpose of forming colonies, and to receive portions of land, they took their wives and children with them. Thus the force of the rich,

powerful, and flourishing kingdom of England being in a manner abridged and epitomized into one army, the consideration of it produced such a confidence in the whole body, that now all their discourse was not of fighting, but of dividing the spoil. Bruce hearing of this great preparation of the enemy, prepared also his forces, which, though far inferior in number to the vast multitude opposed to them, and consisting of thirty thousand only, yet were they inured to hardships, and the toils of war; and carried the hopes of their lives, fortunes, and of every thing dear to men, as it were on the points of their swords. With this army he pitched on the left side of the Bannock, a river that hath very steep banks on both sides. It is about two miles from Stirling, and below the hills, before it enters the Forth, it passeth through a little even ground, which here and there is marshy. In the winter it usually runs with a rapid torrent; but, at that hot time of the year, the water was low and fordable in many places, though in general the passages are few and narrow. In proportion as Bruce was weak in numerical strength, he found it necessary to be wary and circumspect in his conduct. Accordingly he called art and policy to his aid, to make the passage over the river more difficult to the English, who possessed the right bank. For this purpose he caused deep trenches to be dug in level places, where he fastened sharp stakes, or spikes, and covered them over with light soil, that so his stratagem might not be discovered; besides which, he caused caltrops\* of iron to be dispersed up and down in convenient places.

Wherefore, when camp was almost joined to camp, as being on opposite hills, only a small river running between them, Edward sent forward eight hundred horse towards Stirling. When they were gone a little way, Robert, imagining they had been sent to plunder the neighbourhood, gave command to Thomas Randolph to follow them with five hundred horse, either to prevent the stragglers from wasting the country, or, should a fit occasion offer, to fight them. The English seeing them, desisted from their intended march to Stirling, faced about, and began a sharp combat, which continued long. While the victory hung doubtful, James Douglas being concerned for the Scots, who were the fewest in number, entreated Bruce for leave to go and relieve them. This was peremptorily denied, and Bruce remained a spectator of the conflict from a hill; yet resolving, if his Scots should be farther distressed, to succour them himself: but when he saw the English give back, and the Scots gain ground, he withheld his march, that so he might not detract from the praise of other men. The English were far from being discouraged at losing those few out of so great a multitude; and the Scots, inspired by the exploit, made vigorous preparations for the battle of the ensuing day, as if they had already received the omen of a complete victory.

The night, though short, for the battle was fought on the twenty-third of June, seemed long to both parties, who were eager to engage. All the Scots were divided into three brigades. The king led the centre; his brother commanded the right wing, and Randolph the left. The English, besides a multitude of archers, which they placed on the outside of both their wings, had also cuirassiers out of France. These hastening towards Randolph, who stood on the lower ground, and endeavouring to wheel about and take him on his flank, fell suddenly into the ditches made by Bruce, where they fell one upon another with great slaughter, both of men and horses. Those who fell first, were slain by the pressure of those that came upon them, and the last ranks being discouraged at the loss of the first, retreated back. This terror of the cavalry in some measure embarrassed the infantry, for they were afraid of falling into the like snares. There happened likewise another accident, which, though little in itself, yet contributed very much, as such niceties are wont to do in war, to the ultimate success. Robert, in riding up and down before his army, to keep them in their ranks, with a baton in his hand, was recognized by an Englishman, who ran at him with his spear. The

\* These were small engines, ordinarily round, with sharp iron spikes standing out on each side, so that, thrown any way on the ground, one spike or other stood upward. The intent of them was to wound or pierce the horse's foot that tread upon it, and thus make him lame and unfit for service.

king avoided the blow, and, as his adversary's horse proved somewhat restive, he took the advantage to strike the rider dead with his baton, and down he fell to the ground. The soldiers being highly animated by the brave and perilous exploit of their king, could no longer be restrained by their commanders, but rushed headlong upon the enemy, with such eagerness and resolution, that they would have broken the ranks of the English, had not the archers, who were placed on the wings, repulsed them, though with great loss to themselves. Bruce also sent in some troops of horse, who drove them back. Yet, in this affair a trivial incident did more prejudice to the English than the enemy. The rabble that followed the Scotch camp caused the baggage-men to mount their draught-horses, and hang out some linen cloth instead of ensigns; thus they stood on a hill where they might easily be seen, and made an appearance of a new army. The English, who stood nearest, being surprised with a double fear, retreated upon the main body: and their terror disordered the rest of the army. An incredible number of soldiers were slain in the pursuit; and some of our writers go so far as to say, that 50,000 English fell in the fight. Caxton, an Englishman, doth not set down the precise number, but he says it was a mighty overthrow, and that an innumerable multitude were slain. He did well in not being positive as to the number, for it was hard to compute it, because the flight was so irregular, wherein more perished than in the battle. It is certain, the slaughter was so great, that the English, though they had many provocations from the Scots, did not stir for two or three years after. Of the English nobility there fell about two hundred, and almost as many were taken. The prisoners said, that the king himself was the first who fled; and that if he had not been received into the castle of Dunbar by the Earl of March, and so sent in a boat to Berwick, he would not have escaped the hands of Douglas, who, with four hundred horse, pursued him forty miles. Amongst the prisoners there was a monk, one of those who are called Carmelites, from Mount Carmel in Syria; he was accounted a good poet for that age, and was brought with the army to celebrate the victory of the English in a poem; but they being beaten, he sang their overthrow in a canto, for which he had his liberty. His verse is rude and barbarous, yet it did not altogether displease the ears of the men of that age. The victory did not prove unbloody to the Scots; for they lost four thousand men, amongst whom there were only two knights. The immediate consequence of this battle was the fall of Stirling castle, which was surrendered according to compact, and the garrison dismissed.

About this time there happened a circumstance not unworthy to be related, in regard to the variety of incidents that occurred within a narrow compass of time. John Monteith, who betrayed his friend Wallace to the English, and was therefore deservedly hated by the Scots, received, amongst other rewards, the government of the castle of Dumbarton, from the English. When other forts were recovered, this only, or but very few with it, held out: and, because it was naturally impregnable, the king negotiated with the governor, by his friends and kindred, for its surrender. He demanded the county or earldom of Lennox, as the price of his treachery and submission: neither would he listen to any other terms. In this case the king wavered and fluctuated in his mind what to do: on the one side he earnestly desired to have the castle; yet, on the other, he did not so much prize it, as, for its sake, to disoblige the earl of Lennox, who had been his fast, and almost only friend in his calamities. But the earl hearing of it, came in, and soon decided the controversy, by persuading the king, at all events, to accept the conditions. Accordingly, the bargain was made as John Monteith would have it, and solemnly confirmed; but when the king was going to take possession of the castle, a carpenter, named Rolland, met him in the wood of Colquhoun, about a mile from thence, and having obtained liberty to speak with the king, concerning a matter of importance, told him of the treacherous design which the governor had against him, and was prepared to execute. In a private wine-cellar under ground, he concealed a number of Englishmen, who, when the rest of the castle was given up, and the king secure, were to issue forth upon him as he was at dinner, and either kill or take him prisoner. The king being thus apprized, when the castle was surrendered, received an invitation

from John, to partake of the entertainment which he had provided. But he declined so doing, till he should have examined the lower parts of the building, particularly the wine-cellars. The governor excused himself, by pretending that the smith, who had the key, was out of the way, but that he would come again presently. The king, not satisfied, caused the door to be broken open, and so the plot was discovered; the English were brought forth in their armour, and, being severally examined, confessed the whole truth, and added also another circumstance, that a ship rode ready in the neighbouring bay, to carry the king to England. The accomplices in this wicked design were put to death; but John was kept in prison, because the king was loath to offend his kindred, and especially his sons-in-law, in so dangerous a time, for he had many daughters, who were all very beautiful and married to men rich enough, but factious. Therefore, as it was a time of imminent danger, when the battle drew near, wherein all was at stake, lest the mind of any powerful man might be rendered averse to him, and therefore inclined to practise against him, it was deemed expedient to release John out of prison, upon this condition, for the performance of which his sons-in-law undertook, that he should be placed in the front of the battle, and there, by his valour, await the decision of Providence. And, indeed, the man though otherwise treacherous, was in this faithful to the king, for he behaved himself so valiantly, that the enterprise of that day procured him not only pardon for what was past, but large rewards for the future.

The fame of this victory being spread over all Britain, as it abated the fierceness of the English, so it raised the Scots from the depth of despair, supplying them not only with money, but glory, arms, and apparatus of war. Besides regaining numbers of their countrymen, who had been made prisoners, either in fight, or by surrender, they raised likewise great sums by the ransom of the English whom they had taken. Out of the spoils, many not only recompensed themselves for the losses which they had met with in former times, but realized considerable estates; for the English carried with them all their precious things, as if, instead of a battle, they had been going to an assured victory.

The king having thus prosperously succeeded in the conflict, spent the following winter in settling the state of the kingdom, which was much weakened by so long a war, and also in bestowing rewards on those who had merited them. The next spring, Berwick was taken from the English, after they had enjoyed it twenty years. In the next place, an assembly of the estates was convened at Ayr, a town of Kyle. There, in a full assembly, by the suffrages of all the orders, the kingdom was confirmed to Bruce; and afterwards, because the king had only one daughter, left by his former wife, the states, remembering what public mischiefs had happened by the dispute brought on in former times concerning the right of succession, made a decree, that if the present monarch left no male issue, his brother Edward should succeed him in the kingdom, and his sons in order after him; but that if he also died without male issue, then the crown should descend to Mary, the daughter of Robert, and to her posterity; yet so, that the nobility were to provide her a husband fit for her royal estate, and for the succession in the kingdom, it being looked upon as far more just, that a husband should be selected for the young princess, than that she should choose one for herself, and a king for the whole land. It was also decreed, that, in the case of a minority, Thomas Randolph, or, if he should fail, James Douglas, should be guardian to the king, and governor of the kingdom.

The fame of Robert's noble exploits both at home and abroad, induced the Irish to send over ambassadors, desiring to put themselves and their kingdom under his protection; adding, that if his domestic affairs would not permit him to accept the crown himself, yet that he would allow his brother Edward to take it, that so a nation allied to him, might no longer suffer under the cruel, insulting, and intolerable domination and servitude of the English. The Irish wrote also to the pope to the same purpose; and he, by his missionaries, desired the English to forbear wronging and oppressing the Irish, but in vain; so that Edward Bruce went thither with a great army, and, by universal consent, was acknowledged king. In the first year after his arrival

val, he not only drove the English out of Ulster, and reduced it to his obedience, but went through all the whole island with his victorious army. The next year, fresh forces being sent over from England, and Robert perceiving that the war would grow hotter, levied new troops, and made haste to the assistance of his brother. He suffered much in this expedition, through a want of provisions; and when he was about one day's march from Edward, he learned that he and all his men were defeated on the 5th of October. The story is, that Edward, spurred on by too great a desire of military glory, precipitated the fight, fearing lest his brother should share with him in the merit of the victory.

The king of England, being informed that the flower of the militia of Scotland attended Bruce in a foreign country, and thinking this a fit opportunity offered him to revenge his former losses, sent a great army thither under select commanders. Douglas, governor of the borders, fought with them thrice in several places, and slew almost all their officers, and a greater part of the soldiers. The English having fared so ill with their forces by land, came into the Forth with a fleet, and infested all the sea-coasts by their incursions, on which the earl of Fife sent five hundred horse to restrain the plunderers; but they, not daring to encounter so great a multitude, fell back, and were met by William Sinclair, the bishop of the Caledonians, at the head of about sixty horse. He, perceiving the cause of their retreat, reproached them severely for their cowardice; then exclaiming, "All you that wish well to Scotland, follow me!" he snatched up a lance, upon which they all cheerfully returned, and he made so brisk an assault on the scattered English, that they fled hastily to their ships; one of which, in the eagerness of the fugitives to get on board, being overladen with passengers, upset, and all that were in her perished. This action of Sinclair's was so grateful to the king, that ever after he called him "his bishop." The same summer, when all the English counties bordering on Scotland lay desolate, occasioned chiefly by the want of provisions, the diseases which abounded amongst all sorts of tame cattle, and also by reason of the frequent invasions, Edward, to remedy this evil, came to York; but there he was not able to complete an army, on account of the deficiency of the population, so that the people of London, and other parts adjoining, were fain to supply him with soldiers, though many of them had been before discharged from all military service. At length, however, he collected some forces, and marched against Berwick; but he had scarcely arrived there, when Thomas Randolph passed the river Solway, and penetrated by another way into England; where he wasted all with fire and sword, without any resistance; and, in some places, could hardly meet with any man at all; for the plague, which raged the former year, had made such a devastation, that the face of things seemed very piteous, even to their enemies. When the Scots had marched above one hundred miles, and had burnt all places, especially about York, the archbishop of that see, moved rather by the indignity of the thing, than any confidence in his forces, took up arms. He gathered together an army numerous enough, but unwarlike, consisting of a promiscuous company of priests, artificers, and husbandmen, whom he led with more boldness than conduct against the invaders; but, being overcome by them, he lost many of his men, while he, and a few others, with some difficulty, saved themselves by flight. So great was the slaughter of priests there, that the English, for a long time after, called this conflict the *White Battle*.

When Edward was informed of this overthrow, lest the victorious enemy should make farther and greater attempts, he raised the siege of Berwick, and came back to York, from whence the Scots had withdrawn themselves into the heart of the kingdom. The English were busied with domestic troubles; so that a short truce was made, rather because both kings were tired with the war, than from any sincere desire of amity. In this calm, Robert called a convention of the estates and nobility: and because the changes produced by so long a war had confounded the right of men's possessions, he commanded every one to produce and shew the title of his lands. This matter was equally grievous to the old possessors, and the new. Valiant men thought they enjoyed that by a good right, which they had gained from



their enemies; and they took it greatly amiss, that what they had obtained by their military toil, and as the price of their blood, should be rent from them in times of peace. As for the old owners of estates, since there was hardly one house almost that had not suffered in the war, they had lost their deeds by which they held their lands, as well as their other goods. Therefore they all entered upon a project, which, though it had a brave appearance, proved too bold and rash in the event. For when the king in the parliament commanded them to exhibit their titles, every one drew his sword, and cried out, "We carry our titles in our right hands." The king, amazed at this sudden and surprising spectacle, though he took the matter very seriously, yet stifled his indignation for the present, and deferred his revenge till a convenient season. And it was not long before an occasion offered him to shew it; for some of the nobles being conscious within themselves of the boldness of their late attempt, and fearing to be punished for it, conspired together to betray the kingdom to the English. The plot was discovered to the king, and so plainly, that the letters declaring the manner, time, and place, were intercepted, and the crime made evident. They were all taken and brought before the king, without any tumult being raised by their apprehension. And because it was much feared, that William Soulis, governor of Berwick, would deliver up both town and castle to the English, before the conspiracy was publicly divulged, the king made a journey thither as it were casually. A convention was then held at Perth to try the prisoners, where the letters were produced, and every one's signature and seal made known; so that being convicted of high-treason by their own testimony, they were put to death. — The chief of these were David Brechin and William Lord Soulis, of the nobility; also Gilbert Mayler, Richard Brown, and John Logie; but though many others of all ranks and degrees were accused, as there was only matter of suspicion against them, they were dismissed. The death of David Brechin only variously affected men's minds; for besides that he was the son of the king's sister, he was accounted a promising young man of his age for all arts, as well of peace as of war; and of his valour, he had given evident proofs during the holy war in Syria. Though drawn in by the popular conspirators, he never gave his consent to the treason; and his only crime was, that being made acquainted with so foul a machination, he did not discover it. The body of Roger Moubray, who died before conviction, was condemned to an ignominious exposure; but the king remitted that punishment, and caused it to be buried.

A few months before this process was made, the Pope's legate, who, at the request of the English, came to compose the dissensions betwixt the kingdoms, finding that he was unable to accomplish his errand, and yet being desirous of doing something for those who employed him, proceeded to excommunicate the Scots, and forbid them the use of public worship, so terrible were the papal thunderbolts in those days. Bruce, however, to shew how little he valued the Pope's curses in an unjust cause, gathered an army, and invaded England, following the legate at his departure almost at his heels. There he made dreadful havoc with fire and sword, as far as the cross at Stanmore. The English, unwilling to let this great disgrace pass unrevenged, levied so numerous an army, that they promised themselves an easy victory, even without blood. Robert, thinking it dangerous to run the hazard of all in a battle against the mighty power of so great a king, resolved to act with policy rather than force. He accordingly drove all the cattle into the mountains, which were almost inaccessible by the troops; and all other things of service to an army, he caused either to be deposited in fortified places, or rendered useless.

The English, who came thither in hopes of a speedy battle, and had not provisions for a long march, when they perceived what devastation was made in the country, were inflamed with anger, hatred, and the desire of revenge, and resolved to pierce into the midst of Scotland, drag the king out of his recesses, and compel him to fight whether he would or not. For the greatness of Edward's forces encouraged him to hope, that either he should blot out his former disgrace by a splendid victory, or else retrieve the loss he had lately sustained by an extended devastation. With this resolution, he came in an

haste to Edinburgh, sparing churches only in his march; but the farther he went, the greater scarcity he had to experience; so that, in the space of five days, he was forced to retreat. At his return, he spoiled all things, as well sacred as profane. He not only burnt the monasteries of Dryburgh and Melrose, but killed the old monks, whom either weakness, or confidence in their old age, had induced to remain there. As soon as Bruce was informed that Edward had retreated for want of provision, and that disease raged in his army, so that he had lost more men than if he had been overcome in battle, he pursued him very closely with an army, more distinguished for the goodness than the number of the soldiers, and came as far as York, making grievous havoc as he went. He had almost taken the king himself by an unexpected assault at the monastery of Byland, where Edward, in a tumultuary battle, was put to flight, all his equipage, money, and baggage, being taken. John Briton, Earl of Richmond, was here made prisoner, together with a great number of other prisoners of inferior rank. To obliterate the shame of this infamous flight, Andrew Berkeley, earl of Carlisle, was awhile after accused, as if he had been bribed to betray the English; and so he lost his life, in punishment for the cowardice of another man.

The next year, a double embassy was sent, one to the Pope, to reconcile him to the Scots, from whom he had been alienated by the calumnies of the English; and another to renew the ancient league with the French. Both ambassadors easily obtained what they desired; the favour of the Pope was easily obtained when he learnt that the late contention arose from the injurious dealings of Edward the First, who affirmed, "That the King of the Scots ought, as a feudatory, to obey the king of England; though the English had nothing to support their claim but old fables, and late usurpations. Besides, it was proved that the English when they were in prosperity, on being summoned by the Pope, always avoided an equal decision of things, though, in adversity, they were ever humble suitors to him for his aid; while the Scots, on the other hand, were in all cases willing to have their cause settled, and never shunned the determination of an impartial judge, nor the arbitration of any good man. Moreover, they produced many grants and writings of former popes which made for them, and against their enemies, and that the stronger, because the Scots were always present at the time appointed, and the English, though they had notice given them, never came. Upon considering all these circumstances, the Pope was easily reconciled to the Scots, and the French were as easily induced to renew the ancient league with them; only one article was added to the old conditions, "That if any controversy should hereafter arise among the Scots, concerning the successor in the kingdom, the same should be decided by the council of the states; and the French monarch, if need required it, was to assist that person by his authority, and with his arms, who by lawful suffrages should by them be declared king."

Our writers fix the rise of the Hamiltons, now a powerful family in Scotland, in these times. There was a certain nobleman in the court of England, who spoke honourably of the fortune and valour of Bruce; whereupon one of the Spencers, lord of the bedchamber to the king, either thinking that his speech was reproachful to the English, or else to gain favour with the looser sort of the nobility, drew his falchion, and, making at him, gave him a slight wound in the body. The man being of great spirit, felt more concern at the contumely, than at the damage which he had sustained; but was hindered, by the coming in of many to part the fray, from taking present revenge. The day after, however, finding his adversary opportunely in the same place, he ran him through; and fearing the punishment of the law, and the great power of the Spencers at court, fled presently into Scotland to king Robert, who gave him a gracious reception, and some lands, near the river Clyde. His posterity, not long after, were advanced to the degree of nobility; and from him the noblest family of the Hamiltons took their name, which also was imposed on the lands bestowed upon him by the king.

Not long after, Edward had great combustions at home, insomuch that he put many of the nobles to death, and advanced the Spencers, the authors of all evil counsels, higher than his own kindred could bear; so that he was seized by his son, and his wife, who had received a small force from beyond

sea, and kept close prisoner. Not long after <sup>that</sup> was put to a cruel sort of death; an hot iron being thrust into his body, through <sup>the</sup> pipe of horn, by which his bowels were burnt up, and yet no sign of so terrible a fact appeared on the corpse. His wife and son were thought to have been privy to the murder, either because his keepers would never have dared to commit such a deed openly unless they had great authority; or else because they were never called in question for so inhuman a butchery.

The disturbances in England, which followed that king's death, and the infirmities of Bruce, who was now old and weak, were the causes that a peace was kept on foot for some years between the two neighbouring nations. For Bruce, being freed from the fear of the English, and being also called upon by his age, now turned his thoughts entirely to domestic affairs. In the first place he made haste, with the consent and decree of the estates, to settle the kingdom (which was not quite recovered, nor fully secured, from the commotions of former times) upon his only son, who was yet but a child; and in case of his death without issue, Robert Stuart the son of his daughter was declared his successor. For the due observance of this decree he exacted an oath from all the nobles; but fearing lest, after his death, Baliol might renew the old dispute about the inheritance; especially seeing his heir, because of their minority, might be liable to be wronged by others, he sent James Douglas to John, then in France, desiring him, with large gifts and promises, to relinquish his claim. This he did, not so much to acquire a new right, because, according to the Scottish custom, the king is made by the decree of the estates, who have the supreme power in their hands, but that he might cut off all occasion from wicked men, to injure his posterity; and also that he might root out all seeds of sedition. Douglas found Baliol far more compliant than he or others thought he would be; for he was now surrounded with the miseries of extreme old age. He ingenuously confessed that his inordinate ambition was justly punished, and that he was deservedly driven out of the kingdom, as unworthy to reign; and therefore he was pleased that his kinsman Robert enjoyed the crown, by whose high valour, singular felicity, and unwearied industry, it was restored to its ancient splendour; moreover, in this he rejoiced, that they by whom he was deceived, did not enjoy the rewards they promised themselves for their treachery.

When Robert had settled these matters according to his desire, the same year, which according to our writers was 1327, ambassadors were sent to Scotland, by Edward the Third, for a pacification. It appears, however, that in this he acted treacherously by his agents, who, instead of peace, carried home war; but what the particular fraud was, is not expressed, and the English say, that the aggression lay with Robert, though they do not relate the cause of it. That it must needs have been some great and just one, on his side, is very evident, or else a sickly and an infirm old man, when peace was scarcely settled at home, and who might have been satisfied with his former victories, rather than with war, would not so soon have been provoked to a fresh exercise of arms. Thus much is certain, that the king, on account of his age, did not conduct the war himself in person; but Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, the most valiant as well as the wisest men of that age, were sent by him into England, with twenty thousand gallant light horse, and without any foot. The reason was, that they might make rapid excursions, and not abide in any one place, nor be forced to fight the English, unless they had a mind of themselves to venture an engagement. For they knew, that the English would make head against them in their first expedition, with a far more numerous army than their own. Neither were they deceived in their opinion; for the king of England, besides his domestic forces, had procured great assistance of cavalry from Flanders; but these troops and the English happened to fall out at York, so that, as some writers say, they returned home again. Froissart, however, a French writer of the same age, states, that they accompanied the English during the whole expedition; and that, not only for the sake of honour, but also for fear of sedition, they had the next place to the king's regiment always assigned to them in the camp. The king, having made a junction of all his forces, which amounted to more than thirty thousand men, marched against the Scots, who had already crossed the Tyne.

Now, there were two fortified towns on the borders, one nearer Wales, which was Carlisle; and the other about fifty miles lower, called Newcastle. The English had strongly garrisoned both places, to hinder the enemy's passage over the river; but the Scots, knowing where it was fordable, crossed silently without being discovered, and so deceived both the garrisons. When the English came into the bishopric of Durham, from the tops of the hills they might see fires from afar, and then beginning to understand how near their enemy was, they tumultuously called each other to arms, as if they were presently to come to an engagement.

They drew forth their army in a threefold order of battle, and marched directly to the place where they saw the smoke of the fire; the general denouncing a great punishment to him, that, without his leave, should stir from his colours. Thus they fatigued themselves till the evening, and then marked out a place for their camp, in a wood, near a certain river; and there placed their baggage and carriages, which could not so swiftly follow the flying army.

The next day they marched in the same order, but towards evening were forced to abide in their tents, which they had pitched as conveniently as the place would afford, that so the draught-horses, and infantry, might receive a little refreshment. There the nobles came to the king, and deliberated how they should bring the Scots to a battle. The most part were of opinion, that the English foot would never be able to overtake the flying horse of the Scots; and that if they did, they could not compel them to fight, unless in those places which the enemy should judge most convenient for themselves. But because there was such a general devastation, that they could not stay long in a hostile country, they judged it best to pass the Tyne with all their forces, and to intercept the enemy on their return home. Besides, they said that as the country beyond that river, being more level, was fitter to draw up an army in, so all the forces could there be brought more easily into action. This opinion was approved, and the order given to refresh themselves, but to do it as silently as they could, that they might more easily hear the word of command, and the sound of the trumpet; that leaving the baggage behind, every one should carry a loaf each; and that, if the next day they were to fight the enemy, they should wait the event of fortune. So their bodies being refreshed from the weariness of the foregoing day, a little after midnight they took up their arms, and in good order began their march. But the marshes and hills, by which they were to pass, quickly made them break their ranks, and he that could, led the van; the rest followed their steps; and thus their march was in such disorder, that many horses and beasts of burden either stuck in the mud, or else fell down the precipices. Frequently they cried, 'To your arms;' and then all of them, in great trepidation, ran to the place from whence the noise and cry issued, without the least regard to order. But when they came to those who led the van, they understood that the tumult was occasioned by a multitude of stags; which being roused out of the heath by the noise of men, and frightened at their appearance, ran up and down in great confusion, amongst the brigades. At last, about evening, the cavalry alone, without the foot, came to the fords of the Tyne, over which the Scots had passed, and by which they would return, as the English hoped, and at sunset they crossed over; the round and slippery stones, which the river rolls up and down, much incommoding their horses. But they were also troubled with another inconvenience: for few or none of them had any iron tools to cut down a wood with; so that after they had marched twenty-eight miles, they were fain to lie on their arms all night on the bare ground, holding the bridles of their horses in one hand; for they had neither tents, having brought none with them, nor huts, nor so much as stakes to tie their cattle to. Early in the morning, as soon as it was light, there fell such heavy showers of rain, that even small brooks were hardly passable by man or horse; and besides, they were informed by some countrymen, whom they took, that the neighbouring country was so barren and desolate, that no provision was to be had nearer than Newcastle and Carlisle; one twenty-four, and the other thirty miles distant. They sent their draught-horses and servants thither; and, in the mean time, made use of their swords to cut down stakes to secure their cattle with; and some shrubs and small trees to build huts, with the leaves

nuptials of his son, and perceiving that the end of his life was near at hand, he went almost in the habit of a private man. For some years before this, however, all the great affairs of state were managed by Thomas Randolph and James Douglas; while Bruce lived in a small house at Cardross, a place divided from Dumbarton by the river Leven, where he secluded himself from all company, unless when some case of particular necessity demanded his presence. Thither he called some of his friends a little before his death and made his will. He confirmed those as his heirs who were so declared by the convention of estates. First, David his son, being eight years old next, his grandson Robert, by his daughter, he commended to the nobles, and especially to Thomas Randolph, his sister's son, and James Douglas. Afterwards, he settled his household affairs, exhorting all his domestics to maintain concord and unanimity amongst themselves, and to preserve their allegiance to their king; assuring them, that if they did this, they would be unconquerable by any foreign power. Moreover, he is reported to have added three commands; or, if you please, counsels; first, "that they should never make any one man lord of the Western Islands;" next, "that they should never fight the English with all their force at one time;" and, thirdly, "that they should never make with them a very long league." In explanation of his first advice, he discoursed much concerning the number, extent, and poverty of the islands, and of the multitude, fierceness, and hardness of their inhabitants, who, with ships, such as they were, yet not inconvenient for those coasts when contending with men unskilled in maritime affairs, would do great mischief to others, while they received little damage themselves; and therefore, he advised, that governors should yearly be sent thither, to administer justice among them, by officers, who, however, ought not to continue long in their places. His second advice concerning the English, was grounded upon this, that they, as inhabiting a better country, exceeded the Scots in men and money, and all other warlike preparations; by reason of which advantages, they were more accustomed to their ease, and not so patient of labour or difficulty. On the other hand, the Scots being bred in a hardier soil, were by their frugality and continual exercise, of a more healthy constitution of body; and, by the very manner of their education, rendered more capable of enduring military toil, and therefore were fitter for sudden and occasional assaults, so to weaken and weary out their enemy by degrees, than to venture all at once in a pitched battle. His third advice was grounded upon this principle, that if the Scots should have a long peace with the English, they had no other enemy to exercise their arms upon, they would grow lazy, luxurious, and so easily become slothful, voluptuous, effeminate, and imbecile. As for the English, though they had peace with the Scots, yet France was near them, which kept their arms in use; if, then, those who were skilful in warlike affairs should cope with the Scots, thus grown unskilful and sluggish, they might promise to themselves an assured victory. Moreover, he commended to James Douglas the performance of the vow which he had made to go into Syria, and undertake the sacred cause in the holy war, against the common enemy of Christianity. And because he could not himself either on account of the troubles at home, or else through the infirmity of age and disease, fulfil the vow himself, he earnestly desired that Douglas would carry his heart, after his decease, to Jerusalem, that it might be there interred. Douglas looking upon this as an honourable employment, and an eminent testimony of the royal favour towards him, made preparations for his voyage, and the next year after the king's death, set out with a brave and fine company of young noblemen. But on his arrival in Spain, hearing that the king of Arragon was engaged in a fierce war against the same enemy with whom he was going to fight in Syria; and thinking that it signified little in what place he assisted the cause of Christianity, he there landed his men, and joined the Spaniards. After many fortunate encounters, which made him despise the enemy as weak and recreant, he thought of attempting something against them with his own men alone, and so rushing unadvisedly on the army of the Saracens, was drawn by them into an ambush, where he and most of his followers perished. His chief friends who fell with him, were William Sinclair and Robert Legas. This happened in 1330, the next year after the death of the king.

To be brief, Robert Bruce was undoubtedly, in every respect, a great man, and not easily paralleled for virtue and courage, by any since the most heroic times; for as he was very valiant in war, so he was most just and temperate in peace; and though unexpectedly, after fortune was satiated, or rather wearied with his miseries, a continued course of victory rendered him remarkably illustrious; yet in my opinion, he seems to have been much more glorious in his adversities, than his successes. For what a great spirit was that which was neither broken, nor even weakened, by so many calamities as rushed upon him all at once! Whose constancy would it not have tried, to have his wife a prisoner, his four valiant brothers cruelly put to death, and his friends at the same time crushed with every kind of misfortune; so that they who escaped with their lives were exiled, and lost all their estates? As for himself, he was not only deprived of a large patrimony, but of a kingdom also, by the most powerful sovereign of those times, and one who had the greatest presence of mind both in deliberation and action. Though surrounded with all these evils at once, and even brought into extreme exigence, yet he never despaired of recovering the kingdom; nor did he ever do or say any thing which was unbecoming a royal mind. He did not act like Cato the younger, and Marcus Brutus, who laid violent hands on themselves; neither like Marius, who, incensed by his sufferings, let loose the reins of hatred and passion against his enemies. On the contrary, when he had recovered his ancient state and kingdom, he so carried it to those who had put him to great hardship and trouble, that he seemed rather to consider himself as their king, than that he had ever been their enemy. And even a little before his death, though a terrible distemper increased the troubles of his old age, yet had he so much self-possession, as to confirm the present state of the kingdom, and consult the peace and benefit of posterity. On these accounts, therefore, when he died, all men bewailed him, as being deprived not only of a just king, but of a loving father. He departed this life the 9th of July, in the year of Christ 1329, and the 24th of his reign.

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## BOOK IX.

THE nobles of Scotland having performed the funeral obsequies for the late monarch, as soon as they could conveniently, summoned a convention of the estates for the election of a regent, when the inclinations of the public soon pitched upon Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray; and the rather, because, even in the late reign, he had for some years directed the public affairs: and the king at his death recommended him to the people, by his last will and testament.

DAVID II. *the ninety-eighth King, began his Reign A. D. 1330.*

THE coronation of the king was deferred till November the 24th of the following year; that so, by the permission of the pope, he might be anointed, and the new ceremony appear with greater pomp and splendour than usual amongst the Scots. When the regent was chosen, the first thing he did, was to ratify the peace made with the English; after which he applied himself to settle peace at home, and suppress public robberies. In order to this, he kept a strong guard about him, which was ready on all occasions; so that when news was brought him as he was going to Wigton, a town in Galloway, that there was a powerful gang of thieves that infested the highways, and robbed travellers in that country, he sent out his troop against them while he was in progress, who took every man of them, whom he caused to be put to death. He was so inexorable against murderers, that he caused a person to be apprehended, who had lately returned from Rome, where he had obtained the papal bull of pardon for his offence, and thereupon thought himself secure; the regent however, told him, "that the pope might pardon the guilt of the soul, but that the punishment of the body belonged to the king."

To prevent robberies, which were too frequently committed, owing to the remaining contagion of the wars, he made a law, "That the countrymen should leave their iron tools and plough-tackle in the field: neither should they shut their houses or stalls at night; and that if any thing was stolen, the loss was to be repaired by the sheriff of the county, who was to be reimbursed by the king; while the king was to be satisfied out of the estates of the robbers, when they were taken. There was a countryman, who either through excessive covetousness, or judging that caution to be vain and fruitless, hid his ploughshares in the field, and came to the sheriff to demand satisfaction, on the plea that they were stolen; the sheriff paid him presently, but inquiring farther into the matter, and finding that he was the author of the theft himself, caused him to be hanged, and his goods to be forfeited. He restrained players and musicians from wandering up and down the country, under severe penalties. If a person assaulted either a traveller, or a public officer in the discharge of his office, he made it lawful for any one to kill him; so that when thirty assailants were slain by the companions of a public minister at a village called Halidon, he pronounced the fact just, and indemnified the actors. This domestic severity made him as formidable to villains at home, as his valour did to his enemies abroad. And therefore the English, who, upon king Robert's death, watched all occasions to revenge themselves, perceiving that they could attempt nothing by open force as long as Randolph was living, turned their thoughts to secret fraud and stratagem.

The speediest way to be rid of their enemy, seemed to be by poison; nor was there wanting a fit wretch to undertake the deed. This was a certain monk of that class, who are brought up in idleness, and, for want of masters to teach them better, too often pervert a good genius to wicked arts and practices. There were two professions joined in this man, monkery and physic: the first seemed proper to gain him admittance; the second qualified him to perpetrate his villany. Hereupon he came into Scotland, giving out every where, that as he had skill in all other parts of physic, so particularly in curing the stone; by which means he obtained an easy access to the regent, and being employed to relieve him, mixed a slow-working poison with his medicines; and then taking a few days' provisions with him, returned again into England, under the pretext of obtaining more drugs for his purpose. There he made a solemn asseveration before king Edward, that Randolph would die by such a day. In hopes of this, Edward levied a great army, and marching to the borders, found there a considerable body of Scots ready to receive him, not far from his camp; upon which, he sent a trumpeter to them on pretence of demanding a reparation for damages, but in reality to ascertain who commanded the forces. Randolph, finding his disease increase, and that the monk did not return at the time appointed, suspected all things for the worse; yet, dissembling his grief as much as he could, he sat in a chair before his tent royally apparelled, and gave a reply in person to the demands of the herald at arms, as if he had been in perfect health. The messenger, at his return, acquainted the king with what he had seen and heard: upon which the monk was punished as an impostor; and Edward marched back with his army, leaving only a guard on the borders to prevent incursions. As Randolph was hindered from advancing by the violence of his disease, he returned home, disbanded his army, and, at Musselburgh about four miles from Edinburgh, departed this life on the 20th of July, in the year of our Lord 1331, having been regent two years after the death of king Robert. He was a man no way inferior to any of our Scottish kings in valour, and skill in military affairs, and far superior to them in the arts of peace. He left two sons behind him, Thomas and John, who were both worthy of so great a father.

Randolph, guardian of the kingdom, as he was called, being dead, Duncan, earl of Mar, was chosen in his place, on the 2d of August, the king being then ten years old: and on that very day a sad message was brought to court, that on the 31st of July preceding, Edward Baliol was seen in the Frith of Forth, with a numerous fleet. To make all things more plain concerning his coming. I must go a little back. When king Robert died, there was one Laurence

Twice, an Englishman, of the number of those who, having received lands in Scotland, as a reward of their military service, dwelt there. This man, who was of a good family, but of a very wicked life, conceiving hopes of greater liberty, on the death of one king, and the immature age of another, gave himself up most licentiously to unlawful pleasures; so that being often taken in adultery, and admonished by the judge of the ecclesiastical court, yet not desisting, he was at last excommunicated by the official, as they call him, of the bishop of Glasgow. Upon this, as if he had received a great injustice, he interrupted the judge in his progress to Ayr, and kept him a prisoner, till, by the payment of a sum of money, he gave him absolution. Twice being informed that James Douglas was extremely incensed against him for this fact, and sought to have him punished, fled, to avoid his power, into France, and there addressed himself to Edward Baliol, son of John, who had been formerly king of Scotland, informing him of the state of affairs in that country, and withal advising him not to omit so fair an opportunity of recovering his father's crown. "For," said he, "their king is now but a child, and hath more enemies than friends about him, ready to revenge the wrongs done them by his father." He added, "that the parents of some were slain in a public convention at Perth, others were banished, and lost their estates; many were punished with the loss of part of their domains; besides which, several of English extraction, who were deprived of the possessions given them by his father, would, no doubt, be his companions in the expedition; nay, he said there were men enough of both kingdoms needy and criminal, who, either for hope of gain, or to avoid the punishment of the laws, or desirous of change and innovation, wanted nothing but a leader to begin a disturbance. Moreover, he observed, the death of James Douglas who was killed in Spain, and the sickness of Randolph, rendering him unfit for the government, there was not a man besides, to whom the giddy and divided multitude would so soon submit as to him."

Baliol knowing that what he had spoken was for the most part true, and hearing that Edward, king of England was about to send great forces into Scotland, was easily persuaded by the crafty knave, though of himself he was desirous enough of empire and glory, to get what ships he could together, and so bear a part in that expedition. But before the coming of Baliol into England, Edward had disbanded his army; notwithstanding which, the exiled Scots, and those English who had been dispossessed of their lands in that kingdom, flocked to his standard, by which means he made up no inconsiderable army. Some say, that he had but six hundred men when he undertook this great enterprise; which however seems not very probable. I rather think their opinion is more agreeable to truth, who say, that the English assisted him with six thousand foot. And they were all more encouraged, whilst they were making their preparations for this expedition, when they heard that Randolph was dead; which event they considered as a good omen of their future success. With this fleet Baliol came to Kinghorn, and there landed his forces on the 1st day of August. The Scottish troops were commanded by David Cumin, formerly Earl of Athol, and by Moubray and Beaumont; and the forces of the English by Talbot. On the news of the arrival of this fleet, Alexander Seton, a nobleman, who happened to be in those parts at that time, strove to oppose them, thinking that, upon their disorderly landing, some opportunity of service might be offered; but as few of the country people came in to him, he and most of his men were cut off. Baliol allowed his soldiers a few days to refresh themselves after their troublesome voyage; and then marching directly towards Perth, pitched his tents by the water-mills, not far from the water of Earn. The regent was beyond, and Patrick Dunbar on this side the river, each of them with great forces, their camps being five miles distant one from another. Baliol, though, upon the coming in of many to him on the report of his good success, made up an army of above 10,000 men; yet, fearing to be crushed between two powerful armies, thought it best to attack them severally. Accordingly, he resolved to begin with Mar the regent; because it was likely that he, being most remote, would be less vigilant, and more liable to be taken by surprise. He got Andrew Murray, of Tallibardine, to be his guide; who, not caring to join



himself openly with the English, in the night fastened and stuck up a pole or stake in the river, where it was fordable, to shew Baliol's men the way over. Then, being covered by the woods which grew on the other side the river, they came near the enemy before they were aware; especially as it was understood that they kept but a thin watch and slender guard, and passed the night without the least apprehension of a foe. Availing themselves of this negligence, they marched by the camp in great silence, thinking to make an assault on the farthest part of it, where it was supposed they should find them wholly secure. But it happened, that, in the very quarter where they presumed the greatest negligence was, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, Murdo earl of Monteith, and Alexander Fraser, kept guard. These men, getting a strong company of their friends together, received the first charge and onset of the enemy very valiantly upon the edge of a ditch, which had been made by the falling of the rain. In the mean time, a great noise and tumult arose in the camp, each one hastening to his arms, and rushing into the battle; but so rashly, disorderly, and without their colours, that they broke the ranks of their own men, who were enduring the brunt of the assailants; thus the last pushing on the first, fell both miserably into the ditch, where many were killed by the enemy, but more, both of horse and men, were pressed to death by the fall; and the most part were so weakened, that they had hardly strength enough left either to fight or fly. There fell of the Scots three thousand; and several of those who escaped fled towards Perth, but being few, and generally without arms or guides, they were easily taken by the English, as well as the town itself.

The next day, Dunbar, hearing of the overthrow of the other army, and of the capture of Perth; but being informed, at the same time, of the small number of the English forces, marched directly towards the town, with intent to besiege it, and destroy the enemy whilst they were yet destitute of all things. but on debating the matter with his chief officers, each excused himself, and so they departed without effecting any thing. Baliol, having achieved such great things in so short a time, and beyond his expectation, began to consider how to gain over the rest of the Scots, by favour or force. Here also he was very successful, and, in a short time, such a vast concourse of people gathered about him, that he thought it a proper opportunity to declare himself king. This design was the more feasible, inasmuch as the greatest part of the slaughter had fallen upon the families adjoining to Perth. There were killed in the field, besides the regent, Robert Keith, with a great number of his tenants and relations; and there also fell eighty of the family of the Lindsays, amongst whom was Alexander their chief. The name of the Hays would, likewise, have been quite extinct by this battle, had not William, the head of the house, left his wife pregnant. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, and Murdo earl of Monteith, William Sinclair bishop of the Caledonians, and Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife, were taken prisoners; who, being in such a desperate condition, were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the victor.

*EDWARD BALIOL, the ninety-ninth King, began his reign A. D. 1332.*

Baliol, taking advantage of his present fortune, repaired to the neighbouring abbey of Scone, and there entered upon the kingdom, on the 25th of August, in the year of our Lord 1332. Though by this wound the power of David Bruce was much weakened in Scotland; yet his friends were not broken in their spirits by this calamity, but took care to secure him from the dangers of war, as he was not fit to undertake the government. For this reason they sent him and his wife to the friend of his father, Philip king of France, to be there out of danger. In the mean time, they prepared themselves for all events, being resolved either to die honourably, or restore their country to its former state. For this purpose, they, in the first place, set up Andrew Murray, a person of illustrious quality, son of the sister of Robert Bruce, as regent, in the place of Duncan; then they sent messengers throughout the kingdom, partly to confirm and fix their old friends, and partly to spur up the more remiss to the resolution of revenging their wrongs. The first who took arms, as being excited by their grief for the loss of their parents and relations at Duplin, were Robert Keith, and James and Simon Fraser,

who, about the middle of September, invested Perth; which siege, though it lasted longer than they expected, ended, at the expiration of three months, in the surrender of the place. Macduff, earl of Fife, who held the town for Baliol, was sent prisoner, with his wife and children, to Kildrummy, a castle in Mar; and Andrew Murray, of Tullibardine, who discovered the ford over the river Earn to the English, was put to death. The Black Book of Paisley says, that the walls of the town were demolished; which seems more probable to me, than that it should be made a garrison, as others relate; especially since there were then very few men faithful or brave enough for such a trust.

At this time Baliol was in Annandale, very busy in receiving the homage of the nobility, who were so much surprised and astonished at the sudden change of things, that even Alexander Bruce, lord of Carrick and Galloway, despairing of retrieving his kinsman David's affairs, came in and joined the conqueror. After this success, Baliol despised his enemy, and became negligent; of which, when the regent heard by his spies, he sent round Archibald Douglas, brother of James who was killed in Spain, informing his friends that if there were any opportunity for action, he should lay hold of it. Accordingly, taking with him William Douglas, earl of Lithsdale, John Randolph, the son of Thomas, and Simon Fraser, with a thousand horse, he came to Moffat; where having sent out scouts to see that the coast was clear, he marched in the night, and fell upon the camp of the new king so suddenly, that the army was put into a fright and consternation; while Baliol himself, roused from his sleep, was fain to get upon a horse, half naked, neither bridled nor saddled, and so fled away. Many of his intimate friends were killed; and Alexander Bruce was taken prisoner, but obtained his pardon by the means of his kinsman, John Randolph. Henry Baliol gained great credit on this occasion, by his valor from both parties; for, in the slight and confusion, he defended his person, upon whom the pursuers pressed closely; wounded a great many, and killed some of his enemies, and was afterwards slain himself, fighting bravely to the last. There fell, also, the chief of the English faction, John Moubray, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirk. This action was fought on the 25th of December, in the year 1332.

The party of Bruce were somewhat raised by these successes, so that they came in great numbers to Andrew Murray, the regent, to consult what was to be done. They made no doubt but that Baliol sought the kingdom, not for himself, but for the English, by whom he was guided and influenced in every thing. For this reason they reckoned the king of England their enemy; and accordingly prepared all things necessary for war, with great diligence, as against a very powerful foe. They strongly fortified the garrison of Berwick, because they believed the English would attack that place first. They made Alexander Seton, a very worthy knight, governor of the town, and to Patrick Dunbar they gave the command of the castle, with the adjoining precincts. William Douglas, earl of Lithsdale, whose valour and prudence entitled him to high praise in those times, was sent into Annandale, to defend the western coasts; while Andrew Murray advanced to Roxburgh, where Baliol kept himself. Thus their several governments being distributed at home, John Randolph was sent into France to wait upon David, and make an address to king Philip, informing him of the state of Scotland, and desiring of him some aid against the common enemy. Murray, when he came to Roxburgh, had a sharp encounter with Baliol, at a bridge without the town; but in pressing too eagerly after the English, who were retreating over the bridge into the place, he was separated from his own men and taken prisoner; by which means he lost a victory, after having nearly secured it.

At the same time, in another part of the country, William Douglas of Lithsdale, in a battle with the English, was wounded and made prisoner; which disaster so troubled his men, that they were put to flight. This inconstancy of fortune divided Scotland again into two factions, according as love, hatred, hope, fear, or private interest, inclined men. The king of England presuming that these dissensions gave him a fit opportunity to seize upon Scotland, received Baliol under his protection, he being too weak to support himself by his own strength. But, first, he exacted an oath of obedience from him; and then, regardless of his bond of affinity with Bruce, having no respect to the

sanctity of leagues, or the religion of an oath, so that he might satisfy his boundless ambition, he declared war against the Scots, who were at that time destitute of a king, and at variance amongst themselves. To give a colourable plea of justice to this hostility, he sent ambassadors to demand Berwick, which town his father and grandfather had held many years; and he presently followed up his requisition with an army. The Scots replied to the English king, "That Berwick always belonged to their country, till his grandfather, Edward, injuriously seized it; and that, at length, when Robert Bruce, their last king, recovered the rest of Scotland, he took that town from the late king Edward, and reduced it to its ancient rightful possessors and form of government; and that not long ago, Edward himself, by the advice of his parliament, had renounced all right, which he or his ancestors might pretend to have over Scotland in general, or to any of its towns and places in particular. From that time, they were not conscious to themselves that they had done any thing against the league which had been solemnly sworn to and confirmed by the alliance of a marriage; why, therefore, within the compass of a few years, were they twice assaulted by secret fraud and open war? These things being so, they desired the ambassadors to incline the mind of their king to equity, and that he would not watch his opportunity to injure and wrong a young king in his absence, who was both innocent, and also his own sister's husband: as for themselves, they would refuse no conditions of peace, provided they were honourable; but if Edward threatened them with an unjust war, then, according to the tutelage of the king committed to them, they were resolved rather to die a noble death, than consent to a peace prejudicial to themselves or the kingdom." Such was the answer of the council of Scotland.

The king of England, however, sought not peace, but conquest; and therefore, having increased his army, which was already large, with foreign troops, he besieged Berwick by sea and land, omitting nothing to facilitate the capture; for, having a vast number of forces, he gave the enemy no rest either by night or day; nor were the besieged backward on their side, for they sallied out upon the English every day with boldness and intrepidity. They also threw fire into their ships which lay in the river, and burnt many of them. In these skirmishes, William Seton, the governor's natural son, was lost, much lamented by all, on account of his singular valour; for, whilst he endeavoured to leap into an English ship, his own being driven too far off by the waves, he fell into the sea, and was drowned. Another son of Alexander, but legitimate in too great eagerness, proceeded so far in a sally, that he was taken by the English. The siege, which began the 13th of April, had now lasted three months; and the garrison, besides their toil and continual watchings, became straitened for want of provisions; so that the town, unable longer to hold out, made an agreement with the English, that, unless relieved by the 30th of July, it should be surrendered up; for performance of which, Thomas Seton, the eldest son of the governor, was given as a hostage.

Whilst these things were transacting at Berwick, the Scots called an assembly to consult about their affairs; and, since the regent was prisoner at Roxburgh, that they might not be without a leader, they chose Archibald Douglas as captain-general; besides which they also voted, that he should have an army to march into England, that, by ravaging the neighbouring counties, he might draw off the king of England from the siege. Douglas, according to this order, marched towards England; but hearing of the agreement which Alexander Seton had made, he changed his mind; and advanced, though against the advice of his wisest officers, directly against the English, with whom, on the eve of St. Mary Magdalene, he came in sight, and was seen both by friends and enemies. The king of England, though the day was not come wherein it was agreed that the town should be surrendered, yet, when he saw the Scottish forces so near, sent a herald into the town, to acquaint the governor, that unless he presently surrendered up his garrison, he would put his son Thomas to death. The governor alleged, that the day appointed for the surrender was not yet come, and that he had given his faith to stay till the time allowed by their agreement was expired; but all was in vain. Hereupon love, pity, fear, and duty towards his country, variously exercised

his paternal and afflicted soul; while the English, to drive the terror more home, set up a gallows in a place easily visible to the besieged, whither the king caused the governor's two sons, one a hostage, and the other a prisoner of war, to be brought forth to execution. At this miserable spectacle the governor was in the most dreadful perplexity imaginable; but amidst the fluctuation of his mind, his wife, the mother of the young men, who was a woman of masculine spirit, came to him, and put him in mind of the fidelity which he owed to his king, the love due to his country, and the dignity of his noble family. Upon all these grounds she endeavoured to settle his wavering mind, saying, "If these children are put to death, you have others remaining alive; and, besides, we are neither of us so old but we may have more. If they escape death now, it will not be long, till by some sudden casualty, or else through age, they must yield to fate; but if any blot of infamy should attach to the family of the Setons, it would remain to all posterity, and be an indelible blemish even to their innocent offspring." She farther told him, "That she had often heard those men much commended, by the discourses of the wise, who had given up themselves and their children as a sacrifice for the salvation of their country; but that if he should deliver the town committed to his charge, he would betray his trust, and be never more certain of the lives of his children either; for how could he hope that a tyrant, who violated his faith now, would stand to his word for the future; and therefore she entreated him not to prefer an uncertainty, and even though it could be obtained, a momentary advantage, to a certain and perpetual ignominy." By this discourse she somewhat settled his mind; and, that he might not be shocked by so dismal a spectacle, she took him to another place, from whence the tragedy could not possibly be seen. The English king, after inflicting the threatened judgment, which was far from being agreeable to some of his own people, removed his camp to Halidon Hill, near Berwick, and there waited the approach of the enemy.

Douglas, who before would not hearken to the advice of his grave counsellors, in respect to the plundering of the English counties, and endeavouring to raise the siege, was now inflamed with implacable rage; and withal promising, that if, after the perpetration of so horrible a wickedness, almost before his eyes, he should retreat without a battle, it might be said that he was afraid of his adversary, therefore, resolved to fight at any rate, and so marched directly towards the enemy. When he had stood a good while in battle-array, and the English kept their ground, refusing to come down into the plain, he placed all the Scots below them on the side of the same hill. This rash project had a suitable event; for as, with great difficulty, they were mounting the acclivity, the enemy with their darts, and by rolling down stones, wounded them terribly before they came to personal combat; and when they got up to the summit, rushed upon them in such close bodies, that they tumbled them headlong down the steep precipices. There fell that day about ten, but some say fourteen, thousand of the Scots; and almost all those of the superior order, who had escaped in the unhappy battle of Daplin, were lost in this. The chief of them, whose names are recorded, were the general, Archibald himself, James, John, and Alan Stewart, uncles to Robert the Second, who reigned next after the line of Bruce; Hugh, Kenneth, and Alexander Bruce, who wore the several and respective earls of Ross, Sutherland, and Carrick; Andrew, John, and Simon, three brothers of the Frasers. This overthrow of the Scots happened on St. Mary Magdalene's day, in the year 1333.

After this fight, all relief being despaired of, Alexander Seton surrendered the town of Berwick to the English, and Patrick Dunbar the castle, upon condition that they should march out with all their goods. But both of them were forced to swear fealty to the English; and Patrick Dunbar was further required to rebuild the castle of Dunbar at his own charge, having demolished it that it might not be a receptacle to the English. Edward having staid there a few days, committed the town to the management of the war to the care of Baliol, while he retired himself into his own kingdom, leaving Edward Tolbot in Scotland, a man of great quality and prudence, with a few English forces, to assist Baliol in reducing the rest of the country; which, indeed,

seemed no great matter to accomplish, since almost all the nobility were now extinct; and, of the few that remained, some came in to the conqueror, and others retired either into desert, or else fortified places. The garrisons which remained faithful to David were very few; as on this side the Forth, an island in a loch, whence the river Down flows, but scarcely large enough to bear a moderate castle; and Dumbarton beyond the Forth, a castle situated in Loch Leven; and also Kildrummy and Urquhart.

The next year ambassadors came from the pope, and Philip king of France to end the disputes between the kings of Britain. The English were so elevated with the prosperous course of their affairs, that their monarch would not so much as admit the envoys into his presence; for he thought that the hearts of the Scots were now so depressed, and their strength so broken, that for the future they neither durst venture, nor were able, to rebel. But this great tranquillity was soon changed into a most dreadful war, and that upon a very slight occasion, where it was least expected, even a difference amongst the English themselves at Perth. John Moubray had lands given to his ancestors in Scotland, by Edward I.; and, after losing them in the various changes of the times, he recovered them again when Edward Baliol became king. He dying without male issue, Alexander, their uncle, commenced a suit against his nieces, the daughters of Moubray, for the lands. The claims of the young women were defended by Henry Beaumont, who had married one of them; and Richard Talbot, and David Cumin, earl of Athol, both of the English faction. Baliol took part with Alexander, and adjudged the lands to him; which so offended his adversaries, that they openly complained of the injustice of the decree; and seeing that their complaints availed nothing, they left the court, and went every one to his own home. Talbot, on setting out for England, was apprehended, and carried to Dumbarton; but Beaumont garrisoned Dundarg, a strong castle of Buchan, and took possession not only of the lands which were in controversy, but also of all the neighbouring country. Cumin went into Athol, where he fortified some convenient places and prepared to defend himself by force, in case of his being attacked. Baliol now became so much alarmed by this conspiracy of such potent persons, that he altered his decree, and gave the estates in question to Beaumont; at the same time reconciling Cumin, by assigning to him many fertile lands, which belonged to Robert Stuart, the next king. Alexander being concerned at this injurious affront, associated with Andrew Murray, regent of the Scots, who had lately obtained his liberation from the English by paying a large ransom. These things took place at different periods, yet I have put them together, that the order of the narrative might not be interrupted.

In the mean time, Baliol, in another part of the country, attacked all the forts about Renfrew: some of which he took, others he battered down and demolished. Having settled matters there according to his mind, he sailed over to the island of Bute, and there fortified the castle of Rothsay, of which he made Alan Lisle governor, whom he had before constituted chief justice. He made diligent search after Robert Stuart, grandchild of Robert Bruce his daughter, to put him to death; but he, with the assistance of William Heriot and John Gilbert, was conveyed over in a small boat to the continent on the other side, where horses stood ready for him, which carried him to Dumbarton, to Malcolm Fleming, the governor of that castle. Baliol having disposed things in Bute, at his return took Dunoon, a castle seated in Coull on the adjacent continent; whereupon the nobility of the vicinity were struck with such terror, that they almost all submitted to him. Marching from thence the next spring, he bent all his efforts against the castle of Loch Leven, but the work going on too slowly, he left John Stirling, a powerful knight of his party, to conduct the siege, with whom he joined Michael Arnot, David Wemyss, and Richard Melvin, with part of his army. They built a fort over against the castle, where the passage was narrowest, and having tried all ways to subdue it by force, without being able to accomplish their object, on account of the vigorous resistance made by Alan Vipont and James Lamb, inhabitants of St. Andrew's, at last they endeavoured to drown it, by stopping up the current of the river; for the Leven goes out from the lake or loch by a narrow inlet, and an open rock. This place they endeavoured to stop up

by making a wall, or bank, of stones and heaps of earth piled one upon another; but the work proceeded very slowly, because, as the heat increased the labourers, so the brooks which flowed into the lake were then almost dry; and the water being spread abroad, increased but moderately. By this means the siege was lengthened out to the month of July, when there was a holiday kept in remembrance of St. Margaret, formerly queen of Scotland; on which day there used to be a great concourse of merchants at Dunfermline, where the body of that saint is reported to have been buried. Thither went John Stirling with a great part of his men; some for trading, and some for religion, leaving the camp and wall but slenderly guarded, because they thought themselves perfectly secure from the enemy; knowing that none of the opposite party were in the neighbourhood, except the few who were shut up in the castle. But the besieged being made acquainted with the absence of Stirling, and the weakness of his camp, as soon as the evening came, boated the battering engines which they had before prepared to pierce the wall; and whilst the watch was asleep, made many holes in it in several places.

The water having gained some small passages, widened the orifices by degrees, and at last broke forth with such a violence, that it tumbled down all that was before it; overflowing the plains, and carrying away tents, buts, men half asleep, and horses, with a terrible noise into the sea. Those who were in the vessels, by running with a great shout upon the affrighted soldiers, added new terror to the rest; so that upon such a double surprise, every man thought of nothing but how to save himself. Thus shifting, they fled in different directions, and left all to the enemy. Alan, at his leisure, carried into the castle not only the spoils of their camp, but the provisions also, which had been prepared for a long siege. In another sally which the garrison made against the guards who were at Kinross, they had equal success; the enemy being routed and taken, and the siege raised.

About the same time that these things were transacting in Fife, the English entered Scotland in great force, both by sea and land. But when the ships came into the Forth, their admiral struck upon the rocks, and the rest were in great distress; so that they returned home with greater loss than booty. The land-forces, however, penetrated as far as Glasgow, where Edward called a council of his own faction, and finding that there was neither general nor army on foot of the contrary party, he thought his presence no longer necessary; so that he returned into England, taking Baliol with him, whom he somewhat distrusted, leaving David Cumin, earl of Athol, to command in Scotland. He first of all seized upon the large estates of all the Stuarts, which contained Bute, Arran, the lands of Renfrew, and a great part of Kyle and Cunningham; he also confirmed Alan Lisle in the office of chief justice of Bute, which post some call sheriff, others seneschal; and he enjoined the neighbouring countries to obey him. Then he marched himself into another part of the country, where he reduced the counties of Buchan and Murray; and though he was now grown almost beyond the rate of a private man, yet he issued all his proclamations and public edicts in the name of the two kings, Edward and Baliol.

At this time there was not one person in Scotland that durst acknowledge the sovereign title of Bruce, except a few idle boys who would sometimes do so out of mere sport and pastime. Notwithstanding this, Robert Stuart, who then lay private in Dumbarton, judging that something might be attempted in the absence of Cumin, made the Campbells, a powerful family in Argyll, acquainted with his project. Colin, the chief of them, accordingly met him, with about four thousand men, at Dunoon, a castle in Cowal, which he soon surprised. Upon this rumour, the islanders of Bute, who were divided from it only by a narrow sea, rose, and hastened to join their old masters. Alan Lisle having collected what force he could to prevent their march, these poor people, who for the most part were unarmed, and had assembled rather in a fit of passion than through any judicious counsel, being struck with a sudden terror, ran to the next hill, where they took shelter amidst a great number of stones, which they converted into weapons, and threw down like showers of hailstones upon their enemies. As their numbers were few, the others treated them with contempt, and pushed forward to dislodge them, but met with such a rude

reception, that they were glad to retreat without coming into close combat. As they retired, the islanders pressed upon them so furiously, that the most valiant of their enemies, with Alan Lisle himself, were killed, and John Gilbert, governor of the castle of Bute, was taken prisoner; so that the victors armed many of their own men with the spoils of the slain. This extraordinary, and not so bloody, conquest was followed by the surrender of the castle of Bute. When the noise of these things was spread abroad, Thomas Bruce, earl of Carrick, with his neighbours and allies, out of Kyle and Cunningham; as also William Carruther of Annandale, who always had withstood the government of the English, with his friends and kinsmen, came from their retreat, and joined Stuart John Randolph, earl of Murray, returning at this time from France, gave some hopes of foreign assistance; whereupon, being encouraged to greater enterprises, they collected an army, with the aid of Godfrey Bosa, sheriff of Ayr, and in a short time drew all Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham to their side. The people of Renfrew, likewise, came in of their own accord to associate with their old masters, the Stuarts; while the vassals of Andrew Murray following their example, drew the rest of Clydesdale to the same cause. Their confidence being increased by such a happy beginning, that there might be some form of an executive government among themselves, they called together the chief of their party, and constituted two regents, namely, Robert Stuart, who, though a young man, had, in lesser expeditions, given signal marks of his love to his country; and John Randolph, a person worthy of his father and brother, who were both eminent patriots. Randolph being sent with a strong party into the northern countries, there flocked to him all those who were weary of the heavy yoke of the English; inasmuch that David Cumin, being amazed at the instability and change of men's minds, fled to Loehaber, followed by Randolph, who drove him into a corner, where, being in great want of provisions, he was forced to yield. Upon his swearing fealty to Bruce, however, he was dismissed by the conqueror, who gave so much credit to his promises, that, at his departure, he made him his deputy; nor was he wanting in a show of zeal for the cause which he now espoused. In the mean time, Randolph, returning into Lothian, joined his old friend William Douglas, who being released, and lately come out of England, sufficiently revenged his long imprisonment by a great slaughter of his enemies. Andrew Murray, who had been taken prisoner at Roxburgh, likewise returned; so that, having officers enough, the regent called an assembly at Perth, to be held on the first day of April; where, however, though abundance of the nobility met together, they were not able to effect any thing, owing to the great feud betwixt William Douglas and David Cumin. The alleged cause of this contention was, that Cumin had been the means of preventing the earlier liberation of Douglas by the English. Stuart favoured Cumin, but almost all the rest stood up for Douglas. Cumin maintained, that he came with a more than ordinary train to the assembly, on account of this difference; and, indeed, he brought so many of his friends and tenants along with him, that he became formidable to all the rest; and besides his disposition, which was restless and mutable, his great capacity, and the report of the coming of the English, with whom every one knew that Athol would join, increased their suspicions of him. Not long after, Edward actually invaded Scotland with great forces, both by sea and land, bringing Baliol along with him; and while his fleet, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail, entered the Forth, he marched himself by land, spoiling the country as he went along, till he came to Perth, where he waited for Cumin. In the mean time, Randolph went to John, the chief of the Western isles; but not being able to draw him to his party, he was content, in so troublesome a posture of affairs, to make a truce with him for some months; after this, returning to Robert, the other regent, he found him dangerously sick; so that, in this critical period, all the burden seemed to be cast upon his shoulders. Under these circumstances, he durst not fight the English in a set battle, but divided his force, in order to harass them by parties. Hearing, also, that a strong body of Flemings, from Gueldres, was coming on the march to join the English in Scotland, he waited for their arrival on the borders; where also Patrick, earl of March, and William Douglas, of Liddesdale, met him, together with Alexander Ramsay, one of the most

experienced soldiers of that age. All these waited for the foreign troops in the fields near Edinburgh; and, as soon as they came in sight of each other, the action began immediately; but after a short conflict, the foreigners were overcome, and fled to the next hill, where there was an old ruinous castle; so that the next day, having no provision, they surrendered themselves, on condition of having their lives spared. Randolph, out of respect to Philip of Valois, who was their singular good friend, as was then said, did not only freely release them, but accommodated them with provisions for their march; and even undertook to be their convoy; but, on the way, he was taken by the English party in an ambuscade, and so brought to the king, who was then besieging Perth with a powerful army.

At the same time, David Cumin, who guided all his counsels according to the inclinations of fortune, being glad of the distress of his enemy, came to the king of England, and promised that, in a very short time, he would drive all the adherents of Bruce out of the kingdom; and, in truth, he was active enough in performing his promise. For Perth being surrendered, and its walls demolished, the king prepared to return to England, because the supplies for his army came in but slowly; all the Scots, upon notice of his coming, having driven their cattle to the mountains; while they conveyed their other provisions to remote places of strength, or utterly spoiled them. Nor did the fleet, on which the king most relied for bread to support his army, render him much relief. For as soon as it arrived in the Forth, and had destroyed a monastery of religion in the isle of Inchcolm, while riding at anchor in the open sea, it became much distressed by a tempestuous storm, so that a few of the ships only could get to Inchkeith, a desolate island near adjoining, the rest being driven off by the winds. As soon as they could recover themselves, they imputed the cause of the tempest to St. Columba, because they had, through avarice, cruelly destroyed his monastery: on which account, whatever plunder they had gained, they carried it thither as an expiation of their offence; neither was any memorable act performed by that fleet the whole year.

Though these causes combined to make the king of England think of his return, he was principally impelled to hasten it by his inclination to a war with France. Accordingly, he marched back his army, taking Baliol with him, but leaving Cumin behind, as agent, to put an end to the Scottish troubles, which were now considered as drawing to a close. Cumin, to ingratiate himself with both kings, and revenge himself on his enemy, was exceedingly cruel in his proceedings; which severity of his was the more resented, as he had so very lately and easily himself obtained his pardon, when he was reduced to the lowest ebb. There were scarcely above three of all the Scottish nobility, whom either promises could entice, or dangers compel, to submit to the English yoke; namely, Patrick, earl of March, Andrew Murray, and William Douglas. These chiefs, joining their forces, marched to Kildrummy forest, against Cumin, who was besieging Kildrummy castle; and with him they had a sharp conflict. Cumin was more in number, and had almost surrounded his enemies, but the coming in of John Craig, governor of the castle, with three hundred fresh men, decided the business, and gave, to the party of Bruce, a complete victory. The most valiant of Cumin's army were killed, either in the action or pursuit; many saved themselves in a neighbouring castle, called Cameron, belonging to Robert Menzies; but, as there were but provisions for so great a number, and the place was small, the next day it surrendered, and the defendants, upon their submission, confirmed by an oath, were pardoned. There fell in this battle, besides the general himself, Robert Brady and Walter Cumin, two of his intimate friends; while Thomas, his brother, being taken prisoner, was the next day beheaded.

Upon this victory, Randolph being a prisoner, and Stuart sick, the name, as well as the power of regent was conferred on Andrew Murray, by military consent. For, when letters came from the king of France, concerning a truce, the nobles of the party of Bruce being met to receive them, unanimously agreed to restore that former honour to Murray, of which his calamitous misfortunes had deprived him. He, after the truce for a few months had expired, laid siege to the castle of Lochindore, which was held by the wife of David Comyn. That lady, foreseeing what would happen, implored succour of the



English, who shortly after landed some forces in Murray, and raised the siege. They also pushed as far as Elgin, a town situated by the river Lossie, wasting the country as they went with fire and sword. In their progress to Perth, they burnt Aberdeen, and garrisoned the castles throughout Mearns, Dunnottar, Kineff, and Lauderston. They also compelled the six adjoining monasteries to repair the walls of Perth, which were demolished, and then committing the affairs of Scotland to Edward Baliol, who was now returned, they went back to England. On their departure, and the low condition of the Scots, Henry Beaumont thought it a fit opportunity for him to rise and revenge the death of his son-in-law, the earl of Athol; and accordingly he slew, without distinction, and in a cruel manner, all that he could take, who had been in the fight of Kilblane. Andrew Murray closely besieged him in Dundarg, and, having forced him to surrender, upon taking his oath that he would return no more into Scotland in a hostile manner, dismissed him safely. Then, by a continued course of victory, he took all the strong fortresses on the farther side of the Forth, except the castle of Cupar, and the town of Perth, and, after expelling the garrisons, wholly demolished them. He next entered England, where he obtained great booty, and thus somewhat relieved the spirits of his soldiers, who had suffered much through want in their own country. For as Scotland had been harassed that year by the ravages of war, and wasted by the daily incursions of both parties, the fields lay untilled, and there was such a famine, that the English were forced to quit the strong castle of Cupar for want of provisions. A Scottish seaman, who had been ill-treated by them, being employed to transport the garrison by night to Lothian, debarked them upon a bank of sand, which was bare when the tide was out. Thinking it had been the main land, they went a little way, and then met the sea again, which made them call out for the vessel to return, but in vain, and every man perished.

The next year, or 1337, the English besieged the castle of Dunbar, which was defended by Agnes, wife of the earl of March, commonly surnamed the Black, a woman of masculine spirit. The siege, which was conducted by the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, lasted longer than was expected, so that two supplies were sent into Scotland to relieve Baliol; the one conveyed by Montfort, and the other by Richard Talbot. Lawrence Preston overtook Montfort, killed him in battle, and routed his army; but he died himself soon after, of the wounds he received; which caused his soldiers to avenge the loss of their general on the unhappy captives, whom they inhumanly put to death. Talbot was also taken prisoner by William Keith, and his army routed; notwithstanding which, the operations against Dunbar were still continued, and as all access by sea was cut off by the English, the besieged were driven to a great want of provision, that the place must have surrendered, had not Alexander Ramsay, by a seasonable and bold attempt, relieved it. In the dead of the night, he sailed by the watch, which, in Genoese galleys, kept the sea-coast, and came up to the castle, where he landed forty men, with a great quantity of provisions. Having effected this, he joined part of the garrison with his own men, and came so suddenly in the dark upon the English guard, that he made a great slaughter amongst them; for they little expected a sally from an enemy, whom they looked upon as almost conquered. After achieving this exploit, he, the next night, returned back as securely as he came. Thus, at the end of six months, the siege of Dunbar was raised; Edward recalling his forces for the prosecution of the French war, after they had greatly fatigued themselves, and tried every means to become masters of the place.

Andrew Murray, seeing that his country was now almost wholly freed from invaders, attempted to reduce Stirling and Edinburgh, but was obliged to depart from both without taking either; however, he subdued all Lothian, and brought it under the king's authority. In the mean time, to give his wearied mind a little relaxation, he went to see his lands and possessions beyond the mountains, where he died; and was buried at Rosemark, much lamented and respected by all good men; for, during the two years and a half that he was at the helm of affairs, he performed such great actions, as might seem sufficient for the whole life of one of the greatest generals in the world.

After him, Stuart was made regent till the return of David out of France.

and though but a young man, he gained, that year, the advantage over the English in many light skirmishes. These encounters were conducted by William Douglas, who ran great hazard of his life, and was often wounded; yet he drove the English out of Teviotdale: besides which, he took the castle of Hermitage in Liddesdale, and after surprising a great store of provision belonging to the enemy at Melrose, he fortified that place. He had such a sharp and obstinate combat with Barclay, that the latter, with but three in his company, escaped with difficulty under cover of the night. He also overthrew the forces of John Stirling in a bloody attack, yet shortly after he had a narrow chance of being taken by him; but recovering himself at the close of a fierce engagement, he put Stirling to flight, slew thirty of his companions, and took forty others prisoners. He so pressed upon William Abernethy, by whom he had been defeated five times in one day, that before night he slew all his men, and brought him away prisoner. He was equally successful in conquering Laurence Vaux, who was a very powerful enemy. At length, he went over to king David in France, to acquaint him with the state of Scottish affairs. The next year, which was 1339, Stuart, hoping to pursue his good fortune, levied an army, and, dividing it into four parts, endeavoured to reduce Perth; but the English defended it so valiantly, that he was wounded, and forced to retreat. After the place had been invested three months, and the besiegers almost despaired of success, Douglas came to their assistance, bringing with him five pirate ships that he had hired, and in which were some soldiers, and engines of war. Part of the men were landed, but the rest were sent in their ships, to secure the mouth of the river Tay. Douglas himself went to recover the castle of Cupar: which, after being deserted by the English, was seized by the Scots, and William Bullock, an English priest, who was also treasurer, made governor. Douglas agreed with him, that he should have lands in Scotland, if he would come over to his party; which he was the more easily persuaded to do, because he could expect no aid from England, and did not much confide in the Scots who were in garrison with him. This man proved afterwards very brave, faithful, and of great use to the Scots.

The siege of Perth had now lasted four months, and would have continued much longer, had not the earl of Ross drained the water out of the trench, by dikes and subterraneous passages; which enabled the assailants to approach the very walls, and drive the garrison from their works, by the missiles that were thrown principally from the engines. The English, therefore, were forced to surrender upon terms, and to march out, with their baggage, whither they pleased. Soon after this, Stirling also submitted on the same conditions; and Maurice Murray, the son of Andrew, was made governor of the castle. Baliol was so dispirited by this sudden change of affairs, that he left Gallows, where he usually resided, and went to England. Some time after, the castle of Edinburgh was taken, not by force, but stratagem. Walter Curry, a merchant, who then happened to have a vessel laden with provisions in the bay or frith of the river Tay, at Dundee, was sent for by William Douglas into the Forth; where he and Bullock agreed, that Curry should assume the character of an Englishman, and carry two bottles of his best wine, with other presents, to the governor of the castle; desiring his leave to sell the rest of the provisions in the castle; as also to inform him, that if he or the garrison stood in any need of his service, he would gratify them, as far as he was able. Upon this, the governor commanded him to bring in some hogsheads of wine, with a quantity of biscuits, promising him free admittance whenever he came. Curry, accordingly, pretending great fear of the Scots, who often made incursions into the neighbouring parts, said that he should come at a very early hour the next morning.

In the course of the night, Douglas took with him twelve chosen men, all clothed in the habiliments of mariners, under which they hid their arms, and thus carried provisions into the castle. The rest of their men they placed in ambush as near as might be, commanding them to wait for the signal. Douglas and Simon Fraser went before, and commanded the other eleven to follow at a moderate distance. When they were admitted through the port, which was made of beams before the entrance of the castle, they observed the keys of the doors hung on the arm of the sentinel, whom they there-

fore despatched, then opened the gate; and, as they had before agreed, gave the signal to their companions, by blowing a horn. This sound, which quickened the advance of those who were in ambush, alarmed the guards: the one understanding that their friends, and the other that their enemies, were got into the castle. Both parties made all the haste they could; the Scots cast down their burdens in the passage of the gate, lest the doors might be shut and keep out their friends, who could march but slowly up so steep an ascent. Here a sharp conflict ensued, with loss on both sides; but at last the soldiers of the garrison were all killed, except the governor and six others.

It was this year, or, as some say, the former, that Alexander Ramsay, the most experienced captain of all the Scots, made his expedition into England. Men had so great an opinion of his skill in military affairs, that every one was accounted but a raw soldier who had not been disciplined by him; and therefore all the young people were eager to join his corps, as the only school where the art of war was to be learned. After making several successful expeditions into the enemy's country, though with only a small force, and finding now that their affairs were declining in Scotland, he was emboldened to attempt greater things; and, accordingly, gathering together a noble army of his tenants and friends, he ravaged all Northumberland. Upon his retreat, the English collected the whole of their troops from the country and garrisons, and followed him with a great army. Thus pressed, it was difficult to determine what course for Alexander to adopt. He could not avoid fighting; and yet perceived that his soldiers were somewhat dejected, by reason of the multitude of the enemy. In these circumstances, he sent off the plunder before, then, placing his foot in ambush, commanded the horsemen to straggle about, as if they were flying; and, when they had passed the place where their comrades lay concealed, to rally again at the sound of the trumpet. The English, imagining that the horse had fled in good earnest, pursued them in the same disorderly manner; and, when the signal was given for the Scots to rally, in a moment they turned back upon them, while the foot as suddenly issued out of ambush; which struck such a consternation and terror into the enemy, that they retreated faster than they had before pursued; so that many of them were killed, a great number taken, and the booty was carried home safe. Amongst the prisoners was the governor of Roxburgh, who had drawn out almost all his garrison; so that Alexander, knowing the town was in a defenceless state, attacked and easily took it at the first onset. He next seized the lower part of the castle, on which the remainder of the garrison fled into a strong tower in the town; but, being vigorously assailed, and having no hopes of relief, they surrendered. Some say that the earl of Salisbury was there captured, and exchanged for John Randolph; but most writers, whom I am rather inclined to follow, affirm, that this nobleman was taken prisoner in France, by the troops of that country. Randolph next went into Annandale, where he recovered his castle, which was seated by Lochmaben, from the English. After this, the three governors of the borders, Alexander Ramsay of the east, William Douglas of the middle, and Randolph of the west, drove the English beyond their old bounds, which they possessed in the reign of Alexander III. and left them no footing at all in Scotland, except Berwick. Some say, in which the Black Book of Paisley agrees, that Roxburgh was taken in the night by Ramsay, who set ladders to the walls while the watch was asleep, on the 30th day of March, in the year 1342.

The same year, on the 2d of July, David Bruce and his wife arrived at Iverbervie, nine years after his departure. His coming was the more acceptable, because the affairs of Scotland were then at a low ebb. For Edward having made a truce for three years with Philip, king of France, at Tournay, and so being freed from his French war, determined to invade Scotland with all his force. He had then in his army forty thousand foot, and six thousand horse; besides which, he fitted out a gallant navy of ships to carry provisions for his land-forces, that there might be no want. They set sail in the month of November, but met with so fierce a tempest, that, after much distress at sea, they were cast upon the Belgic and German shores, and so were of no use to him in the present war. In the mean while, Edward, with his troops, remained about Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in great want of provisions;

and, while there, ambassadors came to him from the Scots, desiring a pacification for four months, which they obtained, upon condition, "That, if David came not to them before the first day of June, they should all become subjects to the king of England." But David, hearing of the preparations of the English, had set sail before the arrival of the ambassadors.

Amongst those who flocked in to congratulate the monarch on his return, as many did from all parts of the kingdom, there came Alexander Ramsay, who, being eminent both for the glorious actions of his former life, but especially for his late conquests, was received with great marks of favour, and had the government of Roxburgh bestowed on him, with the sheriffwick of all Teviotdale. This advancement, however, gave great offence to William Douglas, particularly because he had expelled the English from nearly the whole of Teviotdale, and had, for some years, though without the king's express authority, presided over the public assembly there. On these accounts, and relying upon his services towards his country, the nobility of his birth, and the power of his family, he trusted that no man would have been his competitor for that office. Wherefore, being wholly bent on revenge, he at present dissembled his resentment; but, three months afterwards, meeting his rival holding an assembly in the church of Hawick, he suddenly attacked and wounded him, besides which, he killed three of his followers, who endeavoured to rescue him, and then set him upon a horse, and carried him to the castle of Hermitage, where he starved him to death.

About the same time, William Bullock, a man of singular loyalty to the king, was put to the same kind of death by David Barclay. These two savage and cruel deeds caused great disturbances throughout the kingdom, and rent it into several parties. The patience of the king was, in consequence of these things, sorely tried; for he was yet but young, and not accustomed to men of a rough and warlike disposition. He, however, endeavoured all that he could to bring Douglas to punishment: but was prevented by the numerous friends which that chief had gained, on account of the great services he had done for the liberty of his country. Among these was Robert Stuart, the son of the king's sister, through whose powerful interest Douglas obtained a pardon, which, indeed, the magnificent, yet true, report of his glorious exploits, much facilitated, together with the present condition of the time, when, as there was but an uncertain peace abroad, and many seditions at home, military men were to be respected, and had in honour. Upon this account, Douglas was not only pardoned, but even preferred to the government of Roxburgh and of Teviotdale; a clemency, which, perhaps, in the present circumstances of things, might be useful, but certainly was of very ill example for the future.

David, having thus settled matters at home the best he could, declared war against England, though most of the nobility dissuaded him from the expedition, on account of the great scarcity of provisions. However, he raised a good army, of which he made John Randolph general, accompanying it himself in disguise, that his regal title might not be known. This army, having wasted Northumberland for about two months, returned home with great booty. Within a few days after, he made another inroad into the enemy's country, but without disguise, and openly professed himself both king and general. The English, being inferior in strength, would not venture a pitched battle whilst their king was absent in France, but attacked their armies with the horse only, and so kept them from plundering much, by obliging them to keep close in their march. Five of the chief nobility, whom David had lately raised to that honour, straggling too far from their men, were taken prisoners, and their followers killed or put to flight. Upon this, David, to waste no more time there in vain, returned home, with all his army. After this, he made a third expedition, with what force he could privately levy, in order to fall upon the enemy unawares: but, entering England in a stormy autumn, the small brooks were so swollen with great showers, that they made all the country impassable, and hindered the carriage of provision, so that he was forced to return home; however, that he might not seem to have taken so much pains to no purpose, he demolished a few castles.

Not long after this, ambassadors were interchanged repeatedly between the two countries, in order to obtain a truce for two years, which the Scots consented

to, on the condition that their ally, Philip, king of France, should give his assent it being one article in the treaty between the Scots and the French, that neither of them should make truce or peace with the English, without the other's assent. Thus, for the space of two years, Scotland remained quiet. About the fourth year after David's return, the French were overcome in a great battle, and Calais was besieged by the English; in consequence of which Philip urged the Scots, by his ambassadors, to invade England, for the purpose of drawing off some of the force which pressed upon his dominions. Hereupon, an army was summoned to meet at Perth; to which place there came in great numbers; but there, David, earl of Ross, lying in wait for Reginald, lord of the Isles, his old enemy, fell upon him in the night, and slew him, with seven noblemen in his company. This murder greatly weakened the army; for the relations and tenants of both parties, as well as the neighbours, fearing a civil war between two such potent families, returned to their respective homes. This made William Douglas of Lithsdale earnestly request the king to desist from his present expedition, and endeavour to allay these domestic feuds. His counsel was rejected, and the king, whose friendship to Philip overcame his love to his country, marched forward into England, destroying all as he went with fire and sword. In sixteen days he came into the county of Durham, where the English, partly levied by Percy, and partly sent back from the siege of Calais, made a formidable body, and shewed themselves to the enemy in order of battle, sooner than the Scots could have imagined. David, who feared nothing less than the coming of the enemy, upon this, sent out William Douglas to forage in the neighbouring country, and then gave the signal of battle to his soldiers. Douglas was unawares amongst his enemies, and, having lost five hundred of his best men, was put to flight, and returned in great confusion to the camp. The end of this battle was as unhappy as the beginning, for the fight being sharp, begun, John Randolph's party was routed at the first onset, and the commander himself was killed. The main body, in which the king stood, sustained an attack from two brigades of the English; one that had already been victorious, and another that was entire, and had not yet charged. In this action almost all the Scottish nobility were lost, as being resolved to die with the king, who was himself taken prisoner by John Copland, but not till he wrested the arrows out of the assailant's hand, and struck out two of his teeth with his fist, though he himself was cruelly wounded with two darts. The third wing, commanded by Robert Stuart and Patrick Dunbar, perished by the slaughter of their comrades, effected their own retreat with little loss. The nobility were so destroyed in this battle, that, immediately after it, Roxburg, Hermitage, and many other castles, were surrendered to the English. The Scots were also compelled to quit their claim to all the lands they held in England, and also to March, Teviotdale, Lithsdale, and Lauderdale; where the bounds and borders of the English were enlarged to Cockburnspath, as it is called, and to Soutra-hill.

Baliol, not content with having recovered the possessions of his ancestors in Galloway, marched over Annandale and Lithsdale, and all the country lying near the Clyde, destroying every thing with fire and sword. He, also, by the assistance of Percy of England, made the like havoc in Lothian; nor could there be a sufficient army raised against them in Scotland for some years. As an addition to this misery, there happened also a terrible plague, which swept away almost the third part of the people. And yet, in such an afflictive state of things, men did not abstain from domestic broils. David Barclay, a noble knight, who had before slain Bullock, was at this time present, assisting in the murder of John Douglas, at Dalkeith. William Douglas of Lithsdale, who had been taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Durham, and was not yet released, caused him to be cut to pieces by his tenants; however, after he himself was released, and returned into Scotland, he did not long survive him: for, as he was hunting in the wood of Ettrick, he was killed by another William Douglas, who was the son of Archibald, and lately come from France, to revenge the murder of Alexander Ramsay. Nor did the clans of the ancient Scots, who were, to the full, as restless and impatient as the rest, abstain from injuring one another at this period.

In the midst of these calamities, which pressed on every side, William Douglas collected a band of his vassals and tenants, and recovered Douglas, the patrimony of his ancestors, after driving the English out of it; and, upon this little success, men's minds being more inclined to him, he reduced a great part of Teviotdale. In the mean time John, king of France, heir to his father Philip, both in his kingdom and in his wars, fearing lest the Scots, being broken by so many misfortunes, should quite sink under so puissant an enemy, sent Eugenius Garenter to them, with forty gallant cavaliers in his train, to desire of them to make no peace with England without his consent. He brought with him 40,000 French crowns, to raise soldiers; and, by large promises, gained over the nobility to his opinion. These men received the money, and divided it among themselves, but levied no troops, only carrying on a predatory war by light incursions, as they were wont to do. When the English heard of this, they laid Lothian almost desolate, which before had been cruelly harassed. To revenge this wrong, Patrick Dunbar and William Douglas gathered a good body together as privately as they could, and placed themselves in ambush; but sent out William Ramsay of Dalhousie, a noted and valiant soldier, with part of the army, to burn Norham, a populous town on the banks of the Tweed. When Ramsay had accomplished this object, the English were drawn on to the ambuscade, where some were surprised and killed, and the remainder, not being able to resist the superiority of numbers, surrendered themselves. This success heartened the Scots to such a degree, that, the same generals uniting their forces together, Thomas Stuart, earl of Angus, resolved to attack Berwick; and, to do it secretly, he procured ves- sels, ladders, and other implements used in scaling the walls of towns, wherever he could get them. He then acquainted Patrick Dunbar with his coming, who met him at the hour appointed, and the two made up to the walls with as little noise as they could. Though the centinels discovered them, they were soon repulsed by the Scots, who became masters of the town, but not without loss on their side. The castle was still kept by the English, and, though attempted, could not be taken.

When the king of England heard how matters went in Scotland, he mustered a powerful army, and hastened thither by quick marches. The Scots, hearing of his coming, and not being provided with materials for a long siege, plundered and burnt the town, and so returned home. Edward employed all hands of workmen and artificers, to repair what the flames had consumed; and, in the mean while, took up his own quarters at Roxburgh. Thither Baliol came, and surrendered up to him the kingdom of Scotland, desiring him earnestly not to forget the injuries offered him by the inhabitants. Edward, as it were in compliance with his desires, invaded Lothian by land and sea, and made a farther devastation of what the former visitation had left. He determined in this expedition so to quell all the Scots, that they should never recover strength to rebel again; but his purpose was disappointed by a most terrible tempest, which so dispersed, shattered, and tore the vessels laden with provisions, that very few of them ever met again in one port; so that he was forced to return home for want of supplies; after venting his spleen upon Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns of Lothian. Edward and his army having departed, Douglas drove the English out of Galloway; Roger Kirkpatrick, out of Nithsdale; and John Stuart, son of the regent, out of Annandale; and thus those three counties were recovered by the Scots.

About the same time, John king of France was overthrown by the English in a great battle, in Poictou, and he himself taken prisoner. Edward having two sovereigns his captives at once, passed the winter joyously amidst the congratulations of his friends; and the Scots thinking that his mind, being filled with glory, might be more inclined to equity, sent ambassadors to treat about the release of their king. Bruce, that the Scots might have easy access to him, was sent to Berwick; but, as they could not agree about the conditions, he was carried back to London. Not long after, the pope's legates were sent over, who took great pains to make peace between the English and French; and they also did the same for Scotland, upon the promise, as our writers say, of the payment of a hundred (but Froissart says five hundred) thousand marks of sterling money to the English, part of which was to be laid

down immediately, and the rest by instalments. To make up this sum, the pope gave up the tenths of all benefices for three years; and in the mean time a truce was made, and many young nobles were given up for hostages, who almost all died in England of the plague.

Hereupon David returned the eleventh year after he was taken prisoner. The first thing he did was to punish those who had been the most forward to fly in the battle of Durham. From Patrick Dunbar he took away a great part of his lands; he cut off all hopes of succeeding him from Robert Stuart, the son of his eldest sister; and substituted Alexander, son of the earl of Seton, by his second sister, obliging the nobility to swear fealty to him. The young man's father also distributed large and fertile lands amongst the nobles, to engage them more firmly to his son. But, Alexander dying soon after, David was reconciled to Robert Stuart; and in a full assembly of the estates, he was, by a general suffrage, named heir-presumptive of the crown. But this was not done till some years afterwards.

The king passed the next five years in appeasing the disorders at home, in which time there happened two great calamities. One was local, and therefore affected comparatively only a few. There was so great an inundation, owing to incessant great rains, that Lothian appeared to be an entire flood, and the force of the water was such, that it carried away bridges, water-mills, country-houses, with their owners and cattle, into the sea; it also rooted up trees, and almost quite destroyed the towns which stood near the banks of rivers. This misery was seconded by the more terrible visitation of pestilence, which destroyed many persons of all ranks and ages.

In the year 1363, the state of things grew calmer, and then, in the assembly of the estates, the king propounded to the lords of the articles, "That the king of England, or else his son, might be sent for into Scotland, to succeed David in the kingdom, if he should chance to die." This he did, either being quite wearied of war, or thinking that it would be for the good of both kingdoms, or, as others imagine, because of the oath which the English had obliged him to take. Let this be as it will, his speech was so unacceptable and offensive to all present, that before each vote could be taken in order, the whole assembly confusedly cried out against it as an odious proposition; and those who inveighed the most on the occasion, fearing the royal displeasure, actually meditated a revolt. But the king perceiving their thoughts, abated his anger, and received them into favour. When he had quieted all things elsewhere, the islanders continued still in arms, and not only committed outrages upon one another, but made havoc in the adjacent countries. The king tried a practicable means to bring them to a mutual concord; but finding his efforts fruitless, his next design was to suborn some crafty fellows, to foment and heighten their dissensions; that so, when the fiercest of them had destroyed one another, the rest might become more tractable and pliant. Having performed these exploits, both at home and abroad, the king departed this life at the castle of Edinburgh, on the 7th of May, in the 47th year of his age, about the 30th of his reign, and in that of our Lord 1370.

He was certainly a man eminent in every kind of virtue; but especially in justice and clemency; and though he had been exercised with good and bad events alternately, yet still his fortune seemed rather to fail him than his industry.

#### ROBERT II. *the hundredth King, began his reign A. D. 1370.*

After the decease of David, the nobles met at Linlithgow, to congratulate Robert on his accession, he having been the declared successor of his uncle; but here the ambition of William Douglas almost threw things into sedition and uproar, by demanding the kingdom as his hereditary right, because he was descended from Baliol and the Cumins. But finding that his suit was unacceptable to them all, and especially to his most intimate friends, the two brothers, George and John Dunbar, one the earl of March, and the other of Murray, as also to Robert Erskine, governor of the three well-fortified castles of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh, he desisted, and promised to oblige Robert as his rightful monarch; and the king, to oblige him in a more strict bond of friendship, espoused his daughter to the son of earl William.

This year, the truce, which had been made for fourteen years, was broken by the English. There was a great fair usually kept on the eleventh of August, to which place vast numbers of both nations, even from the remotest parts, were accustomed to resort. Thither came the inhabitants of March, and it happened, that one of George Dunbar's intimate friends was killed. George, according to the law which was observed among the borderers, sent heralds to demand the murderers to be given up to him, or else, that due punishment should be inflicted upon them. Finding, however, that his application was disregarded, through favour to the parties, he dissembled the affront, and, against the next day appointed for the fair, secretly prepared a band of men, who, setting upon the town unexpectedly, slew all the young people, burnt the houses, and returned home with a great booty. The English, to revenge this injury, with like cruelty ravaged all the lands of John Gordon, a noble knight. In consequence of this, by way of retaliation, Gordon, not long after, entered England, and carried away a great store both of men and cattle; but, as he was returning home, John Lilburn met him with a force much superior; when a terrible fight began between them, and though victory seemed a long time to flatter over both parties with doubtful wings, at last it declined to the Scots. The commander of the English forces was taken prisoner, with many of his associates and dependants.

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, a man of great spirit, being then lord warden, or governor, of the eastern marches or borders, resenting this injury done to his countrymen, immediately collected a body of above seven thousand men, and encamped at a village called Duns, remarkable for being the birth-place of John Scotus, surnamed Subtilis, rather than for any thing else. There the countrymen and shepherds assembled together, having no other arms but the rattles with which they used to frighten the deer and cattle that feed there at large without any keeper; and by night placed themselves in some elevated parts of the Lammermuir hills, near to the village of Duns. The form of the rattle is this: on the top of a long spear, or pole, they fasten some ribs of wood, bent into a semicircle; over which they stretch a skin after the same form as the lanterns, which the common people of Paris call *salots*, are made; in this skin they put small but hard stones, which, when well shaken, make such a rattling noise, as drives away the beasts and cattle from the corn. With these instruments they made a mighty noise on the hills hanging over Duns; at which the English horses were so affrighted, that they broke the head-stalls they were tied to, and ran up and down the fields, where they were taken by the countrymen; and in the whole army there was such a tumultuous bustle, that they cried out, To arms, thinking the enemy had been at their heels. Thus they passed the night without sleep; but, in the morning, perceiving their mistake, and having lost many of their baggage-trains, as well as those for service, they retreated six miles, which is the distance of that place from England, on foot, like men routed and flying, leaving their stores behind them.

The same day that Percy retired from Duns, Thomas Musgrave, governor of Berwick, came out of his garrison, with some troops, to join him. John Gordon, having intelligence of his march, laid an ambush for him, into which he fell; and imagining his enemy to be more numerous than he was, began to fly, but was taken, with his party, in the pursuit, and brought back. In the western borders, also, John Johnston gained both honour and booty; for he so harassed the enemy in the neighbourhood, by petty, but frequent, incursions, that he did them as much mischief as a considerable army could have done.

Thus all things succeeded prosperously with Robert, for the first two years of his reign; but in his third year, Euphemia, daughter of Hugh, earl of Ross, died. The king had three children by her; Walter, afterwards made earl of Athol; David, earl of Athol; and Euphemia, whom James Douglas married, as I have already said. Robert, not so much in impatience of the unmarried state, as for the love of the children which he previously had by Elizabeth More, now made her his wife. This woman, who was exceedingly beautiful, was the daughter of Adam More, a noble knight. The king fell in love with her when he was young, and had three sons and two daughters by



her, after which he gave her in marriage to one Gifard, a nobleman in Lothian. It happened that Euphemia the queen, and Gifard, the husband of Elizabeth, both died about the same time; upon which the king, either induced by the old familiarity with her, or else (as many writers report) to render legitimacy to the children he had by her, married her, and presently advanced her some riches and honour. John, the eldest, was made earl of Carrick; Robert earl of Monteith, and Alexander earl of Buchan, to which Badenoch was adjointed. Not satisfied with this munificence, he prevailed upon the assembly of estates which met at Scone, to set aside the children of Euphemia, and to observe the order of age, in making his son king after him; which procedure, in after times, almost proved the utter ruin of that numerous family.

During the next two years, there was neither certain peace nor open war but light incursions, or rather plunderings, on both sides. In the mean while Edward III. died, and Richard II. his grandchild by his son Edward, born at Bourdeaux, succeeded him, being then eleven years of age; at which time ambassadors were sent by Charles V. king of France, into Scotland. The cause of this mission was, to renew the ancient league with Robert, and desire him to invade England with an army, and so take off the stress of war from France. Whilst the envoys were treating with the assembly, Alexander Ramsay, as the English writers report, went, accompanied by some young men, in the middle of the night, and when the sentinels were asleep, took the castle of Berwick; where all that were in it were either killed or made prisoners. The townsmen, amazed at this sudden surprise, sent Percy, who came and laid siege to the castle with 10,000 men.

When the news of this action was brought to the assembly of the estates at Scone, Archibald Douglas, being concerned for the danger his kinsman was in, took with him a flying body of five hundred horse only, and hastened to the castle, but all passages to the besieged were cut off and stopped, so that he was forced to return again, without performing any thing; and the castle, after a valiant defence for some days, was at last taken by storm, all that were there being put to the sword, except Alexander alone. Thus say the English; but our writers, on the contrary, relate, that the castle was taken by the help of the six country-people of March, who, not being able to keep it, were obliged to desert it. Not long after the meeting at Scone, William, the first earl of Douglas, gathered an army of 20,000 men, and, entering England, came suddenly to a town called Penrith, on a fair-day, which he took, plundered, and burnt, and then securely marched his army back again laden with much spoil and booty; but, withal, he brought the pestilence home with him, which was greater than any that had ever been known before, for it raged over all Scotland for the space of two years.

The English, by way of retaliation, passed over the Solway, and entered Scotland, to the number of fifteen thousand men, commanded by the general Talbot, who made a terrible havock and devastation far and near. As the army was returning back laden with spoil, he pitched his tents in a narrow valley, not far from the borders of England. In this straitened place, whilst they thought themselves secure, about five hundred Scots came upon them at the night, when unprovided, and most of them without their arms; and at the first onset killed all who were in their way; so that the tumult and fear increasing, they were entirely put to flight; many were killed upon the spot, two hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and a great number, in sudden consternation, flying to the river, were drowned; the rest left their prey behind them, and got home the nearest way they could.

In the mean time, the English carried on a furious war, both by sea and land, against the French; but as part of their forces were sent into Portugal, it was resolved by the parliament, that John, duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, should be sent ambassador into Scotland, to treat about a peace. In order that, being engaged in so many contentions, they might have quietness on that side at least which lay most exposed and open. The Scots, being made acquainted with his coming by a herald, appointed William earl of Douglas and John Dunbar earl of Murray, to treat with him; and, accordingly, a truce was concluded for three years. But whilst they were negotiating about a peace there, a dreadful civil war broke out in England. The first author of it

is said to have been one John Ball, a priest; who, perceiving that the lower orders of the people were enraged, because poll-money of fourpence a head was laid on them, first of all secretly, and in private confessions, discourses, and meetings, inflamed the minds of the commons against the nobility; but perceiving that his doctrine was very acceptable, he spoke out more openly. Besides this new occasion of sedition, there was also another of older date, namely, that the greatest part of the commons were made little better than slaves to the lords. Therefore many mechanics and labourers joined the priest, and others also, who, in property or credit, had nothing to lose; insomuch that they raised such a great tumult and combustion, that the whole frame of the government seemed to be in a very perilous state. These things were known at the meeting of the ambassadors; yet both of them dissembled the matter till they had treated, and concluded what they came about. Then Douglas told John of Lancaster that he knew, from the beginning, in what state the affairs of England stood; but that the Scots were so far from laying hold of the opportunity, either to make war, or hinder a good peace, that they offered him, even then to protect him securely there, till the tumults of England should be appeased; or that, if he would return, to allow him five hundred horse for his convoy. Lancaster gave them great thanks, yet he hoped, at present, that he had no need to accept of either of the conditions. But, as he was returning home, the governor of Berwick shut him out of the town, so that he, upon the public faith already given, returned into Scotland, and there kept him off, till the sedition of the commons was quelled in England. When the truce of three years was ended, in the month of January, 1384, Archibald Douglas of Galloway, with the assistance of William earl of Douglas, and George earl of March, laid siege to the castle of Lochmaben, situated near a hile of the same name, and from whence daily inroads were made upon the neighbouring country. The governor of the fortress being struck with this sudden surprise, agreed with the enemy, that unless relieved in eight days, he would surrender the castle. Whereupon, after the Scots had endured great hardship, by reason of the winter-storms, and continual showers, the castle was surrendered according to covenant, on the ninth day after summons, which was the 4th of February. The people who lived near Roxburgh, fearing lest their castle might be also taken, obtained one Grastock, a noble and wealthy man, who was celebrated as a warrior, for their governor. On his appointment, he sent in great provisions, and resolved also to deposit all his household goods in the castle, for security. But while thus employed, Durham, being informed by his spies of the day of his march, and the way he was to go, laid ambuscades in convenient places, and so suddenly attacked a long confused train, made up of soldiers, waggoners, and a promiscuous multitude, that, without any fighting, he took the booty, together with the owner of it, and presently retreated. The English, in revenge of their loss, and to prevent future incursions by a decisive blow, sent Lancaster into Scotland with great forces, both by sea and land. Lancaster himself came through March and Lothian, as far as Edinburgh; while his fleet was sent to lay waste the maritime parts of Fife.

The soldiers were desirous of burning down Edinburgh; but the general, remembering that, but a few years before, he had been kindly and hospitably entertained there, when he was excluded by his own people, absolutely forbade them. But his sea-forces shewed not the same civility; for, entering into the Isle of Inchcolm, they plundered a monastery of monks, and burnt it, using the like cruelty in all places where they landed, till Nicholas and Thomas Brakine, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunningham, met them, few many, took some, and forced the rest to fly, in great trepidation, to their ships. Besides the loss received by their hasty flight, they suffered forty of their own men, hanging upon one of their own ship's cables, after the rope was cut, to be drowned before their eyes. Lancaster had scarcely set out on his return home, when William Douglas pursued him closely, partly sacking, partly demolishing, all the castles which the English held in Scotland after the battle of Durham. He reduced all Teviotdale, except Roxburgh, to the government of the Scots; and restrained robberies, which the licentiousness of the wars had multiplied and encouraged; but he did not long outlive

these noble actions, dying soon after of a fever, in the castle of Douglas succeeded by his son William, a young man every way worthy of so great and virtuous a father.

In the mean time, a truce for twelve months was made between the French, English, and Scots, near Boulogne; but the French, who were bound to give the Scots notice of it, neglecting so to do, the English nobility bordering upon Scotland, thinking they had a fit opportunity to give their country some notable and unexpected overthrow, without leaving them any time for recovery, before the treaty was published, gathered ten thousand horse, and six thousand archers, and entering the kingdom, under the command of the earl of Northumberland and Nottingham, made a terrible havock of the country, especially on the lands belonging to the families of Douglas and Lindsay. The Scots, who, upon the rumour of a truce, had laid aside all thoughts of war, were exceedingly offended, as well at their own negligence, as at the perfidiousness of the enemy, and therefore resolved upon revenge as soon as they could. In the mean time, the noise of the English invasion of Scotland alarmed the French, and reminded them of their having omitted to fulfil the condition of the league, in giving notice of the truce. To make amonement for this oversight, they now evinced a forward zeal, and sent an embassy to London, where, at the very time that the English were plundering Scotland, they were detained with sumptuous entertainments, till the invaders had returned from their excursion: and then the ambassadors were dismissed, and came into Scotland, where they declared their message as they were commanded. Whereupon, almost all the nobility, especially those who had felt the loss sustained by the late inroad, murmured, and cried out, that this foul dealing of the English was not to be endured. The king in vain endeavoured to pacify them, for he was willing to observe the truce; but they, by long debate, delayed the matter, till their friends had privately levied near fifteen thousand horse; and then, on a day appointed, Douglas, Lindsay, and Dunbar, went privately from court, and joining their countrymen, invaded England with a powerful army. After wasting Northumberland as far as Newcastle, in their passage through the lands of the earl of Nottingham and the Mowbrays, they destroyed, by fire and sword, all that they could not carry away. Having achieved this exploit, they returned home with a great booty, as well as many prisoners, and presently caused the armistice to be proclaimed.

About the end of the truce, in the year 1385, John de Vienne, admiral of the French navy, was sent over by the king of France, with about two thousand auxiliaries, of whom one hundred were cuirassiers, armed cap à-pie, and two hundred archers, who threw darts out of what are now called crossbows; the rest were infantry of a promiscuous description. They brought with them pay for six months, besides many gifts and presents; and, among the rest, four hundred suits of complete armour, to be divided among the bravest men. Having first waited on the king, he and James Douglas entered Northumberland, where they demolished three castles, and would have proceeded farther, but for the rains which fell in the autumn, and forced them to return. In addition to this, a report reached them, that Richard II of England was coming against them, which hastened their retreat. His anger was more inflamed now against the Scots than ever; because they had not only made a dreadful war upon his kingdom themselves, but had procured the aid of foreigners at a critical point of time, when the French designed also to land a vast army in England. Upon this he assembled a very powerful army, consisting, as the English writers say, of 60,000 foot, and 8000 horse; with which he resolved to humble the Scots to such a degree, that they should not, for many years, be able to levy any considerable force. Before this, he raised a great body of troops, who were to carry supplies into the Forth, where he intended to make his descent, and which part of Scotland he knew had been exhausted for many years by continual wars; so that, if any provisions were now left there, the inhabitants would convey them away into the neighbourhood, or remote places. As to the French, he felt secure in regard to them, for he knew that they would not put to sea in a stormy winter. With these forces he entered Scotland, sparing no place, either

sacred or profane ; nor age or degrees of men, if they were capable of bearing arms. In the mean time, admiral Vienne, being more observant of his king's commands to him when he parted from him, than of the present posture of affairs in Scotland, was earnest with Douglas to hazard a battle. The other answered him, that the Scots forbore to engage, not out of any disaffection to the French, but from a conviction of their own weakness ; and, thereupon, took him up into a high place, from whence he might safely have a view of the enemy. Vienne, then, perceiving the long train of the English in their march, soon altered his opinion ; and they both concluded, that, in the present circumstances, the best and only way for them to incommode the enemy, was to collect all the force they could, and invade England.

Accordingly, taking a circuitous rout, to be as far as possible from the English army, they entered Cumberland, and made a great havoc, both there and in the neighbouring counties. The English, as the winter was now at hand, and the country of Lothian was devastated by the war, did not dare to go far from their ships, lest provisions should fail them, and therefore they began to consult about their return. Some were of opinion, that it would be best to follow the Scots in the rear, and, in their march back, compel them to fight, whether they would or not. But those who knew the roads better, through which they were to pass, replied, on the other hand, that there would be great difficulty in proceeding over the marshes and mountains, and sometimes through narrow defiles, where generally was such a scarcity of every thing, that a very few light-armed men could hardly carry provisions enough with them for their subsistence even for a few days. It was further observed, that, after overcoming these obstacles, they would find the next country into which they should come naturally sterile, and wasted by the war. They added, likewise, that if all these inconveniences should be overcome, yet they had to do with an active and versatile enemy, whom it would be more difficult to find, and bring to a battle, than to defeat ; and that, if they should discover him, he would not be compelled to fight, except in places to his own advantage. In illustration of this, they said that Edward the Third, king Richard's grandfather, had experience of this, to the great detriment of his own, and little inconvenience of the Scottish army. Upon hearing this, and considering the miseries they might suffer in an enemy's country, in a cold winter, while, in the mean time, their wives, children, and all that was dear to them, were comfortless at home, they changed their minds, and marched directly back the same way they came. Thus both armies had free scope and time for plundering the country of their respective enemy ; and each returned again without meeting a foe or fighting a battle.

The Scots, well knowing that the English could not attempt another expedition till the next summer, resolved to attack Roxburgh, a neighbouring town, together with the garrison there, which very much annoyed the adjacent country. On coming thither, however, a dissension arose between the Scots and the French respecting the town, even before it was taken ; for the French alleged that, seeing by their great experience in wars at home, they were more skilled in the art of taking fortresses than the Scots ; and, further, that they had expended much money in this contest ; it was therefore just, that the place, when taken, should be their's, and remain under the jurisdiction of France. On the contrary, the Scots urged, that it was very unjust that auxiliaries should reap the reward and profit of the whole contest ; adding besides, that the expense stated as incurred by them, had been laid out rather for themselves than the Scots, it being in order to distract and divide the forces of England, and so to avert part of the war from France ; and that if the friendly offices on both sides were put in the balance, the Scots might, with more equity, lay the charge of the whole upon the French, than the latter demand any remuneration for their assistance, especially one that was without a parallel in history or the memory of man, as nothing like it had ever been demanded, or given by allies one to another. But the unreasonableness of this demand appeared further in this, that the Scots might have remained still in peace, without being injured by the English ; and so might have been spectators only of the wars betwixt two potent kings ; while the French, on the other hand, could not have obtained the same quiet, without yielding up a good part of their country.

Neither could the Scots see of what use the town would be to the French; they had it, except only as a bridle; that so the arbitrement of war or peace might be at their disposal. They added, that if such was their object, it would have been more for the profit and credit of the people of Scotland, to have continued at peace without the town, than, on a trivial occasion, to give up themselves to a voluntary service; but that if, by so unjust a requisition, the French thought to excuse their return home, which they, some time before, attempted, there was no need at all of such a plea; for as they freely came so they had liberty, always at their pleasure, freely to depart; neither was it advisable in the Scots to stay them, in regard they might easily foresee that service would be but small, if they were detained against their will.

In consequence of this difference, they departed from Roxburgh without attacking it; and as there had been grievous complaints on both sides before, so, if the dispute had continued, open enmity seemed likely to arise. The original of the dissension arose from the different usages of the two nations in the management of war. The Scots and English pay honestly for what they obtain where they quarter, and behave amongst their countrymen as modestly and regularly in war as in peace. But the French act quite otherwise; making every thing their own wherever they march, as if they had public permission to rob and spoil; so that, having been accustomed to this kind of life, they fancy they may lawfully do the same every where, because they have always practised it before. On this account, quarrels, and sometimes blows, had often happened between the Scots and French; the latter endeavouring to exercise their wonted rapacity, and the other not readily submitting to such servitude, so that when one snatched what did not belong to him, the other laboured to defend his own. After this disgust and alienation of spirit at Roxburgh, the French commissaries used greater licentiousness than ever in gathering provisions, because they intended shortly to depart; and the countrymen, impatient at being robbed by a few men, and those too strangers, frequently took away the baggage and horses of the foreigners, whose officers and straggling soldiers, when sent out to forage, were often wounded, and sometimes killed. When complaints were brought to the council, the peasants answered with one consent, "That they were plundered, and worse treated by the French, who called themselves their friends, than by the English, who were their professed enemies; on which account it was their resolution not to let them depart the land, till they had made them recompense for their losses." So was the infuriated firmness of the country people, neither could their resentment be softened down even by the influence of the family of Douglas, whom they were the most popular men of that age. Hereupon the French army was sent back, but their commander was detained till full recompense was made for the wrongs which had been committed. The French set sail on the first of November, and the Scots, either tired with the military toil of the preceding year, or satiated with the spoils of so many prosperous expeditions, remained quiet all the winter. But the next spring William Douglas, brother of Archibald, earl of Galloway, crossed over into Ireland, by way of revenge for the frequent descents of the Irish upon the coasts of Scotland, and also to restrain them for the future.

This William was a young man of the greatest qualifications, both in mind and body, amongst all the Scots. He was tall, and of proportionate strength; and his stature was accompanied with an uncommon graceful dignity of presence. His success in war recommended him very much, for he had often, with a small number, attacked a superior body of his enemies, and come off conqueror; neither was he ever employed in any expedition, without giving manifest proofs of his valour. These excellencies, which, in some, are matter of envy, yet in him, by reason of his affability, complaisance, and courteous modesty, were acceptable to all. On account of his virtues, though the king knew him to be illegitimate, he gave him for a wife his daughter, Egidia, who was a woman of the greatest beauty in those times, and one that had been courted by many of the young nobility of the court. With her, Douglas received Nithsdale, the next country to Galloway, as a dowry.

He landed his men at Carlingford, a rich town in Ireland, and the suddenness of the invasion struck such terror into the inhabitants, that they presently

sent out to him to treat about a surrender. Douglas entertained them courteously, and, in the mean time, thinking himself secure of the place, sent out Robert Stuart, laird of Durrisdeer, with two hundred soldiers, to bring provisions to his ships. The townsmen having gained some time for consultation, sent for aid from Dundalk, and having received a reinforcement of five hundred horse, with this addition they divided themselves into two bodies, and so marched out against the enemy, thinking, because they were so much increased in number, they should presently put them all to the sword, and so become masters of the ships. But both bodies were routed, the town taken, plundered, and burnt; and fifteen ships which lay in the harbour, were laden with the spoils of the city. Douglas, on his return home, landed on the Isle of Man by the way, which he also ravaged, and so arrived at Loch Ryan, that divides part of Galloway from Carrick. Here he received intelligence that his father was gone on an expedition against England, whereupon he hastened after him as fast as he could. This enterprise was undertaken chiefly upon this ground: Richard, king of England, having entered Scotland the year before, and spared nothing, either sacred or profane, at his return home encountered a domestic sedition, by which the state of his whole kingdom was changed. To heal this mischief, he transferred the government of the counties, and the management of inferior concerns, as is common in such cases, from one set of persons to another; by which means the fire of hatred was not so much quenched as covered in the ashes, and likely soon after to break out again. Scotland, on the contrary, enjoyed a great, but yet uncertain tranquillity; for it was full of young soldiers, fit for war, and as fruitful and well stored with good officers, as ever it had been. The nobility, therefore, being anxious for a rupture, in all their assemblies and meetings, maintained that so good an opportunity to be revenged on the English for their old injuries ought not to be neglected, and that the latter would never have omitted it in regard to Scotland, had the affairs there been in the like confusion.

But as king Robert was a man of pacific disposition, and, by reason of his age, averse to war, nor seemed to be sufficiently concerned at the public injuries; and, as his eldest son John was naturally slow, and lame from the kick of a horse, so that he was not well able to endure the hardships of a camp; therefore the nobles made their application to Robert, the next son, earl of Fife, to whom they complained of the deplorable state of the public; and they all presently concluded, that the wrong lately received was to be revenged, and therein every one promised his cheerful assistance. Upon this, it was agreed that a levy of soldiers should be made against the 5th of August, but so secretly, that neither of the two kings, of the Scots or English, should be made acquainted with it.

But the English were quickly informed by their spies, of the time and place of meeting; so that they resolved to prevent the enemy with the like secret management. The lords required their dependants, without fixing any particular day or place of meeting, to be in readiness to assemble round their standard at a moment's call. Matters being thus resolved on, when they heard that the Scots, to the number of 30,000, or, as Froissart has it, of 40,000, were assembled in Teviotdale, not far from the borders, they resolved, that, since they were not able to encounter such a superiority, they would act on the defensive. In the mean time, to conceal their intent the better, every man was to stay at his own home, till it should appear upon what part of the country the threatened storm would fall; and then, according to the enemy's motion, they were to guide their course, and, as the Scots had done the autumn before in regard to England, so now they agreed to enter Scotland another way, and repay loss for loss.

In the mean time, the English sent a spy to inform themselves fully of the state of their enemies, who were now near them; for they counted it highly necessary to their affairs, to know not only the design, but even the expressions, resolutions, and motions of their opponents. He that was sent, disguised nothing in speech, habit, or armour, from the rest, and so was easily taken for a Scotchman. Having, under this disguise, informed himself of every thing which he desired to know, he was going to a tree where he had

tied his horse, to fetch him, and so be off; but, finding that somebody had stolen and carried him away before, he was forced, in his boots, spurs, and riding dress, to take his journey on foot. Hereupon, being observed, the truth began to be suspected; and when he was gone a great way, several horsemen were sent after him, to bring him back as a deserter. On coming up to him, they demanded who and what he was, and why he went from his colours in that manner; but as he was not able to give them a satisfactory answer, they brought him back to the chief officers of the army, to whom, out of fear of greater punishment, he discovered all the designs of the English. When the Scots heard this, they changed the order of their designs, and divided their army, so that the greatest part of it should march towards Carlisle, commanded by the king's two sons, the earls of Fife and Strathearn, whom were joined Archibald Douglas of Galloway, and the earls of March and Sutherland. The other part was to enter Northumberland, under the command of James Douglas, and the two brothers, George and John Dunbar, one earl of Murray, and the other earl of March. Their party consisted of 300 horse and 2000 foot, besides servants and attendants on the campaign. For, in Scotland, every trooper had at least one servant, who, being well armed, could run almost as fast as a horse, and when occasion offered to counter an enemy.

When their forces were thus divided, they who marched towards Cumberland and Carlisle, carried all before them by their numbers, without meeting any enemy whatever. But Douglas, in the ravages which he committed on the other side, had not the same good fortune. Having so ordered the route of his expedition, as to take great and yet secret marches, he passed the Tyne, to penetrate beyond Durham, before he gave his army leave to rest and plunder. This he did with such privacy and speed, that the English were not have known where their enemies were, except by the smoke of the fires they made. Percy the elder, the greatest man in Northumberland and its adjacent counties for wealth and power, when the news was brought to him, sent two of his sons, Henry and Ralph, very active young men, to Newcastle, commanding the rest to follow them thither. His intent in this was, to intercept the Scots in their return home; but they, having spoiled the wealthy county of Durham, hastened back with a great prey, and repassed the Tyne about three miles above Newcastle. There the commanders, being nobly descended in their own country, and desirous of glory, and being elevated with their present success, thought it an inglorious thing to retreat into terror only into rustics and plebeians, without doing the same to cities. They animated by ambition, they marched to Newcastle, and threatening to besiege it, endeavoured, by contumelies and reproachful words, to draw out the enemy.

When they had staid there two days, and some light skirmishes, with various success, had passed between them, there was one combat, which, towards the last evening, excited the fixed attention of all the spectators. This was a duel between the two generals; who, being in a manner equally matched, in regard to birth, power, age, and courage, had a mind to encounter each other in the sight of both armies. Hereupon, a challenge was sent, and the two, James Douglas and Henry Percy, entered the lists, running at one another with their spears. Percy was unhorsed at the first encounter, and Douglas took his spear; but could not touch his person, because the English came in to his assistance. He shook the spear, and cried out aloud, so that he easily heard, that he would carry that as a trophy into Scotland. The combat being ended, the Scots kept diligent watch, because they were in a place well peopled, and full of enemies. The day after, they retired towards their own country, but very slowly, on account of their heavy booty. While their prey moved leisurely on, they attacked a neighbouring castle, belonging to the enemy, took and demolished it, and from thence marched to Carlisle, about eight miles distant from Newcastle. There they took counsel concerning the rest of their march. The major part were for proceeding towards Carlisle, to meet the other army, and so not to fight singly, as was at first agreed, but to wait the conjunction of the two forces. But Douglas had in mind to stay two or three days there, that he might make an effectual attack

raition of the vaunts of Percy, who had boasted that they should never callance into Scotland. In the mean time, that they might not be idle, they resolved to attack the neighbouring castle. This determination, though many it was deemed far from being prudent, yet, for the sake of Douglas, they all submitted to it. Accordingly, they fortified their camp for the next occasion, which on one side was sufficiently guarded by marshes; then proceeded to besiege the castle. Percy, being of a fierce nature impatient to blot out the disgrace he had received, would have followed presently upon their retreat, with the forces which he had about him; more considerate part detained him, being apprehensive of an ambush; they did not think it probable that a small number of Scots would before so strong a town, unless they had more forces near at hand, as he revealed in some secret place. That day and the next they employed in making inquiries; when, finding that there was no danger from the English, as being far distant from the party of Douglas, Percy immediately, with his fighting men, put himself upon the march, without staying for the bishop of Durham, who, that very night, was expected with some forces; for he thought he had strength enough to overcome his enemies, who were not half so numerous. When the English came in sight, some of the Scots were at arms and others, fatigued by the labour they had endured in the siege of the castle, were composing themselves to rest. At this moment the word of alarm was given, "To your arms!" and while one party were busy in arming themselves, the major part of the foot, and many of the horsemen's servants, making of the slender fortification they had, endured the brunt of the English attack. But the cavalry had a great advantage, for having expected an assault, they disputed among themselves how they should entertain the enemy. When attacked, they saw that a neighbouring hill would be of great use to them. This, therefore, they encompassed, and whilst the English were forcing their passage into the camp, they fell upon their left flank and made a great slaughter, but a greater noise. The English, having men enough, brought up their reserves, and quickly made good their ranks again; but that disorder was good to the Scots, that the fight, in the front of the camp, being ill-managed, gave them the liberty of drawing out and ranging their army in order of battle.

Whilst these things were transacting, the night drew on, but it was not one, as is common in July, particularly in the northern countries, where the weather also proved fine; so that the moon shining all night, it was as bright as day. The fight was maintained gallantly, as between two noble persons, who were more solicitous for their honour than their lives. Douglas endeavoured to redeem his credit, and Douglas to maintain his by his achievement; so that there was as much eagerness on the one side as on the other; and though their numbers were unequal, the combat continued all night. The moon then beginning to be clouded, so that friend could not be discerned from foe, they rested a while to take a little breath; but, as the light burst forth from the clouds, the English pressed hard upon the Scots, and made them give ground, by which means the standard of Douglas was like to have been lost. In this crisis, the two Hepburns, Patrick the father, and Patrick the son, from the one wing, and Douglas from the other, broke through the ranks of their own soldiers, and penetrated to the centre, where the main danger lay; and there renewed so fierce an assault, that many wounds were given and received; but in the end they brought their men to their former ground, from whence they had been driven. Douglas was content with this advantage; but, with his two friends and his lieutenants, Robert Hart, and Simon Glendinning, his kinsman, he rushed amongst the thickest of his enemies, and being of a stout spirit, as well as of great strength, he made a prodigious slaughter wherever he came. His men strove earnestly to come up to him; but, before they could do so, he was fatally wounded in three places, and lay upon the ground. Hart was standing by his side, having many wounds about him; but the priest who accompanied Douglas in all his dangers, when he fainted, defended him from injury. In this condition his kinsmen, John Lindsay, and the two brothers, John and Walter, finding him, asked him, "How he did?" "Well," said he; for I do not die like a sluggard upon my bed, but as



all my ancestors have done; and I have three last requests to make to you: first, that you will conceal my death, both from friends and foes. Secondly, that you will not suffer my standard to be beaten down. Thirdly, that you will avenge my death. Let me hope for the performance of these things, and I shall bear the rest more contentedly." Whereupon they, in the first place, covered his body with a cloak, that it might not be known, and then set up his standard, crying out, according to custom, "A Douglas! a Douglas!" At this shout, the pressure was so great, and they ran upon the English with such alacrity and courage, as to drive them far from the place of battle. So at the name of Douglas, not only the common soldiers, but John, earl of Murray, ran thither, fearful that things were there in great danger. He had before this routed that part of the enemy's army which stood against him, and taken prisoner the younger Percy, who was much wounded, and sent him into the camp to have his wounds dressed. The conflict, therefore, not being so severe in other parts of the army, those who hastened to the standard of Douglas soon routed the English, who were fatigued by their toil in the day, and the action in the night. Towards the close of the battle, Henry Percy, their general, was taken prisoner. When he was lost, the rest betook themselves to a confused flight. There were slain of the English, in that battle, 1840, about 1000; and 1040 were taken prisoners. Of the Scots, there were 100 slain, and 200 were taken prisoners, owing to their pursuing the flying enemy so far that they fell into the hands of superior numbers. James Lindsay, perceiving Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, to be one of the fugitives, and judging that, by the goodness of his armour, he was one of the principal commanders, he rode presently after him. Redman having fled three miles, and finding his horse grow weary, dismounted, thinking to escape by running; Lindsay did the same, and at last, after a pretty long skirmish betwixt them, the Englishman, not being so good at the kind of weapon which they employed, yielded himself to his antagonist, who sent him home, after having taken an oath that he would return in twenty days. This was then the courtesy of neighbouring nations towards their prisoners, and which to this day is particularly observed amongst the borderers. And if a man do not return at the day appointed, this is his punishment: in the meetings which are made for reparation of mutual damages, he that complains how he was deceived, beats up the shape of a hand or glove on a long spear, to be seen of all. This is counted the highest brand of infamy upon any man; so that he who hath thus violated his faith, becomes thereby detestable to his own friends and relations to such a degree, that no man of any quality will eat, drink, or converse with him, or even so much as harbour him in his house. Lindsay having dismissed his prisoner on those terms, perceived a great body of men before him, and marched up to them, without apprehending that they were enemies; he was so near that he could not retreat, and so was taken prisoner. These were the forces of the bishop of Durham, who came too late to Newcastle to overtake Percy, and not thinking that he would engage till the next day, made a halt there to refresh his men, after which he renewed his march. But he had not gone far from the town, before those that ran away informed him of the loss of the day. Whereupon he returned to the town, and advised with his friends about following the Scots. The resolution was, that by sunrise they should all be in arms; and consequently, in the morning, there were 10,000 horse, besides a promiscuous multitude of foot from all the adjacent places. These encouraged the bishop to march the nearest way to the enemy, and to give them battle; alleging, that they were so wearied out with the fight of yesterday, and that so many were wounded, while the rest were secure by reason of their late victory, that he might obtain an easy conquest over them. When Douglas was gone, the earl of Murray, upon whom the eyes of all were fixed, being apprized by his scouts of the coming of the bishop, consulted with his chief commanders about the prisoners. To kill them in cold blood, after having given them quarter, seemed cruel; and to save after a number of enemies, almost equal with their own, was accounted dangerous. The resolution was, that they should all swear not to stir during the battle, and that, even though their friends might come to release them, they should continue passive, and submit themselves as prisoners. Upon these terms,

they were left in the camp with a small guard, who were commanded to destroy the whole of them, if only one of them dared to stir.

This matter being settled, the Scots, elevated with courage by their former victory, marched out in full force; their rear fortified and secured by marshes, and, on the right and left, with trees which they had cut down. The word was given, that as soon as the enemy drew near, every man should blow his trumpet, made of a bullock's horn, suspended at his neck, and which would make such a mighty din, as was terrible of itself; but, being multiplied by the repercussion and echo of the neighbouring hills, made their force seem greater than indeed it really was. The English, who had marched very fast; and were about to fight amidst the dead bodies of their own men, being astonished at this horrible noise, and also at the alacrity of their enemies, who stood opposed to them in good order—and being also without a skilful general over so tumultuary a body, while the commander himself had no confidence in such troops,—presently turned their colours, and marched back as they came. In the mean time, Lindsay, who, as I have said, was taken prisoner, and left at Newcastle, being seen and known by Redman, was courteously treated, and set at liberty without ransom. The Scots having passed over this affair so easily, resolved to return home; but first they dismissed Ralph Percy, who, on account of his wounds, could not endure the motion of a horse, and sent him to Newcastle to be healed; upon his promise, that, as soon as he was able to ride, he would wait on the earl of Murray where he might please to appoint; and having given his pledge, according to the usual custom, he departed. Six hundred other prisoners followed his example, and were released on their parole upon the same terms. Many of the common soldiers, who were likely to be more burdensome than beneficial, were dismissed unconditionally. Of the nobler sort, Henry Percy, and almost four hundred more, were detained and carried into Scotland; and shortly after, upon payment of such a ransom as they set upon their own heads, were all set at liberty; so that, as Ennius says, in that age men did not buckate a war, but fought it out, as contending mainly for liberty and right. Three days after this, the bodies of Douglas, and the other great commanders who fell, were carried to Melrose, and there interred with military pomp. When the intelligence of these transactions reached the other army, that was wasting Cumberland, it disturbed all their mirth; so that the joy conceived for their good success was turned into bitter mourning. The loss of Douglas so affected all the soldiers, that not only the army which followed him, but the other also, returned home in silence and sadness, as if, instead of being victors, they had been the vanquished. The public grief was farther increased, by the circumstance of his dying without children, in the flower of his age; and that he alone, almost, was deprived of the fruit of the victory which he had won. His estate came to Archibald, earl of Galloway, surnamed the Austere, who also was a brave cavalier in his day. This is that memorable battle of Otterburn, which was as remarkable for the magnanimity and modesty of the commanders and soldiers, and their modesty in victory, as for its various and changeable events; the conqueror, in the highest expectation of his glory, being taken off by death, so that he could not enjoy the fruit of his own labour; while the defeated general, though discomfited, and made prisoner, yet outlived this battle many years, in dignity and splendour. The action was fought on the 21st of July, in the year 1388. By this victory, the state of things became more composed and peaceable, both at home and abroad. But the king, feeling the infirmities of age, and understanding that he was reflected upon, because the late expedition was undertaken without him, called an assembly of the estates, and setting aside his eldest son John, who was of an indolent disposition, appointed Robert, earl of Fife, viceroy of the realm, with the title of governor; though formerly the bearers of that office were named guardians. While Henry Percy, who was eminent both for his quality and actions, continued prisoner in Scotland, the earl of March, commonly called earl marischal, a man fiercer in words than deeds, was officiating in his stead. This man, undervaluing the Scottish valor in the fight of Otterburn, and also severely blaming the cowardice of the English, incurred thereby the hatred of both nations. Robert, the new viceroy of Scotland, was so offended at his insolent boasting, that he thought

it a just cause to undertake an expedition against him. Accordingly, he entered the borders, and, with Archibald, earl of Douglas, marched directly toward the enemy, who, as was reported, waited for the Scots with a great army. On drawing near, Robert gave the enemy an opportunity to engage, which he declined, and then a trumpeter was sent to challenge him to fight in a plain field. But the marischal kept himself in his fastnesses and inaccessible places, nor would give any answer to the herald; so that Robert, as he had displayed his forces some hours to the foe, sent them forth to pillage in the neighbourhood; plundering those places particularly where the marischal was wont to reside. After this, he marched his troops back, laden with booty, without having had any conflict. This expedition, though entered upon slight grounds, yet was very pleasing both to the English and the Scots, who both rejoiced to see the proud vanity of the man thus humbled; but he as often as mention was made of it, alleged that he did it for the sake of his countrymen, as being unwilling to expose them to needless danger.

At this time a truce was made, and there were hopes of peace between France and England, by the mediation of the pope and the neighbouring princes, on this condition, that the allies of both should be comprehended expressly, namely, the Portuguese on the English side; and the Scots and Castilians on the French. King Robert, against the advice of his council, gave his single assent thereto, but upon no solid ground; for as he was unable to war, without consulting the estates, so neither could he engage in any truce, without their decree. The nobility, on this occasion, could not conceal the hidden resentment and disgust which they had conceived against the French, who had only done them this courtesy for an injurious purpose, by striking the weapons out of their hands, and taking away the fruit of a former victory, and any hopes they might have of new advantages. At last, though with much dispute and difficulty, the French ambassador gained his point, that the Scots should send envoys into France, to treat of the business, that so the near prospect of a peace might not be destroyed by their obstinacy. King Robert lived not long after, but departed this life at his castle of Doodon on the 19th of April, 1390. He lived 74 years, and reigned 19 years and 11 days. This monarch carried on his wars by his generals, and for the most part with good success. He was present in few battles himself, which some impute to his age, others to his cowardice; but all say, that he was a very good man, and equal in the arts of peace to the best of kings. He administered justice diligently and impartially to all men; and he severely punished robberies. In his actions he was constant; and in his engagements faithful. Though he came to the government in troublesome times, he settled things at home, appeased discord, governed with equity and justice; and obtained several conquests over his enemy, that he reduced all their castles except three.

After his death, tumults arose where they were least expected. Alexander earl of Buchan, the youngest son of the late king, by Elizabeth More, fell into a mortal feud with the bishop of Murray, upon a light occasion; and when he could not come at him to kill him, he wreaked his fury upon the church of Elgin, which was then one of the fairest in all Scotland, and burnt it down to the ground. The same year William Douglas, earl of Nithsdale, who, as I have already said, obtained, for his valour, the daughter of the king, was slain at Danzig on the Vistula, by some ruffians, who were hired to perpetrate the murder, by an Englishman named Clifford. For Douglas, whose matters were settled at home, that he might not lie idle, set out for the war; and, in Prussia, gave such proof of his courage, that he was made admiral of the fleet, which was very great, magnificent, and well manned. But a quarrel arising between him and Clifford, grounded upon old enmities, because the one grudged the other due honour; Clifford sent a challenge to Douglas, to fight with him hand to hand. But the brave, considering it what a hazardous adventure he had run himself by the challenge, before the set time came, caused Douglas to be murdered by assassins, whom he had hired for the purpose.

## BOOK X.

ROBERT III. *the hundred and first King, began his reign A. D. 1390.*

ROBERT II. was succeeded by his eldest son on the 13th of August, in the year 1390. He was, till now, called John; but, by a decree of the estates, his name was altered to Robert; which change, whether occasioned by the misfortunes and calamities of two kings called John, one of France, the other of England, or for the eminent virtues and felicity of the two sovereigns of the name of Robert, both in peace and war, who lately reigned in Scotland, authors have not stated, and therefore I shall not take upon me to determine.

The merit of the third Robert consisted in his being rather free from vice, than for any illustrious virtues; so that though the title of king was given him, the management of all public affairs rested with his brother. At the beginning of his reign, there was peace abroad, because the truce for three years, made with the English, had been prolonged for four years more. A sedition, however, was begun at home by Duncan, or Dunach Stuart. He was the son of Alexander, earl of Buchan, the king's brother; a cruel father, and a still worse son; who, upon the death of his grandfather, imagining now that he had a fit opportunity for rapine, gathered a band of followers, and, descending into Angus, spoiled all, as if it had been an enemy's country. Walter Ogilvy, and Walter Leighton his brother, in endeavouring to oppose him, were killed, together with sixty of their people. Elated with this success, he distressed the country more grievously than ever; but hearing of the approach of the earl of Crawford, whom the king had sent to restrain their insolence, the nimblest of the robbers fled speedily, and concealed themselves in secret places; but of the rest, who were slower in their movements, some were slain, and others taken and put to death. Thus the wickedness of these restless and turbulent mortals being checked and hindered from spreading over the champaign countries, made them fall out amongst themselves at home; where, especially, two families of them exercised great cruelties upon one another. As they refused to terminate their differences by course of law, or to refer them to indifferent arbitrators; the king sent two lords to suppress them, Thomas, earl of Dunbar, and James Lindsay, who, by the death of his father, was become earl of Crawford. These commanders, considering that they were to engage with a fierce and resolute people, who not only despised pleasure, but even death itself; and that they were not likely to subdue them by force, without great loss of their own men; resolved to try what they could do by policy. Accordingly, they discoursed with the heads of the two clans separately, representing to them the danger that must eventually accrue to both by their mutual animosity; and that, though one family should succeed in extirpating the other, it could not be accomplished without great injury to the triumphant party. But, they added, that the contest would not end so, since the victors, while in a weakened state, would have to encounter the forces sent against them by the king, whose anger appeared now in despatching troops to destroy them both, even before they had disabled one another. The two earls then said, that, if they would hearken to those who were more desirous of their preservation than their ruin, they would shew them a way how they might be reconciled with honour, and to the king's satisfaction. On desiring to hear this condition, it was proposed, that thirty of each side should engage in combat before the king, armed only with their swords; that they who were conquered should have a pardon for all past offences, and the victors be distinguished with respect by the sovereign and his nobles. Both parties being well pleased with the terms, a day was fixed for the contest. At the time appointed, the heads of the families, with their friends, came to court, and part of a field on the north side of the town of Perth was severed from the rest by a deep trench, and appropriated for the fight, with galleries built all round for the spectators. Here a great multitude assembled together, and sat ready to

see the dispute; but the fight was delayed a short time, because out of the three on one side a single person had hid himself for fear, and the rest were not willing to engage without being equal in number to their adversaries. Not a man, however, could be found to supply the place of him who was absent; while the other party, not one would turn out, or consent to be exempted from battle, lest he should seem to be less valour or courageous than the others. After a little pause, a common saddler came forth, and offered to supply the place of him that was absent, provided, that if his side conquered, they should pay him down half a French crown of gold, and also provide for his maintenance afterwards as long as he lived. Thus, the number being again completed and equal, the fight began; and it was carried on with all the exertion of body and mind that old grudges, inflamed by new losses, could inspire in men of such fierce dispositions, accustomed to blood and cruelty; as seeing honour and estate were to be the portion of the conquerors, and dishonour and ignominy to the conquered. The spectators were filled with a natural horror as the combatants were with fury, from a natural repugnance to the sight of ghastly wounds and mutilated bodies; the carnage being such, that the sight, on account of its animosity, resembled the rage of wild beasts in the destruction of men. But all took notice that none carried himself more courageously than the mercenary and supernumerary hireling, to whose valour the victory was principally to be ascribed. Of the side to which he belonged, there were left alive, besides himself, but all of them grievously wounded. Of the opposite party there remained only one, who was not wounded at all; but as there were such odds, and finding that he should be forced singly to encounter so many, he threw himself into the adjacent river Tay, and his adversaries, being able to follow him on account of their wounds, he escaped to the opposite side. By this means, the multitude of both factions, having lost their forward leaders, gave over the trade of sedition for many years, and betook themselves to husbandry. This combat happened in the year 1396.

About two years afterwards, in an assembly of the states at Perth, the king made David, his son, earl of Rothesay, being eighteen years of age, Robert, his brother, long since earl of Montrois and Fife, dukes of Albany and Argyll. This vain title of honour, which was then first instituted in Scotland, proved a great stimulus to ambition, but none at all to virtue; neither did it always thrive with any who enjoyed it. The king would have bestowed the same distinction upon the earl of Douglas; but he, being a grave and sensible person, peremptorily refused that nominal shadow of empty honour, when any man told him that he should be a duke, he rebuked him about it. Some say, that the name of governor, which had been given by the king to Robert, the king's brother, was this year confirmed by the estates; also that the family of the Lindsays had the earldom of Crawford and Angus, their former honours. They are, however, not fully clear, whether the name of the first earl of that family was Thomas or David.

The year following, Richard II. king of England, was forced to resign his crown, and was succeeded by Henry the Fourth; at the beginning of his reign, and before the truce was quite ended, new seeds of war were sown between the Scots. George Dunbar, earl of March, had betrothed his daughter Elizabeth to David, the king's son, and had already paid a good part of her dowry. Archibald, earl of Douglas, displeased that so powerful a man, and his son should be preferred before him, raised an objection to this union, on the ground that the consent of the estates had not been obtained; which was never remembered to have been done in any former marriage of the royal stock. The earl then offered the prince his daughter Mary, with a large dowry; and by means of Robert, the king's brother, who bore the suit in court, he so managed it, that the overture was accepted, and the marriage consummated, by the decree of the estates. George, being much affected by this injury and reproach, sharply expostulated with the king about it, desiring what was once done could not be recalled, he desired at least the payment of the dowry. This just demand being denied, and perceiving that he was not likely to obtain any right, because the whole court were possessed in favour of his rival, he departed, upon very angry, and even threatening terms; and so, giving up the castle of Dunbar to Robert Marston, he

sister's son, went to England. Robert presently yielded up the castle to a herald who was sent to demand it by the king, and Douglas was admitted into it with a garrison. Soon after George returned home, but being denied entrance into his own house, he took his wife, children, and some intimate friends, and returned to England. There, as he was a man powerful at home, and famous abroad, he formed an association with Percy, who was the mortal enemy of the name of Douglas. Being well beloved by the bordering Scots, of whom many were either his tenants, allies, or otherwise obliged to him, he made an inroad into the whole province of March, and carried off great plunder from the country, especially from the lands of the Douglas family. The king of Scots first proclaimed George a public enemy, next he confiscated all his estates; and afterwards he sent a herald to the king of England, to demand that he should be given up as a fugitive, according to the league made betwixt them, and also to complain of the violation of the truce. The English monarch gave a peremptory answer to his demands, that he had given the public faith to George for his protection, and that he would not break his royal word; as if a private engagement with a renegade was more religiously to be observed, than that which had been publicly confirmed by ambassadors and heralds; for the days of the truce made with Richard were not yet expired. In the mean time, Henry Percy the younger, called Hotspur, and George Dunbar, continued to infest the neighbouring lands of the Scots by their frequent incursions; till, elated by success, they entered Lothian with two thousand men, and made great havock about Haddington. They also laid siege to Hailes Castle, but without effect. On coming to Linton, a village situated on the river Tyne, in Lothian, they were so dismayed at the sudden approach of Douglas, that they left their booty, with all their baggage, behind them; and ran away in trepidation, without stopping till they came to Berwick. These things occurred about the beginning of February, in the year 1440.

The same year, upon the return of the herald, war was denounced against England; and then also Archibald Douglas, surnamed the Austere, a man inferior to none of his ancestors in every kind of merit, fell sick and died, in a very bad time for his country, which had lately lost, by various misfortunes, a number of brave generals. He was succeeded by his son, of the same name. On the 13th of August, the king of England, with great forces, entered Scotland; and on coming to Haddington, staid there three days, after which he marched to Leith; where he rested as long, and then laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The governor led an army against the English, but so very slowly, that it easily appeared he was perfectly indifferent to the fate of the castle, though it contained prince David, the son of the king. By this time, indeed, his wicked ambition began to shew itself; for he undervalued his brother, as an effeminate person, and sought the destruction of his children as much as he could, that he might enjoy the kingdom himself; so that their loss he counted his gain. The king of England, on the contrary, performed the part of an enemy with great moderation, as if, under the appearance of war, he only sought for peace; for, after making a slight attack on the castle, he raised the siege, and returned home, without doing any considerable damage to the places through which he passed; insomuch that, in his marches both backward and forward, he gained the commendation of being a mild, clement, and moderate foe. He was courteous to those who surrendered themselves; neither did he offer violence to consecrated places; and he even rewarded those bountifully, who had formerly entertained his father. While these practices ingratiated him with the people, they rendered the governor more odious; for neither prosecuting the war with energy, nor endeavouring to make so easy and beneficent a king his friend. After the return of Henry to England, George Dunbar continued still to invade the borders, but the inroads were more frequent than considerable. To suppress him, there was more need of a diligent than numerous army, and therefore Douglas divided the forces of each county into small bands, with commanders over them; who, by turns, were to impede the enemy; or, if they saw occasion, to engage him in an engagement. The command of the first party fell to the lot of Thomas Halyburton, lord of Dirlinton, who took a great booty from the

enemy near Bamburgh. But Patrick Hepburn, who wandered farther abroad, with a greater force, had not the like success; for, trusting too much to the numbers of his men, and not being very cautious how he retreated with his prey, he was cut off by the English, and with him all the flower of the Lothian troops. Archibald Douglas, to revenge the death of his friend, with the consent of the governor gathered about ten thousand men, and was accompanied by a number of the nobles, among whom was Murdo, the governor's son. When they came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, they passed the river and wasted the country with fire and sword; but being there encountered by Henry Percy the younger, and George Dunbar, in a pitched battle, they were overcome, and many of the nobles were slain; Douglas was taken prisoner after losing one of his eyes; and there fell also into the enemy's hands, Murdo earl of Fife, Thomas earl of Murray, and George earl of Angus, with many other noble and illustrious persons; nor was the strength of Scotland ever so much weakened in any fight, for many years before, as it was in this battle, which was fought at Homeldon, a town in Northumberland, on the seventh of May, in the year 1401.

Percy, having obtained this signal victory, resolved to reduce all the country which lay betwixt Northumberland and the Forth under the English scepter, and he thought it would be a work of no great difficulty to compass, in regard most of the nobility of those countries were either slain in the fight, or were his prisoners. To accomplish this resolution, he began with laying siege to Cocklaw, a castle in Teviotdale, the governor of which agreed, that unless the castle was relieved by the Scots in fifty days, he would capitulate. When these conditions were brought to the king and the governor, some were of opinion that the castle should be surrendered, as not being of consequence enough to hazard, for it, the strength of the kingdom a second time, which had been so dreadfully shaken and weakened in the late fight. This dejection of spirit proceeded not so much from any fear of the enemy, as from the perfidiousness of the governor, whose thoughts were intent upon gaining the kingdom. He, on the other hand, to avert all suspicion from himself, in brief and confident words affirmed, that this abjectness and confession of petulant fear would inspirit the enemy more than the gaining of a battle. He added that if any one thought the English would be content with taking one cast, they were much mistaken; for as fire is more increased by a light sprinkling of water, so the desire of the enemy, on the surrender of some places, would not be extinguished, but rather inflamed to the capture of more; and that therefore, what was given up at first, would be only a step to a farther progress. "But, (said he,) if all of you refuse to march out for the relief of the castle, I will go alone; for, as long as I live, and am in health, I will never suffer such a mark of disgrace to be branded on the Scottish name." Upon this gallant speech of the governor, the rest, either abandoning or dissuading their suspicion, cried out, that they would follow him. But fortune decided the controversy, and averted the danger; for Percy was recalled to the civil war in England, and so the siege was raised without a combat.

Whilst these things were acting abroad against the enemy, matters went no better at home; for shortly after the death of Archibald Douglas the year before, there immediately followed the decease of the queen Annabella, and of Walter Trail, archbishop of St. Andrew's, which made all men's minds anticipate a great change of affairs. For while the splendour of military matters was kept up by Douglas, the ecclesiastical authority and appearance of ancient discipline was supported by Trail; and the dignity of the court by the queen, as soon became evident by what happened after her death. Patrick the king's son, was a young man of a fierce disposition, and inclined to wantonness and debauchery, which vices were now increased by paternal indulgence. Though the king had not authority enough to maintain the reverence due to him, yet, by the diligent admonition of those who were appointed to be the prince's tutors in his youth, and chiefly by the counsel and advice of his mother, the youthful heat of David had been hitherto somewhat restrained. But when she was dead, he, being freed from this curb, returned to his past manners and vicious courses; for, laying aside all shame and fear, he took away other men's wives by force, and maidens too, though ever so well

descended; and those whom he could not seduce by fair means, he ravished. If any one, by remonstrance, or otherwise, endeavoured to check the youth in his evil courses, he was made to feel his vengeance. Many complaints being brought to his father of these enormities, he wrote to his brother, the governor, to keep him near his person, that he might have a strict eye over him, till he should give some hopes of amendment. The governor had now an opportunity put into his hands, to effect what he most desired, which was, to destroy his brother's issue; so that, meeting with David three miles from St. Andrew's, he carried him into the castle there, which he kept as a garrison, after the death of the archbishop. In a short time, he took him from thence, and conveyed him to his own castle of Falkland, where he shut him up close prisoner, with the intent of starving him to death. But the miserable fate which his uncle's cruelty had designed, was protracted for a few days by the compassion of two of the female sex: one a young maid, whose father was governor of the castle and garrison. She gave him oat cakes, made so thin, that they could be folded together, as is usual in Scotland, and whenever she went into the little garden near the prison, she put them under a linen veil or hood, which she carelessly threw over her head, as if to keep off the sun, and thrust them into the prison to him through a small cranny, serving as a window. The other was a country nurse, who milked her own breast, and, by a little tute, conveyed it into his mouth. By this mean fare, which served rather to increase than assuage his hunger, his wretched life was lengthened out for a little while; till, at length, by the vigilance of the guards, his benefactors were discovered and put to death; the father being enraged at the conduct of his own daughter, whilst he endeavoured to manifest his fidelity to an unfaithful regent. The young man being thus left destitute of all human support, having, by force of hunger, gnawed and torn his own flesh, died at length more than a single death. His melancholy end, though commonly known to the rest of the world, was long concealed from his father, because no man would venture to be the messenger of such sad tidings.

To return now to the affairs of England, as far as they are intermingled with our own. When Percy, with a great number of the nobility, conspired to make war upon their king, he offered Douglas, whom he retained prisoner after the battle of Homeldon, that if he would assist him with all his strength and ability against Henry, he would set him at liberty without ransom. Douglas, who was glad of an opportunity to annoy the English in any way, readily embraced the proposal. Hereupon he gathered some of his friends and tenants about him, and prepared himself for the field, where he behaved himself as stoutly as he had pledged himself he would do to Percy. Without regarding the common soldiers, his observation was wholly intent upon the king; but it happened that there were several officers clothed in royal attire, which was done on purpose by the English, either to deceive the enemy, if they should press hard upon the monarch, or else that the soldiers, in those places than one, might fancy that he was present to witness their courage or cowardice. Douglas taking notice of one of the persons who was thus arrayed in fine armour, rushed upon him with all his might, and unhorsed him; and when he was relieved by those who were next, he did the same to a second, and a third, who were all attired as kings, insomuch, that, unmindful of his own danger, he became lost in astonishment from whence so many royal warriors should start up at once. This is related by Edward Hall, the English chronicler, as well as by some of our own historians. At length, after a terrible and bloody fight, fortune reversed the scene, and the king won the day. Douglas was sadly wounded, and taken amongst the prisoners; and when many would have put him to death, the king saved him, and did not only commend his fidelity to his friend, but also rewarded him for his valour; and when his wounds were cured, after he had staid some months with him, the payment of a great sum of money gave him his release.

In the mean time, the Scottish king heard of the dreadful manner in which his eldest son had perished by the cruelty of his unnatural uncle. The author of the murder was sufficiently pointed at by private whisperings, though no person could dare publicly to accuse a man of such power. Upon this, the king sent for his brother, and sharply expostulated with him concerning the



report. The other having already prepared his tale, charged different parties with the guilt of the young man's death, while he asserted boldly, that, as for himself and connexions, they were willing, whenever the king chose, to plead and maintain their innocence, in a due course of law; but that, as for the murderers, some of them he had taken already, and the rest he would man-diligent search after. Thus the matter being brought to examination, according to law, the perpetrator of the wickedness summoned a council, procure accusers, and he who was impleaded as guilty, was by them acquitted as guiltless of the crime. The king imprecated a most dreadful punishment from the God of heaven, on the man and his posterity who had committed the horrid wickedness; and then, oppressed with grief and bodily weakness, returned to Bute, whence he came, suspecting more than ever that his brother had actually committed the atrocious deed, though he was too powerful to be brought by him to justice and punishment for it. But he, like a strong assembler, brought the accused authors of the wickedness out of prison, and put them to cruel deaths. It is true, they were persons of bad characters, but perfectly innocent of the particular fact for which they suffered.

In the mean time, the king consulted with his friends how he might preserve his youngest son James, for whose safety he was very solicitous, whom he had left in the custody of Henry Wardlaw, archbishop of St. Andrews, who was an honest man, and faithful to his trust. They gave it as their opinion, that, as he was not safe in any part of Scotland, it would be most prudent to send him over to Charles VI. king of France, the old ally and only friend of the nation; observing, that he could be educated no where so safely and honourably than in that country. The recent instance of David Bruce was strong in their minds, who, in dubious and troublesome times at home, had there, for some years, met with an honourable retreat and entertainment. Hereupon, a vessel was prepared, and he went on board at the Bass, which is a rock rather than an island. Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney, was sent with him as his guide or director. Whilst they were sailing along the shore, he landed near Flamborough-head, being either driven by tempest, or with the design to refresh himself on shore, after having been very sea-sick. There, however, he was detained by the English, and they sent to their king, who commanded that he should be brought up to court, so that neither the security of the truce, which was made a little before, for eight years, nor the supplicating letters of his father, could prevail for his delivery, and he was kept as a lawful prisoner. His father, at his departure, had sent letters by him to the king of England, in case he should be detained to land there, wherein he made an affecting complaint, both of his own, and also of the common fortune of all mankind. But, though the English monarch was not ignorant of the inconstancy of human affairs, yet the grudge against the Scottish nation more prevailed with him, than either respect due to the youth's innocent age, the tears of his afflicted father, the dignity of the royal title, or the faith of treaties. On referring the matter to his council, how he should treat the son of the king of Scots, who had arrived in his dominions, those who had any regard to equity, and were weary of being inclined to the milder opinion, namely, that the royal youth, who had escaped from the cruelty of his own countrymen, and was now their suppliant, should be hospitably entertained, and amicably treated; that so a fierce nation unconquered by the contentions of many ages, might be won and brought over to reconciliation by courtesy. For this they thought the most safe and firm victory, not when liberty is taken by force, but when minds are united by the indissoluble bond of amity. Others were of a contrary opinion, that he might be lawfully detained as a prisoner, either because many of the nobility of Scotland had, in person, assisted Percy in the insurrection which he made against the king, or because his father had entertained and relieved the elder Percy, when he was banished, and condemned as a traitor in England.

This advice, as commonly the worst counsels do, prevailed, though all that were present at the consultation knew well enough, that those Scots who fought against the English king in the insurrection of Percy, had no commission from their sovereign, and that they were led to take the part they did,

samely out of private affection to Douglas, who was then in the power of Percy. They might also have remembered, what Henry himself had answered to the Scots, a few years before, when they demanded George Dunbar to be given up; notwithstanding which, they adhered to this last opinion, as commonly, in the courts of princes, a false pretence of advantage weighs down honest and righteous counsels. Yet in one thing Henry dealt nobly and royally with his captive, that he caused him to be educated in good learning and discipline. This calamity of the son was brought to the ears of his father while he was at supper, and so overwhelmed him with grief, that he was almost ready to give up the ghost in the hands of his servants who attended him, and carried him to his bedchamber, where he abstained from all food, and, at the end of three days, died of hunger and grief, at Rothsay, a town in the island of Bute, in the sixteenth year of his reign, on the 1st of April, and year of Christ 1406. He was buried in the abbey of Paisley. This Robert, for tallness of stature, and the beauty and comely proportion of his whole person, was inferior to very few of his contemporaries. His life was harmless, and there was no virtuous accomplishment, becoming a private person, wanting in him; so that it may be truly said of him, that he was a better man than a sovereign.

After his death, the government was settled, by the decree of all the estates, upon Robert his brother. He had many things in him worthy of the office and dignity, if, out of a blind ambition to rule, he had not pursued unjust courses to obtain the throne. He was valiant in war, prudent in counsel, just in judgment, liberal to the nobles, and tender in levying taxes on the commons. The same year, the elder Percy again entered into a conspiracy against the king of England, to revenge the deaths of his brother and two sons, who had been slain; but his design was discovered, many of his accomplices were taken and executed, and he himself, for fear, fled into Scotland, with the intention of proceeding from thence to Flanders and France, to procure auxiliaries, and renew the war. In the mean time, Henry, the son of the king of England, made great incursions into Scotland, both by land and sea. During his march homewards with a great booty, the castle of Jedburgh, which the enemy had kept ever since the fight at Durham, was taken and pillaged by the commons of Teviotdale, after which, by the governor's order, it was wholly demolished. George, earl of March, who had considerably injured his countrymen to the advantage of the English, being neither able to procure from them aid to recover his own, nor an honest maintenance amongst them, pacified the governor by his friends, and so returned home; yet he lost part of his patrimony, namely, his castles in Lochmaben and Anlandale, which were given to Douglas, for the losses he had sustained; and thus all offences were forgiven on both sides, and he passed the rest of his life in great harmony with his neighbours, and in faithful subjection to his king.

The next year, Percy, after he had made a vain and fruitless tour over France and Flanders, returned into Scotland, to his old friend the earl of March; by whom he was courteously entertained, and accommodated according to his estate. There he, by private messengers, carried on a correspondence about returning into his own country; and, amongst the rest, he wrote to Ralph Rokesby, his ancient and faithful friend, as he thought, informing him that he did not want force, both of Scots and English, who were ready to assist him in recovering his ancient patrimony, provided Rokesby would join them with his assistance. This Ralph was at that time sheriff of Yorkshire, as they there call the officer who presides in chief over juridical assemblies. This man enticed Percy to him upon pretence of giving him aid, and then discovered the conspiracy to the king. Thus was he betrayed by his friend, and his head, being cut off, was sent to the king in London.

There was, also, about that time, a certain Englishman in Scotland, who called himself Richard the Second; but falsely, as I suppose; for when the elder Percy often and earnestly desired to speak with him, he could not by any persuasion be induced to comply, fearing, as may be guessed, lest his apostate might be detected by a man who so well knew the king. Notwithstanding this, he was for some years treated as one of royal blood; and that

he might live more securely, he feigned himself most averse from any desire of enjoying the kingdom. On his death, he was buried in the church of the Franciscan friars at Stirling; where the title of King of England was placed over his grave in the epitaph. Not long after, Fastcastle, a very strong fortress, as the name imports, in March, was taken from the English by Patrick, the son of George Dunbar, and Thomas Holden, the governor, who had infested all the neighbouring places of Lothian with continual robberies, was made prisoner. In Teviotdale, William Douglas, and Gavin Dunbar, youngest son of the earl of March, broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, and burnt the town; but they did not attempt the castle, because they were unprovided with every thing necessary for a siege. The next year, which was 1411, Donald, lord of the Western isles, claimed Ross as the next heir, which indeed he was; but finding he could not get his right from the governor, who had unjustly seized it, he raised a body of one thousand men, and made a descent on the main land. Soon after his descent, he easily seized on Ross, the whole country being willing to return to the subjection of their own just master. But the readiness with which the inhabitants submitted, gave him, whose mind was greedy of prey, encouragement to attempt greater matters. Accordingly, he passed over into Murray, and, as there was no force to defend the country, he reduced it to his obedience; and then proceeding farther in his depredations to Strathbogie, he threatened Aberdeen. Against this sudden and unexpected enemy the governor gathered forces; but because the greatness and near approach of the danger forbade waiting for slow-paced aid, Alexander earl of Marr, the son of Alexander, brother of the governor, with almost the whole of the nobility beyond the Tay, at a village called Harlaw, set themselves and their men in battle-array against Donald. The fight was cruel and bloody; for many nobles had then to contend valiantly, for their estates and glory, against the savage cruelty of the invader. At last the night parted them, when it may be rather said, that they were both weary with fighting, than that either party had the better; for the event of the conflict was so uncertain, that when both sides had reckoned their loss, each counted himself the conqueror. On this occasion there fell more noble personages of eminence, than had ever perished in one battle, with a foreign enemy, for many years before; and therefore the village, which was till then obscure, grew famous on account of it, even to posterity.

This year public schools began first to be opened at St. Andrew's, which was effected rather by the co-operation of learned men, who offered themselves as professors of learning, than produced by the allurements of either private or public endowments. For the next ten years, hardly any memorable thing passed betwixt the two nations; either because there was a truce made, upon which, however, authors are silent; or because Henry IV. dying on the 21st of March, and his son Henry V. presently succeeding him, who was, all the rest of his life, intent on the affairs of France, the English abstained from offering any injury to the Scots. And besides, the governor of Scotland did not dare to stir on his side, for fear the English should bring in the true heir of the crown, whom he knew many of the people would join, out of commiseration of his misfortunes. Therefore, what inroads were made at this time, were rather robberies than wars. Penrith, in England, was burnt by Archibald Douglas; and Dumfries, in Scotland, by the English. There was likewise an exchange of prisoners made; Murdo, the governor's son, taken at Homeldon fight, being delivered up for Percy, who, on the reduction of his grandfather's party in England, was brought into Scotland, and left with the governor; but upon the accession of the new king to the crown, he was restored to the dignity of his ancestors. He was not properly a prisoner by the law of arms; yet the unjust detention of James, son to the king of Scots, stopt the mouths of the English, that they could not justly complain of any injury in the case. As for Percy himself, he was so far from resenting it, that, as long as he lived, he acknowledged the civility and great friendship of the Scots to him, in all kinds of mutual service.

Moreover, the same year, an embassy came from the council of Constantine, the head whereof was the abbot of Ponteniac; and another from Peter Lamer, who had seized on the papacy, and as obstinately kept it. He, by Henry

Harding, an English Franciscan, succeeded in bringing over the governor to his party, but the whole body of the priesthood was against him; for they having assented to the council of Constance, subscribed to the election of Martin V. In the mean time, the king of France, by means of a violent disease, became lunatic, and his distemper was increased by the monks, who pretended to cure him. By this means that nation was divided into two factions. The head of the one was the duke of Burgundy, who, having slain the king's brother, drew him to the English interest. The head of the other was the king's son, who, being disinherited by his father, was called by his enemies, in a jeer, the king of Berry; because he usually kept himself at Bourges in Berry, a town of the Bernois. He, being forsaken by a great part of his own countrymen, and destitute of foreign aid, in the year 1419, sent the earl of Vendosme as his ambassador to the Scots, to demand aid of them, according to the league betwixt the two nations. The assembly of the estates ordered him seven thousand men; and indeed, at that time, in regard the soldiers were increased by reason of the long peace with England, it was no hard matter to make up such a number of men, being only volunteers. John earl of Buchan, the son of the governor, was appointed general of the forces, and many eminent persons followed him; of whom Archibald earl of Wigton, the son of Archibald the second earl of Douglas, was by far the most eminent. On their arrival in France, they were sent by the dauphin, the eldest son of the king, into Touraine, a country abounding with all sorts of provision, and near to the enemy. The duke of Clarence, who then held the command in France, instead of his brother the king of England, made great havock in the country of Anjou, whose inhabitants retained their obedience to the French monarch; and it was supposed that he would have come as far as the town of Beaux. As this was two days before Easter, the Scots, thinking that the general would cease, according to custom, from any military action during that solemn time, and apply himself to religious duties,—or, as others say, presuming upon a truce of eight days, which had been made,—took less care of themselves than they were wont to do. The duke of Clarence being informed of this, either by Andrew Fregose, an Italian, or else by some Scottish foragers, who had been taken prisoners by his cavalry; and, having got a fair opportunity for action, as he imagined, rose up from dinner, and, with his cavalry only, marched towards the enemy; wearing himself, besides his other gallant furniture and armour, a royal diadem, set with many jewels, on his head. Some few French who were quartered nearest the enemy, in a village called Little Beaux, being terrified at his sudden approach, fled into the tower of an adjoining church. As he was assaulting these, the alarm was given to the rest of the army, and presently, in great dismay, they all cried out, "To your arms!" The earl of Buchan, while the rest were arraying themselves, sent out thirty archers to take possession of a bridge, which was the only passage over a neighbouring river. There a skirmish began, and Hugh Kennedy, who was quartered in a church hard by, came in to them, with one hundred men, who, in such a surprise, were only partly armed. This body, however, with their arrows, hindered the horse from passing over; whereupon Clarence, with the forwardest of his men, dismounted, and maintained the combat on foot; and, after a fierce charge, repelled the Scots, some of whom were wholly, and others only half, armed, from the bridge, and thus opened the passage for his troops. But, whilst the duke was remounting his horse, and his men were passing the narrow bridge a few at a time, the earl of Buchan was at hand, with two hundred horse; and now, both sides being very earnest to shew themselves, a sharp contest began with equal courage and hatred: for the Scots were glad that they had an opportunity to give the first proof of their valour, and so to refute the insults of the French, who were wont to despise them, as men given more to eating and drinking, than to fighting. The like reproach the French are wont to cast upon the Britons; the Spaniards on the French; and the Africans on the Spaniards. On the other side, the English took it in great disdain, that they should be attacked by such an implacable enemy, not only at home, but even beyond seas; they therefore fought stoutly, but none more fiercely than Clarence himself. As he was known by his armour, John Swinton ran at him, and, with his lance, grievously wounded

him in the face; and the earl of Buchan also smote him with a trabuccan, and struck him from his horse. Upon this, the English, seeing their general fall, ran away, and many of them were slain in the pursuit, that lasted till night. This battle was fought on the eve of Easter, when the days are short in cold countries, a little after the vernal equinox. There fell of the English in this fight above two thousand, amongst whom were twenty-six persons of eminent rank. Many prisoners were also taken, who were persons of distinction in their own country; and especially some of the duke's relations. Few of the Scots or French, however, were lost, and those of no great note. This is the most common tradition concerning the death of Clarence; but the Plescarty house states, though on vulgar authority, that he was slain by Alexander Macrasland, a knight of Lennox, who took off the diadem from his head, and sold it to John Stuart of Darnly, for one thousand angels of gold; and he afterwards pawned it to Robert Houston, to whom he owed five thousand angels. The chief credit of this victory was ascribed to the Scots, neither could their greatest detractors deny it. Whereupon Charles the dauphin created the earl of Buchan lord high constable, which is the highest office in France, next to the king; and the rest of the commanders had also honours bestowed on them, according to their rank and valour.

Whilst these things were transacting in France in the year 1420, Robert, governor of Scotland, died on the 3d of September, fifteen years after the death of king Robert III. Murdo, who succeeded him in that place, was a man of so sluggish a disposition, as scarcely to be fit to govern his private family, much less the commonwealth. Owing, therefore, to his slothfulness, or excessive indulgence, he so spoiled his three children, that, in a short time, he brought both them and himself into great distress, and, at length, to utter ruin. This change of domestic affairs caused the earls of Buchan and Winton, with many of their kindred, to return home from the continent. When affairs were settled, the dauphin recalled the earl of Buchan, who, with his wife's father Archibald, his son James, and the flower of the Scottish soldiers, sailed to France, leaving the other son, the earl of Winton, behind, on account of his severe illness. They landed with five thousand soldiers at Rochelle, and so came to the dauphin at Poitou, where they were joyfully received, and Douglas was made duke of Touraine.

When Henry, king of England, heard of the death of Clarence, he appointed John earl of Bedford, his other brother, to the command, and sent him into France with 4000 horse and 10,000 foot. He followed himself soon after, and took with him James king of Scotland in the expedition; thinking by that means either to insinuate himself with the people of that nation, who had lately fought against him, or else to render them objects of suspicion to the French; but he obtained neither of his ends, nor could he prevail with them, at the desire of their own king, so much as to return home, or to stand neuter, and be spectators only of the war; for when he addressed all the garrisons held by the Scots, they made him one general answer, that they could not acknowledge him for their king who was under the power of another man. Henry was so offended at their peremptoriness and constancy, that, on taking the town of Meaux by storm, he hung up twenty Scots who were found there, alleging that they bore arms against their own king. Soon after this, he and Charles VI. king of France, died within a short time of each other. About two years afterwards, the English prevailed in a battle at Verneuil, where 600 of the principal Scots, the earls of Buchan and Douglas, one the duke of Touraine, and the other master of the horse to the French king; also James Douglas, the son of the latter, Alexander Lindsay, Robert Stuart, and Thomas Swinton; and of common soldiers above two thousand. Within three years following, the auxiliary Scots received another great overthrow at Breteuil, while carrying provisions to Orleans. They encountered the English by the way; and in the fight there were slain, on the part of the Scots, William Stuart, with his brother, and two eminent knights of the family of Douglas, whose descendants continue to enjoy two castles, and large possessions around them, in Scotland, namely, one the castle of Drumlanrick, and the other that of Lochleven in Fife. Thus have I briefly touched upon the actions of the Scots, performed in a few years in France, as external occurrences; but the

Further detail of them is to be found in the French annals, and though they are not quite foreign from the affairs of Scotland, yet I should not have gone out of my way to mention them, if the calumny of some English writers had not compelled me to it. For they endeavour to undervalue and speak evil of what they dare not deny; and yet, even if histories did not relate these exploits, the munificence of the French kings, the decrees of the cities, and the honourable monuments at Orleans and Touraine, sufficiently declare them. What, then, can they here object? The Scots, say they, are too poor to maintain so great a force in a foreign country. I answer, first, that if their poverty be a fault, it is the fault of the soil, not of the men; neither would I have taken this for a reproach, if it did not appear by their writings, that the English intended it as such; and therefore I shall only answer them with this, that these poor and beggarly Scots, as they call them, have gained many great and famous victories over the opulent and wealthy English; and if they do not believe me in this point, let them consult their own histories; and if they suspect their belief of those records also, let us not be required to receive them for true in other things. But to return to the affairs of Scotland.

Murdo, as I have already observed, having succeeded to the place of his father, kept a very loose discipline in his own house; for his children, whose names were Walter, Alexander, and James, despised their inferiors, and consequently oppressed them with many injuries. They also infected the youth with those vices to which they were themselves addicted; and as their father neither corrected nor restrained them, at last he was punished himself, for giving them such a bad education. The old man set a high value on a certain bird which he had, of that kind of hawk called a falcon. Walter, his son, had often begged this bird, and being always denied, at last, upon a time, he caught it out of his father's hand, and wrung its neck. Upon this, his father said, "Because thou canst not find in thy heart to obey me, I will bring in another, that both thou and I too shall be forced to obey;" and, from that time forward, he bent his thoughts upon the restoration of his kinsman James. It happened that Walter had, a little time before this, affronted and injured the chief man of Argyle, named Colin Campbell, who, being made acquainted with the thoughts of Murdo, greatly approved his design, and assisted him in it; so that he assembled the estates at Perth, and a consultation being held concerning the recall of their king, they all, either out of favour to the true heir of the crown, or disgusted with the present state of affairs, willingly agreed to send an embassy to procure his release. Some nobles were accordingly chosen, and sent as ambassadors, who, coming into England, found the English more accessible to it than they expected; for the duke of Gloucester, who, in the king's minority, administered the government, called the council together, and easily persuaded them to permit James, the son of the late king of Scotland, to return, at the desire of his subjects, into his own country. He urged the policy of this by the consideration, that, in his present condition, the king had it not in his power to recall, by his authority, the Scots out of France; neither could he form an alliance between his kingdom and England. The duke further thought to gain another advantage, and not only to bind him fast as a sure and constant personal friend, but to keep him under the power and influence of England, by marrying him to Joan, the daughter of the earl of Somerset, with whom James was greatly enamoured, and who was the most beautiful woman of her time. By her influence, the regent persuaded himself the league with France might be easily undermined; and that if the king was set at liberty, either he would be made a friend to England by that courtesy, or else, whilst revenging the wrongs his kindred had done him, he would entangle his country in a dismal intestine war; by which means, either the English would be made stronger by the addition of such a friend, or, if their Scottish enemies disagreed amongst themselves, they should be more discouraged, and readier for a foreign war. And indeed these were no rash considerations, if the English themselves, through their mercenary spirits, had not served their own interests. For, seeing they demanded a greater sum of money for his redemption, than the Scots, in their present circumstances, could either promise, or were able to pay, a compromise was made, that the dowry of the wife should be retained for one half, and that the sons of some

noblemen should be given in hostage, for the payment of the other. James, being set at liberty upon these terms, returned home, after he had been eighteen years a prisoner, in the year of our Lord 1423.

Amidst the great concourse of people who flocked to see him, and congratulate his return, he was soon taken up with the complaints of those who grievously lamented the wrongs they had sustained since the death of his father the last king, partly by the negligence, and partly by the injustice of the governors. Walter, the son of Murdo, Malcolm Fleming, and Thomas Boyd, were principally accused; and, to pacify the commons for the wrongs they were committed to several prisons, until the next convention of the estates which was appointed to be on the 27th day of May; when Fleming and Boyd upon making some compensation for damages, and paying heavy fines to the king's exchequer, were set at liberty.

*JAMES I. the hundred and second King, began his reign A. D. 1424.*

In the mean time, the king and queen were crowned on the 30th day of April; when he was placed in the chair of state by his cousin Murdoch, though that office belonged to the earls of Fife. Soon after, many profitable statutes were enacted for the good of the public, but especially to restrain robberies; which, by the licentiousness of former times, had grown to such a height, that laws and magistrates were despised, as if all right lay in the power of arms. They next consulted how to raise the money for the payment of the king's ransom; but the public treasure being low, by reason of so many wars, and the domestic seditions which followed them, the governors had pardoned offenders, and bestowed rewards on good patriots, so that the royal revenue was mortgaged, and money taken up thereon, he could not pay it his own, and was forced to crave aid of his subjects. The nobles, whose sons were left hostages, easily obtained that an act should pass for that purpose; but, in the payment of the impost, there was not so ready an obedience. For, upon a valuation of the moveables, a twentieth part was levied, which, in so great a scarcity of money, though every thing else was abundant and cheap, seemed intolerable to men who were not accustomed to taxes, and who also were more concerned at the precedent that might operate for the future, than on account of the present burden. Besides this, the highest sort were calumniated by the vulgar, as if they had laid too much of the weight of taxation upon the shoulders of the poor. But that which troubled the commons most, was the short time appointed for the payment of the levy; for it was enjoined to be brought in within fifteen days; and if any one proved a defaulter, his cattle were to be seized upon, either by the lord of the manor or the sheriff of the county. And, if any one alleged his being in debt, or in arrears of rent to his landlord, the exception did not avail to abate his contribution. The evil was further increased by the severity and harshness of the collectors, who not only vexed the people, but, by false reckonings and charges, deducted a great part of the money which was collected for the public use. In addition to all this, the imposition seemed more intolerable, because the former governors had been very remiss and moderate in their levies and assessments, for the purpose of insinuating themselves into the love of the commons, and by that means keep them from desiring the restoration of their lawful king. For this cause it was, that when the assembly gave liberty to Robert, the king's uncle, to levy a tax, he, to ingratiate himself with the commons, refused to let it pass into an act; affirming, "that he had rather pay down so much money of his own, than that the people should be burdened on such an account." After the king had exacted the first payment, which came in very sparingly, and with the ill-will of the public, who complained that, besides the burdens of the wars, they had these new taxes imposed upon them, he forgave the rest.

In this assembly, Murdo, duke of Albany, with his son Walter and Alexander, Duncan, earl of Lenox, his wife's father, and Robert Graham, who, seven years after, murdered the king, were taken and committed to prison; together with twenty-four more of the chief nobility. But the most of these were, a little time after, set at liberty; Murdo only, with his son, and wife's father, being retained in custody. The same day that Murdo was taken, the king

seized his castle of Falkland in Fife, and that of Downe in Monteith, out of which his wife was carried to the castle of Tantallon, in Lothian. James, his youngest son, on hearing of the havoc that was making among his family, gathered a band of men, and burnt the town of Dumbarton, besides which he slew John Stuart, the king's uncle, surnamed Rufus, and then fled into Ireland, where he died shortly after. There also Finlaw, a Dominican, and bishop of Lismore, who fled with him, and was his counsellor in all his affairs, departed this life. The wife of Walter, with her two sons, Andrew and Alexander, and Arthur, a base-born son, withdrew likewise into Ireland, but, in the reign of James III. they returned again, and were restored to their lands with great honour. The same year, in an assembly of the estates at Stirling, Murdo, with his two sons, and wife's father, were brought out of prison, to be tried according to law; the proceedings being conducted after the custom of the country, which is thus: Some man eminent for wisdom and authority, is chosen president of the court, and he hath at least twelve assessors joined with him, who are to hear the crimes objected, and to pass sentence on the prisoner, or party accused, according to their oaths. These judges are usually of the same quality with the party accused, or at least of the next condition to him, as near as may be; but the prisoner hath power to except against his judges, when the number of twelve, and sometimes more, is completed; and when the crimes are weighed, the sentence is pronounced according to the majority of voices. In this case, judges being chosen according to custom, it is not material to mention their names, but certainly they were persons of repute, and some of them nearly related to the accused.

The prisoners were convicted of high-treason. The two young men were put to death the same day; their father and grandfather, by the mother's side, the day after, on a little rising hill over against the castle of Stirling. There goes a current report, though I do not find it mentioned in history, that the king sent to Isabella, wife of his cousin-german, the heads of the father, husband, and sons, to try whether so fierce a woman, through the impatience of grief, as sometimes happens, would not reveal the secrets of her mind; but, though she was much disturbed at the sudden spectacle, yet she made use of no intemperate language, and only answered, "That if the crimes objected were true, the king had done justly, and according to law."

The assembly being dissolved, John Montgomery and Humphrey Cunningham, being sent by the king for the purpose, reduced the castle in Marin and in Loch-Lomond, which was held in the name of James Stuart, the fugitive. Not long after this, John Stuart of Darnley, who, when the commanders of the Scots in France were destroyed in various ways, was made general of the horse amongst them, came over with the archbishop of Rheims, to renew the ancient league with him, and to contract a marriage between Lewis, the son of Charles VII. and Margaret, the daughter of James, both of whom were only children at that time. These matters being accomplished, the next year, which was 1426, all Scotland was subdued within Mount Gramscus; so that the king became encouraged to proceed farther in his conquests. Accordingly, he first caused the castle of Inverness to be repaired, which is situated in a convenient place in the farthest part of Murray. Two years after, going thither to administer justice, and suppress robberies, he sent for the chiefs of all the families, especially those who were accustomed to make incursions with great troops, and collect plunder in the neighbouring countries, raising contributions upon them in time of peace, and forcing the poor people to supply them with victuals, while they themselves led an idle life. Some of these robbers had one thousand, some two thousand, and others more partisans under their command, by which means virtuous people were kept in subjection to them for fear of danger; and the bad, who found a sure refuge amongst them, were emboldened to commit all manner of wickedness. The king got most of these men into his power, some by threats, and others by promises; but he committed about forty of their principals to prison, and upon trial, two of the most villainous, namely, Alexander Macrory and John Macarthur, were hung; James Campbell was likewise put to death for the murder of John the islander, a man of some note in his country; the rest were confined apart in several prisons; some afterwards suffered death, and



set at liberty. Thus, as the heads of the faction were either slain or kept in custody, the king supposed that the common sort, being deprived of their leaders, would not stir; and therefore persuaded them, by kind and gentle words, to do what was just, and to place the hopes of their safety in nothing but the innocence of their lives. On the condition of their thus acting, he promised to honour and reward them; but, if not, they might be assured, that the punishment which had been inflicted upon others, would most certainly await themselves.

When matters were thus composed, the king had still with him Alexander the islander, one of the most potent persons in the state, next to the sovereign himself; for he commanded over all the Western Isles, besides which, he had an accession of the fertile county of Ross, through his mother, who was daughter to Walter Leslie, the late earl of that county. Alexander, having committed many cruel and flagitious acts, was in great fear of the king, whom yet he found very clement, by the mediation of his friends, inasmuch that he was kindly invited to court, and graciously entertained there. Having obtained a pardon for what was past, great assurances of favour were bestowed on him, if he would inure himself to a more quiet and obedient course, and deportment for the time to come; and so he was sent home. But he was so far from being grateful to the king for his pardon and subsequent liberty, that he thought he had great wrong done him, in having been kept some days in prison. Therefore, as soon as he was returned to his old comrades, he gathered a company of them together, who were accustomed to live upon spoil, and went to Inverness, in a seemingly peaceable manner. There being hospitably entertained, he suffered his followers to pillage the town; after which he set fire to the houses, and then invested the castle. On hearing that a force was coming against him, he was compelled to raise the siege, and march in great haste to Lochaber; where, on account of the advantage of the place, he resolved to risk the fortune of a battle, with the army which he had with him, consisting of ten thousand men, inured to war. But two tribes or clans, of those who followed him cheerfully for the sake of plunder, when they heard of the preparations made by the king against him, deserted, namely, the Catans and the Camerons, called vulgarly *Clan-Chathes* and *Clan-Cameron*.

Being thus deprived of part of his strength, and having no great confidence in the fidelity of the rest, he began to think of concealment, and so, dismissing his army, he retired, with some few, into the Western Islands; but, not deeming himself secure there, he consulted about escaping to Ireland. Presuming, however, that even there he could not be safe from the wrath of the king, he thought it best to fly to his last refuge, the royal mercy and clemency, which he had before so largely experienced. But here his thoughts were at a loss betwixt hope and fear, for when he considered the mischiefs he had done in his first revolt, and, after the king had graciously pardoned him, with what perfidiousness and cruelty he had again broke forth, and so cut off all expectation of farther indemnity; he was in great doubt and perplexity, whether he should commit himself, with his life and fortune to the anger of his sovereign, that was so justly raised against him. In these circumstances, he resolved to take a middle course between flight and surrender, which was, to send agents to court, to beg pardon for his offences, and to incline the king's heart to lenity. For this service he chose peaceable and moderate men, who were not infected with the same evil of which he himself been guilty; and, on that account, were not unacceptable to the king. Notwithstanding this, the only answer they could obtain from him was, that he would hear nothing till Alexander put himself into his hands, neither would he treat with him in his absence. Alexander cast up all the dangers that surrounded him, in his mind, and foreseeing that he could be safe neither from the royal indignation, resolved to choose a fit time and place, and to throw himself upon the mercy of the king, who he thought would count it a shame to injure or punish a humble suppliant. Accordingly, he came privately to Edinburgh, where the court then was, and, on Easter-day, when the Lord's resurrection is celebrated with great solemnity, he threw himself at the king's feet, having a linen cloak or plaid about him, with which he was rather

covered than clothed; and in a speech, composed to excite pity, yielded himself into his hands, and begged his life and estate. His habit, the place and time, and so great and sudden a change of fortune, much affected the persons then present. The queen and nobles, who were there, interceded with the king for him, and so far inclined and affected his mind, that they were commanded to stay till their devotions were ended. In the mean time, the king, having pondered every thing with himself, thought it not safe to dismiss so perfidious, potent, and factious a person, without any punishment; and yet, on the other hand, he was willing to gratify the queen; upon which, he resolved to keep him in safe custody; that, by this means, he might gain an opinion of clemency, and, at the same time, prevent Alexander from doing farther mischief; and withal terrify others by his example. Upon this he was sent prisoner to Tantallon-castle; while his mother, a fierce woman, who, it was thought, would have excited him to new attempts, was banished into the island of Inchcolm.

But though the licentiousness of Alexander was thus repressed, all things were far from being quiet in the northern countries; for the men of Caithness and Cameron, who, the year before, had deserted Alexander, fell out violently amongst themselves; and fought one another with such fury, that many of the former were slain, and the Cameronians were almost wholly destroyed. In the islands, likewise, where it was thought things would have been settled in consequence of Alexander's exile, new commotions were raised by Donald Balloch, his cousin-german, under the plea of revenging the wrong done to his kinsman. To quell this insurrection, Alexander and Alan Stuart, one the earl of Caithness, and the other of Marr, gathered some of their countrymen, and went into Lochaber to meet Donald, it being reported that he would make his descent there. While they were waiting, Donald, perceiving that they kept no order, and were without tents or guard, in the fourth watch, landed his men silently, and set upon them so unexpectedly, while half asleep, that he made a great slaughter amongst them. Alan, with almost all his brigade, perished there; but Alexander, with a few, saved his life by flight. Donald, chafed with this success, so wasted all Lochaber with fire and sword, that no man dared to oppose him; but at length, hearing that the king was making towards him with a greater force, he packed up his plunder, which was very considerable, put it on shipboard, and returned into the islands. The king marched as far as Dunstaffnage after him, and when he saw the ruin and fearful devastation which had been made, it put him in an excess of rage, and he was about to pass over into the islands, but the chiefs of their families came with humble supplications to him, alleging, that the guilt was not general, because nothing had been acted by public counsel, but that all the fault lay at the door of Alexander, and of some indigent and lewd persons who took his part. The king answered, he would not admit of their excuse, unless they caused the authors of those wicked and pernicious practices to be delivered up to him to be punished. On their promise to do their endeavour for this, the king suffered some of them to depart in quest of the robbers; keeping the rest in the nature of hostages. Those who were dismissed, slew many of the thieves, and brought three hundred more to the king, who caused them to be all hanged; but Donald the chief fled, to avoid the same fate.

Though this punishment of the robbers made things a little more quiet in the islands and the neighbouring parts, for the present, yet the unruly disposition of some wicked and turbulent men would not suffer that calm to last long. The king, at the desire of his nobles, having released Duff and Murray, two commanders of the thieves in Angus, they turned their fury upon another, meeting in equal numbers, for each of them maintained about ten hundred partisans, with the spoils of the people. They fought so obstinately, that there was scarcely one left on either side, to carry the news of the slaughter. Some say there were only twelve, others but nine, left alive; so that the king, who was equally angry with both, had few to try or punish.

And yet this calamity did not restrain one Macdonald from his wonted ferocity. He was a noted robber, born in Ross, whose wicked disposition was increased by the impunity of the former times; so that he, in a manner, played the part of a tyrant a long time among his neighbours. Amongst the rest,

they say, he committed one fact superlatively cruel. A widow woman, who had been robbed by him, bemoaned her case in a most lamentable manner and repeatedly cried out that she would complain to the king. "Wilt thou so?" says he; "then, that thou mayst the better perform thy journey, I will myself assist thee;" and so, calling a smith, he caused him to mend her shoes to the soles of her feet; but not content with that act of cruelty, he added contumelious speeches, and in words of mockery and contempt, told her she was now more fenced against the roughness of the ways. Thus shod, he shewed her as a laughing-stock to all those who passed along. The woman being of a fierce and stern disposition, was rather enraged than terrified by his reproaches, and, as soon as she was able to go, went to the king, and laid before him the whole matter of fact. The king had heard the story before from others; and having then the offender in prison, he told the woman to be of good cheer, for that she should speedily see the same punishment inflicted on the inventors of it. Accordingly, he caused Macdonald, and twelve of his accomplices, to be brought out of prison, and to have their feet shod with iron nails, and so carried three days about the city, with a crier going before them declaring the cause of this new punishment. Then the captain was beheaded and his twelve associates were hanged, all their bodies being set upon gibbets in the highways.

These new crimes, which the grant of a pardon, in the first instance, had not prevented, made the king more eager to find out Donald the islander, and being informed that he lay concealed in the house of a nobleman in Ireland, he sent messengers to demand him for punishment. The nobleman fearing that if he should send him away alive so far by land and sea, he might possibly make his escape, which would give his enemies room to assert that it was done by his connivance, caused him to be slain, and sent his head to the king by his own messenger. Open robberies being thus diligently suppressed, the king endeavoured to root out some secret crimes and evil, but covert, practices; to accomplish which great and good work, he made choice of cunning persons, much commended for their prudence and sanctity, giving them power to travel all over the kingdom, to investigate the wrongs of the people, and authorizing them, if there were any offences complained of, which ordinary judges, either for fear durst not, or for favour and affection would not meddle with, to hear such cases, and determine them. He added also power to their number, whose business it was to correct and rectify weights and measures. This was the more necessary, since then not only every city, but almost every house, had a different kind of measure. In a parliament which he called, wholesome laws were enacted for this purpose; iron measures were set up in certain places; and an officer was sent to all markets and fairs, to be to regulate every measure according to the standard; and to inflict a heavy punishment on him who used any weight or measure that was not publicly stamped.

Whilst he was transacting these things for the public good, on the 11th October, in the year 1430, his queen was brought to bed of twins, which occasioned a day of public rejoicing; and the king, to increase the popular delight, forgave the former offences of some noblemen, the chief of whom were Archibald Douglas and Gilbert Kennedy, who, because they had spoken rashly and unadvisedly concerning the state and government of the realm, had been sent to prison; Douglas, in the castle of Lochleven, and Kennedy in the castle of Stirling. As a further testimony of his reconciliation to Douglas, he made him godfather at the baptism of his children, which is considered a continuation of great honour, and a token of intimate friendship. Besides this, he made his son one of the knights who were created, as so many witnesses of the public joy, on this occasion. The other parts of the nation being pacified and amended, the king next turned his thoughts to the reforming of the church. But the priests could not be corrected by the civil magistrate; for the princes of Europe having been long engaged in mutual wars, the clerical order, being by little and little, withdrawn themselves from their obedience, and acknowledged no other authority than that of the pope of Rome; who indulged their vices, partly because he was a gainer by them, and partly because he wished to make kings the more subject to his pleasure, through the great power of the

ecclesiastics in their dominions. In this state the king resolved to remedy the evil the best and only way he was able; for, seeing it was not in his power to amend what was past, nor to eject unworthy men from the preferments of which they were in possession, he thought it would be best to provide for the future, by instituting and liberally endowing public schools of learning. These he justly believed would prove seminaries for all orders of men; since whatsoever is excellent or noble in any commonwealth, takes from thence its origin as a fountain. Thus he drew learned men to him by rewards, and was sometimes present at their disputations; and when he had any leisure from civil affairs, he delighted to hear the conferences of scholars; endeavouring, by that means, to eradicate the false opinion which many nobles had imbibed, that learning drew men off from action to sloth and idleness, and softened military spirits, either breaking, or at least weakening all their vigorous efforts; so that the study of letters was only fit for monks, who were immured as it were in a prison, and good for no other use. But, on the contrary, the monks, as they had degenerated from the simplicity and frugality of their ancestors, so they had turned themselves wholly from the culture of their minds to the care of their bodies. Learning was also as much neglected by the rest of the priesthood; particularly for this reason, that benefices were either bestowed on the most slothful and worthless characters in noblemen's families, who were unfit for other employments; or else they were seized by the fraud of the papal agents, so that a parsonage was nothing else but a reward for some piece of service, and that sometimes none of the best. But, further, there was another mischief, which added much to the corrupting of ecclesiastical discipline, and that was the order of begging friars. These mendicants, at the beginning, pretended greater sanctity of life than the other religious communities; and so easily imposed upon the people to hear them rather than their parish priests, who were commonly gluttons and dunces. Nay, these parish curates or priests, as they grew rich, scorned to do their own work themselves, but would hire the friars, as they called themselves, for a small annual stipend, to preach a few sermons once a year to the people; while, in the mean time, they withdrew themselves into cities, and there chanted out their idle songs, as it were, after a magical manner, not knowing what they said; and there was none of them that hardly ever turned an eye towards his own parish, but when his tithes were to be collected. By degrees they even gave over the office of singing, at certain hours, in cathedrals and churches, which, though it were but a light, was yet a daily service, and hired some poor young persons of their order as substitutes, to supply their places in saying mass and other prayers; and so, by muttering and mumbling out a certain portion of psalms, appointed for every day, they performed a kind of tragedy; sometimes answering each other in alternate verses; and at others, making a chorus between the acts, which closed with the image or representation of the death of Christ. As the friars, who were their hirelings, on the one side, did not dare to offend their masters, on whom their livelihood depended; neither yet, on the other, could they bear their insolence, joined with so much avarice; so that they pitched upon a middle way, that they might engage them to make a readier payment of their pensions. After they had bitterly inveighed against their lust and avarice before the people, who gave ear to their doctrine; and when they had raved enough in their sermons, to keep them in fear, and to conciliate the minds of the vulgar, yet considering that they were themselves in ecclesiastical orders, they told them, that whatever the abuses were, the priesthood was a sacred order, and that the temporal or civil magistrate had no power to punish those who enjoyed it, and who were only responsible to God, and his vicegerent the pope. And, as their avarice increased with their luxury, they thought they could not squeeze gain enough from the people, therefore the friars set up a new kind of imposition, tacking forth in their sermons the merit of works. Hence also arose purgatory, and the cleansing of those souls whom the pope was pleased to detain there, by the sacrifice of the mass, by the sprinkling of holy water, by alms and pensions given or offered, by indulgences, pilgrimages, and worshipping of relics. The friars being exercised in this kind of barter and traffic, in a little time claimed all power to themselves, both over the living and the dead.

In this ill condition did James the First find the affairs of the church in Scotland; and therefore he thought it would be the most compendious way to restore the old discipline, by admitting good and learned men into ecclesiastical benefices. To increase the emulation therefore of young students, he informed the masters and governors of universities and schools, that, as he was himself hindered by the affairs of state from considering particular merit, they should therefore be careful to commend learned and virtuous young scholars to him, that he might gratify those with church preferments, who would prove useful to the people by their doctrine and example, and be thereby enabled to succour poorer candidates for the ministry with their substance; so that they might not be compelled, for want, to break off their studies and course of learning, and betake themselves to mechanic, sordid, or mercenary trades and employments. And, to encourage good men in a diligent application to learning, and to make the slothful sensible that the only way to preferment was by virtue, he distinguished students by their degrees, that so every one might know for what station he was qualified. And, indeed, had succeeding kings followed this course, we should not have fallen into these evil times, when the people cannot endure the vices of the priests, nor the priests the remedy of their vices. Neither was the king ignorant that the cause of the corruption which defiled the church, was its exorbitant wealth; and, therefore, he did not approve the prodigality of former kings, in exhausting the royal treasury to enrich monasteries; so that he often said, though David was otherwise the best of kings, the profuse piety which was so much praised by many, was prejudicial to the kingdom; and yet he himself, as if he had been carried away by the rapid torrent of evil custom, could not withhold his hand from building a monastery for the Carthusians, near Perth; nor from endowing it with large revenues. One thing was very admirable in him, that, amidst the great cares for the welfare of the public, he thought the most inferior and private matters not unworthy of his royal notice, provided any benefit accrued to the public from them. For as Scotland had been exercised with continual war from the death of Alexander III. for almost a century and a half together, during which long space of time, her cities had been often spoiled and burnt, and her youth being generally made soldiers, caused mechanical employments to be neglected, he invited traders of all sorts to come over from Flanders, proposing great rewards and immunities to them. By this means, he replenished with this sort of men those places which were before almost empty, because the nobility resided, according to ancient custom, in the country. Neither did he only, by this means, render the towns apparently more populous; he likewise engaged a great number of idle and vagrant people to apply themselves to the works of industry and honest labour; so that, in a short time, these things were to be had cheap, and made at home, which used to be obtained from abroad at a great expense.

Yet, while he was thus strengthening all the weak parts of his kingdom by proper remedies, he gained the ill-will of his subjects to a great degree by two causes. The one seemed light in appearance, yet it was that which in the beginning of almost all calamity to a people. For, when peace was usually settled, idleness, luxury, and the wanton lust of ruin, were its immediate ill consequences. Hence arose sumptuous feasts, drinking, entertainments by day and night, masquerades, and balls, the desire of foreign fashions, stateliness of houses, not for necessary use, but to please the eye, corruption of manners, falsely called politeness, and in all things a general contempt of the country customs; so that nothing was accounted handsome or comely, but what was perfectly novel and uncommon. The ordinary people being unwilling that the fault of these innovations should lie with them, they threw the blame on the English courtiers who followed the king; and yet they did not inveigh against such wanton and pleasurable courses more bitterly in their words, than they studiously practised them in their lives. But the king obviated this mischief as much as he could, both by wholesome laws, and also by his own good example; for he kept himself, in his apparel and living, within the bounds of the richer sort of private men; for if he saw any thing immoderate or extravagant in other persons, he shewed his disapproval by his countenance, and sometimes by his words. By this means, the

course of increasing luxury was somewhat restrained, rather than the new intemperance extinguished, and the old frugality restored. His other fault was talked of abroad by his enemies, and afterwards broke forth into a public mischief. Robert, the king's uncle, and Murdo, his cousin-german, while they enjoyed the regency of the kingdom, which was for many years, aspired to the throne; but, not knowing how to remove James out of the way, they did what was next to it,—so draw the affections of men to themselves, that the better sort might not miss a king very much, nor have any ardent desires after him; for they used such great moderation in the management of affairs, that their government would have seemed to men not only tolerable, but very desirable, had Walter, Murdo's son, carried it with the same popularity and moderation. For they so engaged the nobles to them, by their liberality and munificence, that some enjoyed the crown lands by connivance, others obtained them by an open grant, and, in favour of particular men, they cancelled proceedings and judgments in law, and restored some who had been banished, amongst whom was that remarkable and potent person, George Dunbar, earl of March, who, during his exile, had done much mischief to his country. Such were the arts which were made use of to gain over the nobility, and prevent them from recalling the king. They hoped also hereby, that in case the latter should die without issue, the crown would be secured to them without any competitors. On the other hand, they flattered themselves that, by these means, in the event of his returning from exile, their faction would be so powerful as to defend them against his resentment. But when the king did actually return, the old favour and respect borne to the uncle, seemed to be almost extinguished by the new injuries and flagitiousness of his son Walter; so that it plainly appeared nothing was more popular than justice. The people, therefore, were not only consenting, but also contributed their assistance to the execution of Murdo the father, and his two sons, as well as to the banishment of the third; so that the king's revenue was augmented by the confiscation of their estates, and also by the acquisition of those of John, earl of Buchan, who died without children, in France, and of Alexander, earl of Marr, who was illegitimate, and died at home without issue; concerning which last I shall speak a few words by way of digression.

His father was Alexander, the son of king Robert; and, in his youth, by the ill advice of some bad men, he became the leader of a band of thieves; but when he grew up to maturity, he so reformed his manners, that he seemed to be quite another person. His vices gradually decreasing, by the benefit of wholesome counsels, he so managed affairs both at home and abroad, that he left behind him a memory precious to posterity. For, at home, he quelled the insurrection of the islanders at Harlaw, making great slaughter of them, and thereby extinguished a dangerous war in the very beginning; and though he amassed great riches, and purchased many good estates, insomuch that he exceeded his neighbours, yet he did not addict himself to idleness or pleasure, but went with a considerable party of his countrymen into Flanders, where he followed Philip, duke of Burgundy, against the Luicklanders, or people of Liege; in which war he gained both wealth and honour. While abroad, he married a rich heiress, in whose right he became possessed of the Isle of Holland, in Batavia; but the people resisting the government of a stranger, he returned home, and provided a fleet with great cost, yet to no great purpose, because it was against men who were well provided with land and sea forces. At length he set upon their numerous fleet, returning from Dantzic, which he took and pillaged, slew the mariners, and burnt the ships, so that he repaid the army for the loss he had received from them, with great interest; nay, he so subdued the fierceness of their minds, that they desired a truce for one hundred years, and obtained it. He improved the breed of horses in Scotland, by mixing over some fine Hungarian mares, which race continued for many years after.

These rich earls, Buchan and Marr, thus dying without issue, their paternal inheritances descended of right to the king; who also alone enjoyed all the possessions of the three sons of king Robert the Second, by his last will; but not without the murmuring of the nobility, who had been accustomed to large donations in such lapses, and who thought it hard the monarch

should take all, without sharing any part of it amongst them. Further, they conceived another, and more pressing cause of offence, in the revocation which the king had made of some grants made by Robert and Murdo, the late regents, as being illegal. Amongst the grants thus annulled, were two very remarkable ones. George Dunbar, who had been prosecuted as a public enemy, and was afterwards recalled by Robert, obtained the restoration of part of his estate. He was succeeded by his son George, to the joy of many who were well pleased that such an ancient and noble family, which had so often deserved well of their country, were restored to their ancient dignity. But the king, who looked narrowly, and perhaps too sharply, after his revenue, was of opinion, that the power to restore confiscations, recall exiles, and give back the goods which, being forfeited for treason, were brought into the exchequer, was too great a power for one that was only the guardian of another man in the kingdom, and chosen merely to act as a tutor. Besides what largesses, made in the minority of princes, were null and revocable by the laws of Scotland, if not confirmed by the respective kings when they came to age. Therefore James, that he might reduce the people of March under his power without violence, as they were a martial people, and borderers upon England, detained George with him, and despatched letters to the governor of the castle of Dunbar, commanding him, on receipt of them, immediately to deliver it to William Douglas earl of Angus, and Alexander Hepburn of Hales whom he had sent to take possession. George laid hold of this circumstance to complain that he was wrongfully dispossessed of his ancient patrimony, not for his own fault but that of another, and which too had been forgiven by the person who then enjoyed the supreme power. The sovereign, to pacify him, and to proclaim his clemency amongst the commonalty, bestowed riches upon him. This act of the king was variously spoken of, as every one's humour and disposition inclined him. But there was also another occurrence which contributed to hasten his catastrophe, the origin of which is to be traced still farther back.

I have already said, that king Robert had three sons by his concubine; and that he had also two by Euphemia his wife, Walter earl of Athol, and David earl of Strathearn. When the queen died, he married his former mistress for the purpose of legitimatizing the children he had by her, and place them in the line of succession to the crown. Accordingly, at his death, he left the kingdom to the eldest of these sons; to the second he gave great wealth, and the regency; and the third he made earl of several counties. In this matter though the children of the other wife thought themselves wronged, yet being younger, and not so powerful as the rest, they concealed their anger for the present; and besides, their influence was somewhat lessened by the death of the earl of Strathearn, who left only one daughter behind him, afterwards married to Patrick Graham, a young nobleman, of a very potent family in that age, by whom she had a son named Meliss. His parents did not live long, and the child, a few years after, while yet a stripling, was sent as a hostage into England, till all the money for the ransom of the king should be paid. Walter, earl of Athol, though in every respect too weak for the adverse party never gave over the design which he harboured of cutting off his kindred, and laid aside his hopes of recovering the kingdom; but, because he was inferior in strength, he craftily fomented their divisions and discords, and invidiously made use of their dangers to promote his own ends, so that, through his artifices, that large family was reduced to a few in number. Many were of opinion, that he gave the counsel to take off David, the son of king Robert; and that James would not have escaped him either, had he not passed a good part of his life in England, far from home; for he gave advice to the earl of Fife, that, seeing his brother was imbecile, he ought himself to seize the kingdom. When the king, after losing all his children, and discovering the iniquity of his brother, died of grief, there was then only the regent, with his family, that stood as a bar to his hopes. He was an active man, of great wealth, power, and authority; besides which, he was very popular, and had a numerous interest. These considerations in some measure retarded the prospects and embarrassed the designs of Walter; but, when Robert died a natural death, and his son John was slain in the battle of Verneuil, he resumed his former project

with greater earnestness than ever, and bent all his mind and endeavours to liberate James, and set him at variance with Murdo and his children. And, seeing they could not all of them stand safe together, he foresaw, that, in their dissensions and decline, his hope would be advanced one step higher to the kingdom. Thus, when James returned home to his country, Athol used every method in his power to hasten the destruction of Murdo, by seducing men fit for the turn, to forge crimes against him, while he himself sat as judge upon him and his sons. When they were cut off, there was only James left, and one little son, who was a child, not then above five years old. If James, therefore, could be despatched by the conspiracy of the nobles, Athol had no doubt but that himself, who was then the only remaining branch of the royal stock, would be advanced to the administration of the government. Though constantly taken up with these thoughts, Athol concealed his secret purposes, and made a great show of loyalty to the king, in helping to rid his kingdom of the way; for it was his cunning contrivance, that, by the ill offices of others, he might increase his own power, and diminish that of his enemies.

In the mean time, Meliss Graham, who, as I said before, had been delivered as a hostage to the English, was deprived of Strathearn; because the king, making a diligent inquiry into his revenue, found, that it was given to his grandfather by the mother's side, upon condition, that if the male line failed, it should return to the crown, as being a male fee, according to the phrase of the lawyers. This innocent man's loss, who was absent, and only a hostage, moved many to commiserate his case; but Robert, his guardian, took it so heinously, that it made him almost mad. For he, resenting the injury done to his kinsman more impatiently than others, ceased not to accuse the king openly of injustice; and being summoned to answer for it in law, neglected to appear, and, on that account, was banished the land. This made his fierce mind more bent upon revenge, being irritated by a new wrong; so that he secretly confederated with some, who, like himself, had their estates confiscated; others, who were indignant at the judgments passed, though justly, upon their friends; and others, again, who accused the king as a covetous man, because he was so intent upon his gain, that he had not rewarded them according to their expectations. Besides, it was lamented, that not only many noble families were brought to ruin, but that the wardships of young nobles, which were wont to be the rewards of valiant men, were now altogether in the hands of the king; so that all the wealth of the country was almost at the disposal of one person, while others might starve for misery and want, under a ruler who was so unjust and unequal in putting a value upon their labours.

Now, that for which they upbraided him concerning the wardships, was this. It is the custom in Scotland, England, and some parts of France, that young noblemen or gentlemen, when their parents die, shall remain under the care of those whose feudatories they are, till their arrival at the age of twenty-one years; and that, in the mean time, all the profits of their estates, except the charges necessary for their education, and the dowry given with their wives, should belong to their governors and guardians. Now, these tutclages, or, as they are commonly called, wardships, were wont to be sold to the next of kin, for a small sum of money; or sometimes well-deserving men were gratified with them; who either expected gain by the purchase, or a reward by the gift. But now they were much vexed that the king should take all to himself; neither did they conceal their spleen and displeasure. When the king heard of these murmurings and complaints, he excused what he did as the effect of necessity, because the public revenue had been so lessened by former kings and governors, that he could neither maintain his family in dignity, nor yet give any magnificent entertainment to ambassadors, without having recourse to these means. Besides, he alleged that this care of the king, in providing money by all just and honest ways, was not unprofitable to the nobility themselves; whose greatest injury it was, to have the royal exchequer low. In such circumstances, kings were wont to extort by force from the rich, what they could not do without; nay, sometimes they were forced to burden and oppress the commons too, by exacting from them the payment of taxes. The parsimony of the king, he said, was far less prejudicial to the public, by putting a restraint



upon immoderate donations, than his profuseness was wont to be, for then he was forced to seize on other men's estates, when his own was consumed. This answer satisfied all those who were moderate; but the violent, who rather sought after occasions of complaint, than any just plea for exaction, were more vehemently enraged by it.

Such was the state of Scotland, when ambassadors arrived from France, to fetch Margaret, the daughter of James, who had before been betrothed to Lewis, son of Charles VII. home to her husband. This embassy was followed by another from the English; who, seeing that the duke of Burgundy's friendship was alienated from them, that he meditated a breach, and that Paris, and other provinces abroad, were in a tumult, feared lest, when all the strength of their kingdom should be drawn out to the war, the Scots might invade them on the other side. On this account, they sent ambassadors into Scotland, to hinder the renovation of the league with France, and the consummation of the marriage, but chiefly to effect a perpetual alliance with those who were born in the same island, and used the same language. To prevail with the Scots to join them in a defensive and offensive bond of alliance, the English promised that their king would give up his claim to Berwick, Roxburgh, and other places and countries which were before in controversy betwixt the two nations.

James referred this overture to the assembly of estates, then sitting at Perth; where, after a long debate, the ecclesiastics were divided into two parties; but the nobles cried out, they knew the design of the English to be that of separating them from their old allies the French, in order that, when freed from other cares, they might renew the war with Scotland more effectually. They said that the liberal promises of the English aimed at a other end; but that, as for themselves, they would stand to their old league, and not violate the faith which they had given. The ambassadors, being thus repulsed, turned from persuasions to threats, and seeing the Scots refused to embrace their friendship, they declared war; telling them, that if their king sent over his betrothed daughter to France, for the purpose of marrying her to one who was their enemy, the English would hinder her passage if they could, and take the whole escort prisoners, having a fleet ready prepared with that view. This menace of the ambassadors, instead of terrifying James, inspirited him so much, that he equipped a squadron, and shipped a great company of noblemen and ladies for his daughter's train, and then caused them to set sail sooner than he had determined, in order to prevent the designs of the English. Yet, notwithstanding all this precaution, it was rather to be attributed to God's providence, than to the care of men, that she fell not into the enemy's hands; for, on coming near the place where the English lay concealed, in expectation of her coming, upon a sudden a fleet of Hollanders appeared, laden with wine from Rochelle to Flanders. The English squadron, because the Burgundians were now reconciled to the French, and become their enemies, immediately made sail with all their might, and their ships, being swift sailers, they presently came up with the trading vessels, which were heavy laden and unarmed, and as easily took them; but before they could bring them into port, the Spaniards set upon them unawares, recaptured the Flemings, and sent them safe home. Amidst such changeable fortune betwixt the three nations, the Scots landed at Rochelle, without meeting any enemy. Here they were met by many nobles of the French court, and brought to Tours, where the marriage was celebrated, to the great joy and mutual congratulations of both kingdoms.

Upon this occasion, the English writers, especially Edward Hall, and the copyist, Grafton, inveigh mightily against James, as ungrateful, perfidious, and forgetful of ancient courtesies, who, though nobly entertained by their countrymen for so many years, honoured with a royal marriage, a large dowry, and restored liberty after a long imprisonment, disregarded all these obligations, and preferred the friendship of France to that of England. But these circumstances themselves easily refute these slanders. For, in the first place, the detention of him when he landed on their coast, being against the league, and also the law of nations, was a wrong instead of a courtesy: and next, as to their not putting him to death, but ransoming him for money; this was to

be attributed, not so much to their love or mercy towards him, as to their avarice; but allowing that there was any favour in it, yet what did it resemble but that of thieves, who would seem to give the life which they take not away? And, if he was obliged to the English on that account, it was a private, not a public, debt. As to their bestowing of an education upon him who was innocent, by reason of his age, a suppliant by fortune, and a king by descent, though most unrighteously detained, it bears indeed some show of humanity, which, if they had neglected, they might have been justly blamed. But indeed it would have been a commendable piece of kindness, if the injury going before, and the covetousness following after, had not marred it; unless it be said, that if you purposely wound a man, you may require him to give you thanks for his cure; and so a light compensation for a great loss, may be esteemed as a courtesy; or that because you have done a man half a good turn, you should be paid as for a whole one. He who takes care that his captive shall be educated in learning, either for his own pleasure, or that he may sell him a better price; though some advantage accrue hereby to the party detracted, yet the master doth not aim at the good of the slave, in his institution, but at his own. "But," say they, "the king honoured him with the marriage of his kinswoman, and thus the royal youth was as royally bestowed." But what if the affinity was as honourable to the father as to the son-in-law? He would else have married her to a private man; but now he made her a queen, and engrafted her by marriage into that family, on which some of the most famous of the English kings had often before bestowed their children, from whom so many princes had descended. "But," they add, "he gave a very large dowry with her." To whom, I pray, was it given, but to the English themselves, who took it away again in the ransom, thus making a show of it a words to the husband, and keeping it for their own use? So that the dowry was only mentioned, but not given; and spoken of too in such a manner, that they would have the young man, whom they had also grievously wronged, much indebted to them in carrying his wife away with him, without a dowry. But "they sent him home free," say they. Yes, as a pirate discharges his captive, when his ransom is paid. But how free, I pray? Even, we may believe the English writers themselves, it was under the forced obligation of an oath, always to obey the sovereign of that country as his lord; and so to bring a kingdom, before his possession of it, into perpetual servitude, but which, if he had actually then enjoyed, he could not alienate, much less enslave it, previous to his own liberation. This would be, not to set one free, but to turn him loose with a longer chain, and that, not as a king, but as a steward only, or viceroy of another man's kingdom. Such is that high stretch of liberality, of which, they say, James was unmindful. But it is to suffer these unskilful writers, and forgetful of all moderation and modesty in their stories, to account profits received, as courtesies given; how great must we think that liberty of falsifying, or desire of evil-speaking, to be, which they use against the daughter of the same king? For when such men, otherwise impudent enough, had nothing to allege against her manners, they write, that she was unacceptable to her husband, because of her stinking breath. Now, on the contrary, Monstrelet, a contemporary writer of those days, affirms, that she was virtuous and beautiful; and he who wrote the *Miscartaine* book, and who accompanied the queen both at sea and at her bath, hath left it on record, that, as long as she lived, she was very dear to her father and mother-in-law, as well as to her husband, which appears by her epitaph, in French verses at Chalons, by the river Marne, where she died, which sound much to her praise: it was then published, and being afterwards translated into the Scottish language, is kept by most of our countrymen to this day. But leaving these men, who so calumniate the credit of others, and disregard their own, that they care little what is said by them, or brought of them, let us proceed with our history.

When the king, after being at the charge of equipping his fleet, levied an impost, the greatest part of the people plainly refused to pay a penny, and as he gave a small matter with such an ill will, that he commanded his collectors to desist, and to restore what they had already received. Notwithstanding this forbearance, he did not silence the clamours of the people; for

certain malcontents, who were exasperated at some private losses, incited every day seditious persons against him. At the same time, the English began to plunder Scotland, ravaging it both by land and sea, under the command of Percy earl of Northumberland. William Douglas, earl of Angus, was sent against him, with nearly an equal number of forces, being about ten thousand on each side. Of the Scots there fell Alexander Johnston, of Lothian, a person of quality, and of known valour. Some relate that two hundred, but others, that only forty, were slain of both armies, and that about fifteen hundred English were taken prisoners.

James, having been twice provoked by the English, first by their fleet, which lay in wait to intercept his daughter; and next, by the late invasion of his country, resolved to declare war against them. Accordingly, he raised up great an army as he could, and made a force assault on Roxburgh, expecting that in a short time it would surrender; but while engaged in the siege, the queen came posting to him in as long journeys as she was able to perform, to inform him of the disagreeable intelligence, that a dreadful plot was formed against his life; and that, unless he took special care, his destruction was unavoidable. The king being shocked at this sudden news, disbanded his army, and returned home; but his conduct greatly offended the populace, who reproached him openly, for listening to the voice of a woman; in abandoning a siege which had been carried on at a considerable expense, and that too at the moment when the place was on the point of being surrendered. After his return, he went to the convent of the Dominicans, near the walls of Perth, to make a private inquiry into the conspiracy; but his design was discovered by persons who watched all opportunities to execute their villany. One of the king's domestics, called by historians John, (but his surname is not mentioned,) revealed to his accomplices what was doing at court; which near them hasten the execution of the scheme, lest their secret cabals should be exposed, and proper means applied to frustrate them. Walter earl of Athol, the king's uncle, though the ringleader of the confederacy, in order to ward off suspicion from himself, sent for his kinsman Robert Graham, of whom I have already spoken, as fit for the enterprise; for though rash in counsel, he bore an old grudge to the king, on account of his former imprisonment and banishment, and also because his brother's son, to whom he was guardian in expectancy, had Strathearn taken from him. Walter having associated with this man, Robert his grandson, an active youth, gave them instructions how to act, and, by way of encouragement, told them that when the murder was committed, he should be in supreme authority, and would provide for their safety. They freely promised to do their endeavour, and instantly hastened to perpetrate the fact, before the plot could be made known to the king. For this purpose they privately gathered their company together, and knowing that there were but few attendants in the convent of Dominicans, they thought it would be easy to surprise and despatch him there with little noise. Accordingly, one persuaded John, his servant just mentioned, whom they had drawn over to their party, to be assistant to them. Agreeably to his promise, he brought the conspirators at midnight into the court, and having placed them privately near the king's bedchamber, shewed them the door, which they might easily break open, as he had taken away the bar. Some think, however, that they were received into the palace by Robert, the nephew of the earl of Athol.

In the mean time, whilst they lay concealed, being solicitous how to force open the door, which they thought would be their greatest obstacle, fortune had the work without their help; for Walter Stratton, who had a little before died in wise, coming out, and perceiving men in arms, endeavoured to get in again, and cried out as loud as he could, "Traitors! traitors!" Whilst the conspirators were despatching him, a young lady of the family of Douglas, as most say, though others assert that she was a Lovel, shut the door, and finding the bar, which was fraudulently laid aside by the servant, thrust her arm into the staple, instead of a bolt; but they quickly brake that, and rushed in upon the king. The queen threw herself upon his body, to defend him; and spreading herself over him as he lay, could hardly be forced off, after she had received two wounds. When he was abandoned by all, they stabbed him in twenty-eight places, and some of them in his heart. The

came this excellent king to his end, and that a most cruel one, by the hands of assassins, and sincerely lamented by all good men. When his death was divulged by the noise and lamentation which was made, a great concourse of people came presently into the court, and there passed the rest of the night, making doleful complaints; but the parrieides had made their escape in the dark. There every one spoke according to his disposition, either severely, in order to raise a greater odium against the murderers; or in lamentable accents, to increase the grief of their friends; every one dwelling on the good or ill fortune which the king had undergone; how, in his childhood, he was exposed to the treacheries of his uncle; and in endeavouring to escape him, was precipitated into the hands of the English; afterwards his father dying, the rest of his youth was spent in exile among his enemies: then fortune changed, and he had an unlooked-for restoration; how, after his return, in a few years the turbulent state of the kingdom was changed into a perfect calm; how at last, by a sudden change of affairs, he whom his enemies had spared abroad, was now slain by the treachery of his relations at home; and that too in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his labours to settle good laws and customs in his kingdom. Then they gave him his deserved praise for all the rich endowments of his body and mind; so completely was the envy and malice of men extinguished towards him now he was dead. In stature he was low, yet robust and strong; insomuch that he exceeded all his equals in exercises of agility and manhood; and as to his understanding, he was endued with such quickness and vigour of wit, that there was no art becoming a gentleman of which he was ignorant. He could speak, according to that age, Latin verses extempore; some of his poems, written in the English tongue, are yet extant, in which there appears great vivacity, though perhaps not so polite in point of learning. He was exceedingly well skilled in music, perhaps indeed more than was fit or expedient for a king; there being no instrument which he could not play upon so harmoniously, that he might have been compared with the best masters of the art in those days. But perhaps some may want to know what fruit he produced, alleging that these are only the flowers of study, more fit for ornament than use or business. Know, then, that after he had learned other parts of philosophy, he studied the regulation of kingdoms, and of the manners of men. His great and ripe abilities for civil government appeared in those acts performed by him, and in the laws which he made; by which he not only much benefited his own age, but all posterity. And his death declared, that there is nothing more popular than justice; for they who were wont to detract from his merit whilst alive, now he was dead, passionately revered his memory. The nobles, as soon as they heard he was murdered, came in of their own accord from their respective counties, and, a trial being regularly decreed, voluntarily sent out into all parts to apprehend the murderers, and bring them to justice. Many of them were taken; the principals were put to new and exquisite kinds of death; and the rest were hanged. The chief heads in perpetrating this villany were considered to be Walter earl of Athol, Robert his grandson, and their kinsman Robert Graham. The punishment of Walter, as the chief author and instigator of the whole plot, was continued for three days successively. On the first, he was put into a cart, containing a high crane, with ropes passing through pulleys; so that being hoisted up and as suddenly let fall, without touching the ground, he was racked with intolerable pains by the luxation of the joints. Then he was set in a pillory, that every one might see him, and a red-hot iron crown was set on his head, with this inscription, "The King of all Traitors." They say, the cause of this punishment was, that Walter had been sometimes told by female witches, for which the country of Athol was always infamous, that he should be crowned king in a mighty concourse of people. By this means therefore the prophecy was either fulfilled or eluded, as indeed such kinds of predictions commonly meet with no other accomplishment. The day after, he was bound upon a hurdle, and drawn at a horse's tail through the principal streets of Edinburgh. The third day he was laid along upon a plank in a conspicuous place, and his bowels being cut out, whilst he was alive, were cast into the fire, and burnt before his face; as also was his heart; then his head was taken off, and

exposed to public view, being set upon a pole in the highest place of the city. His body was divided into four quarters, which were sent to be hung up in the most public places of the principal cities of the kingdom. And him his grandson was brought forth to suffer; but, because of his age, it would not put him to so much pain; besides, he was not the author, but only an accomplice in the wickedness of another man, and that too his grandfather; so he was only hanged and quartered. But Robert Graham, who perpetrated the villany with his own hand, was carried in a cart through the city, his right hand being nailed to the gallows, that was set up in the market. Then came the executioners, who continually ran red-hot iron spikes into his thighs, shoulders, and those parts of his body which were most remote from the vitals, after which he was quartered as the other. After this manner was the death of James revenged. It is true, the murder was a barbarous one, but it was visited by torments so cruel, that they seem to exceed the bounds of humanity; for such extreme kinds of punishment do not so much restrain the minds of the vulgar, by the fear of severity, as enrage them to do or commit any thing; neither do they so much deter wicked men from committing such barbarous actions, as lessen their terror by often beholding them; especially if the spirits of the criminals are so hardened, that they shrink not at the sufferings; for among the ignorant populace, a stubborn confidence is sometimes praised as a firm and steady constancy. James departed this life on the 20th of February, in the year 1437, when he had reigned thirteen years, and lived forty-four. So great diligence was used in avenging his death, that within forty days all the conspirators were taken and executed. He left one son behind him, the younger of two twins, half of whose face, so various are the operations of nature, was perfect scarlet.

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## BOOK XI.

### JAMES II. *the Hundred-and-third King, began to reign A. D. 1437.*

AFTER the punishment of the parricides, James, the only son of the deceased king, and as yet scarcely entered into the seventh year of his age, began his reign on the 27th day of March, in the abbey of Holyroodhouse at Edinburgh. The king being incapable of the government, there was a great dispute among the nobles, who should be elected viceroy or regent. Archibald earl of Douglas exceeded all the Scots at that time in wealth and power; but Alexander Livingston, and William Crichton, both of knightly families, bore the best character in point of authority, and in the fame which they had gained, for their prudence in the administration of affairs during the late reign. The nobility were generally inclined to give these two their votes, because they were jealous of the power of Douglas, which was great enough to make even monarchs themselves uneasy. Accordingly, Alexander Livingston was made regent, and William Crichton chancellor, which office he had borne under the former king. The nobility had scarcely quitted the parliament assembly, when presently factions arose; for while the chancellor kept close to the king in the castle of Edinburgh, and the regent with the queen at Stirling, Douglas, indignant that he was passed over in the last assembly, and not knowing which party he hated most, was well pleased to see all things in disorder; so that, rather by his connivance than consent, the men of Annandale, who were always accustomed to robbery and rapine, infected the neighbouring districts, ransacked them, and carried off the plunder, as they had been in an enemy's country. When complaint of these things was made to the governors, they sent letters to Douglas to suppress them, knowing that the people of Annandale were under his control and power; but these prevailing, they wrote others in a sharper style, to put him in mind of his duty. He was so far however from punishing past offences, that he rather encouraged the offenders, by screening them from punishment: for he issued a command, that they should neither obey the king's officers, if summoned by them into the courts of justice, nor perform any other act of service. His

alleged that this exemption was a privilege granted to him as a regale or royalty by former kings; and that if any one should go about to infringe it, he would do so at the cost of his life.

The regent and chancellor lamented this state of things, which they could not rectify; so that the gangrene spread farther and farther, till it soon infected all those parts of Scotland which lay within the Forth. Besides, they also disagreed between themselves, insomuch that proclamations were publicly made in market towns and villages, by Alexander, ordering that no man should pay obedience to the chancellor; while the chancellor issued his decrees that none should obey Alexander; and if any person addressed himself to either of them, to complain of wrongs, he was certain, at his return, to meet with severe treatment from the men of the contrary faction. Matters were sometimes carried with so high a hand, that the complainant had his house set on fire, by which means he was completely ruined. While both parties went beyond the length of hostile fury, in their mutual butcheries of one another, men of integrity, who joined neither faction, not knowing well what to do, kept close at home, privately bewailing the deplorable state of their country. Thus, in the endeavours of each side to strengthen their particular interest, the public was neglected, and stood as it were in the midst, forsaken and abandoned by both.

The queen, who was with the regent at Stirling, in order to increase her adherents, performed an attempt that was at once both bold and energetic: she undertook a journey to Edinburgh, under pretence of visiting her son, and so was admitted into the castle by the chancellor; where she was courteously entertained, and, after some compliments had passed, her discourse turned to a lamentation of the present state of the kingdom. She made a long oration, about the numerous mischiefs that flowed from this public discord, as from a fountain of ills; and signified, that, for her part, she had never endeavoured to compose all differences so, as, if they could not attain to perfect tranquility, they might however have some face of a civil government. But, since she could not prevail, either by her authority or counsel, to do any good abroad, and in a public manner, she was now come to see that she could do privately; being resolved to try her utmost, that her son, who was the hopes of the kingdom, might have a pious and liberal education; that so, in time, he might be able to apply some remedy for these spreading evils. And, seeing this was a maternal care implanted in her by nature, she hoped it would procure her the envy of no one; that, as for the rest of the government, she desired those would take it, who thought themselves fit to manage, and undergo so great a burden; but yet that they would deport themselves in such a manner, as to remember, that they were to give an account to the king when he came of age.

This harangue she made with a countenance so composed, that the chancellor was fully convinced of her sincerity; neither did he discover any thing in her train of followers, to give him the least hint of suspecting either fraud or force; so that hereupon he gave her free admission to her son when she desired; and they were often alone together, and sometimes she staid with him all night in the castle. In the mean time, the artful woman frequently discoursed with the governor about making a reconciliation of the parties; she called also some of the opposite faction to the conferences, and thereby she insinuated herself so far with the man, that he communicated freely with her touching almost all his affairs.

Having thus gained the chancellor, she easily persuaded the young king to follow her, as the author of his liberty, out of prison, and so to escape the hands of a person who not only used the royal name for a cloak to his wickedness, but had monopolized all public offices to himself; and neglecting the good of the public, had highly advanced his own particular fortune. To bring this happy to pass, she told him there wanted only a will in him to hearken to the counsel of his friends; and for other matters, he might leave them to her care and management. By such speeches, she, being his mother, and a sagacious woman, easily persuaded him, who was but a youth, to put his whole trust and confidence in her, especially seeing a freer condition of life was proposed to him.

Accordingly, having prepared all things for their flight, she went to the chancellor, and told him, that she would stay that night in the castle, but that early in the morning she should go to the abbey of Whitkirk, in East Lothian, to perform a vow which she had made for the safety of her son; and in the mean time, commended him to his care till she returned. He, suspecting no deceit in her words, wished her a good journey, and a safe return, and so they parted.

Hereupon, as had been already agreed, the king was put into a chaise, wherein she was wont to deposit her female attire; and, the day after, carried by her faithful attendants out of the castle, to the sea-side, at Leith. The queen followed after with a few attendants, to prevent all suspicion; and there being a vessel ready to receive them, they went on board, and, with a fair gale made for Stirling. The king's servants waited late in the morning, expecting when he would awake, and arise from his bed; so that, before the fraud was detected, the ship was quite out of danger, and the wind so favourable, that before the evening they had landed at Stirling. There the king and queen were received with great joy and mighty acclamations of the regent, and all the multitude. The ingenuity of the queen was commended by all, and the great fame for wisdom which the chancellor had obtained, became now a ridicule, even to the vulgar. This rejoicing and thanksgiving of the people lasted, as usual, two days.

The third day, those of Alexander's party came in, some out of new hopes others called by authority of the king's name; to whom, when the secret of the project was declared in order, the courage of the queen in undertaking the matter, her wisdom in carrying it on, and her success in effecting it, were extolled to the skies. The avarice and general cruelty of the chancellor, but especially his ingratitude to the queen and the regent, were highly inveighed against. He was accused as the only author of all the disorders, and consequently of all the mischiefs arising from thence; moreover, that he had converted the public revenue to his own use; that he had violently seized the estates of private persons, and that what he could not carry away, he had spoiled; that he alone had all the wealth, honour, and riches, while others were pining in disgrace, solitude, and poverty. It was further observed that these grievances, though great, would most probably have been followed by others still more oppressive, had not the queen, through God's aid and counsel, no less valiantly than happily freed the king from prison, and so recovered the people from the tyranny of the chancellor, since, if he kept the sovereign in confinement, it was evident what private men might fear and expect from him. What hope could there ever be, that he would be reconciled to his adversaries, who had so perfidiously circumvented his friends, and how could the inferiors hope for relief from him, whose insatiable avarice all their estates were not able to satisfy? Therefore, since, by God's help, in the first place, and next, by the queen's sagacity, they were freed from his despotism, all courses were to be taken that this joy might be perpetual; and to make it so, there was but one way, and that was, to pull the man by force out of his castle, which was a nest of tyranny; and either to kill him, or to weaken him, that, for the future, he should not have the power of doing them any more wrong; though, said they, merely disarming him was not a very safe way, because he was such a savage, and had been so accustomed to blood and rapine, that he would never be quiet as long as the breath was in his body.

This was the purport of Alexander's discourse in council, to whom all readily assented; and an order was made, that every one should go home, and levy what force he could to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, from whence which he was not to depart till it was taken. To compass this with the greater facility, the queen promised to send thither a great quantity of provisions, which she had stored up in Fife. But despatch was the main object in this juncture, while their counsels were yet private, and the enemy had no warning to provide things fit and necessary to endure a siege. In the mean time, they had no reason to apprehend any thing from Douglas, who they knew to be a mortal enemy to the chancellor; therefore, as they had all the power, plenty of treasure, and likewise the authority of the king's name, which

was taken from the chancellor, they were persuaded he could have no hope or resource, but in submitting himself to their mercy.

Thus, the assembly being dissolved, all things were speedily prepared for the expedition, and to lay close siege to the castle. The chancellor was acquainted well enough with their designs; but he placed his greatest hopes of safety, and the security of his dignity, in bringing over Douglas to join with him in his defence.

For this end he sent suppliants to him, humbly stating, "That he would always be at his devotion, if he would aid him in his present extremity; urging, that he was deceived, if he thought that their cruelty would rest in the destruction of himself alone, but that they would only make his overthrow a step to the ruin of Douglas."

To this message Douglas answered with more freedom than discretion; "That both Alexander and William were equally guilty of perfidiousness and avarice, and that their falling out was not for any virtuous cause, or for the good of the public, but for their own private advantage and dissensions; and that it was no great matter which of them should gain the better in the dispute; say, that if they both fell in the contest, the world would be a gainer; and that no good man would desire to see a happier sight than two such scoundrels hacking and hewing one another."

This answer being spread abroad in both armies, for the castle was already besieged, had the effect of hastening a peace, sooner than any one thought was possible. Hostilities were suspended for two days, during which Alexander and William had a meeting, where they debated on the danger that would accrue to the public, as well as to their private welfare, if they pushed matters to the extremity of a battle; since it was now obvious that Douglas only waited till one of them fell, or both should be so weakened, that he might, by attacking the conqueror, gain the power of the kingdom. They concluded, therefore, that the safety of both lay in their mutual agreement. Thus the threatened danger easily reconciled these two men, who were, upon all other occasions, violent enough in their hatred to each other. William, according to agreement, gave up the keys of the castle to the king, professing, that both it and himself were at his service, and that he never entertained any other thought than that of obedience to the will of his sovereign. Upon this promise he was received into favour, with the approbation of all who were present. The king supped that night in the castle, which had been surrendered to him, and, the next day, the government of it was bestowed on William, and the regency on Alexander. Thus, after a deadly hatred between them, it was hoped that, for the future, the sense of their reciprocal advantage, and the fear of their common enemy, would have bound them in a firm and indissoluble knot of friendship.

But though these civil broils were composed, there were still robberies and murders committed among the lower orders of the people, in many places, without being punished; besides which, the old feuds that divided some noble families, occasionally broke out into open hostilities. The year after the king's death, on the 21st of September, Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, meeting Alan Stuart of Darnley, between Linlithgow and Falkirk, slew him treacherously, though a truce had been concluded; and, on the 9th of July following, Alexander, the brother of Alan, with his party, encountered Thomas, who fell with many others, both sides being nearly equal.

The death of Archibald Douglas, which happened about this time, was very opportune, because his power was universally formidable. He died of a fever, the next year after the death of James I. His son William, who succeeded him, being the sixth earl of that family, was then in the fourteenth year of his age, and a youth of great hopes, if his education had been answerable to his ingenuity. But flattery, which is the perpetual pest of great families, corrupted his tender years, and he became more vain, by entering too soon on his estate. For those who were accustomed to idleness, and took advantage of the folly and indiscretion of the rich, magnified his father's magnificence, power, and retinue, as exceeding royalty. By this means, they easily persuaded a plain, simple disposition, unarmed against such temptations, to maintain a great family, and to ride abroad with a train beyond



the state of any other nobleman; so that he not only kept his old vassals about him, in their former offices, but obtained also new ones with profuse salaries. He also made knights and counsellors, and so distinguished the order and degrees of his attendants, as to imitate the public conventions of the kingdom; in fine, omitting nothing that could equal the majesty of the sovereign himself. Such extravagances were enough to create suspicions of themselves; but good men were also greatly troubled for him, because he would often go abroad with two thousand horsemen in his train, among whom some were notorious malefactors and thieves, and many of them worthy of death. Yet with these he would come to court, and even into the king's presence; not only to show his power, but to strike terror into the minds of others. This insolence he carried further, in sending over to France Malcolm Fleming and John Lauder, or Lothar, as his ambassadors. These two eminent persons, by their representations, easily obtained for him the title of duke of Tours; which honour had been conferred on the grandfather of Douglas, by Charles VII. for his great services performed in the wars; and his son also had enjoyed it after him. Grown proud by this accession of grandeur, he undervalued the regent and chancellor, because they were as he alleged, the enemies of his father; neither did he stand much in awe of striking himself. For these causes, the power of the Douglas family seemed too exorbitant; but besides all this, a further cause of suspicion was excited.

James Stuart, whose brother William was possessed of a large patrimony in Lorne, after the king's death, married the queen, by whom he had children. Being highly offended that he was not admitted to any share in the administration, in order to attain more easily what he desired, and to avenge his imagined wrong, he seemed well inclined to the party of Douglas, and it was thought that the queen was not ignorant of his design; for she also took amiss, that the regent had not rewarded her merits as she expected. On account of these suspicions, the queen, her husband, and his brother, were committed to prison. Though the queen was incarcerated in a chamber narrow enough of itself, even there she was diligently and watchfully guarded. The others were loaded with irons, and confined in the common prison, as were they freed, till, in an assembly of the nobles, held on the 31st of August, the queen cleared herself from being any way privy to these plots, and James and his brother gave sureties that they would neither do any thing against the regent, nor take any post in the government without his consent.

Amidst this unsettled state of affairs, the western islanders made a descent upon the main land, and wasted all with fire and sword, without regard to either age or sex, so that their avarice and cruelty could not be paralleled by any example. But not content with preying upon the sea-coast, they also slew John Colquhoun, a noble person in Lennox, after calling him out from Inch-Marine, in the Loch-Lomond, to a conference, and publicly plighting their faith for his security. This was done on the 23d of September. Many foul offences of this nature were committed; so that partly through want of tillage, and partly through unseasonable weather, provisions became very dear; and moreover, there was, for two years, a pestilence so dreadful and destructive, that they who were attacked died within the space of a day. The vulgar ascribed the cause of all these calamities to the regent; for as matters prospered well with him, he despised the chancellor, and the nobles of that party, and grasped in his own hands the whole of the administration. Complaints were made against him, that he caused noble and eminent persons to be imprisoned upon light and groundless suspicions; and that he afterwards inflicted upon them heavy and unwarrantable punishments; that he granted an indemnity to those who were really guilty, according to his own arbitrary will and pleasure; and that he held secret correspondence with Douglas. The chancellor could not bear these things with patience, nor pass them over in silence; but wanting power to put a stop to them by force, he resolved to leave the court. Accordingly, he embraced the first opportunity to quit the king and the regent at Stirling, and with a great train of followers came to Edinburgh, where he fixed himself in that strong castle, being intent and watchful of all occasions of chance that might occur.

The news of this being noised abroad, excited envy against the regent, and

account of his power; and favour towards the chancellor, on account of his retirement: neither did William neglect to take advantage of these feuds; for he resolved, by some bold attempt, to curb the insolence of his adversary, and to remove the contempt which he had cast upon him. Therefore, having understood by his spies, that the king every day took the diversion of hunting, and was slightly guarded, he watched the season when Alexander was absent, and having made sufficient inquiry into the state of the country, the fitness of the time, and the certain number of attendants, he chose out a place not far from Stirling, where the faithfulest of his friends, with what force they could make, should meet and wait for his coming, while in the mean time he, with a few horse, lodged in a wood near the castle of Stirling, before day, and there waited the king's coming; neither did Providence fail him in his bold attempt. The king came into the wood early in the morning, with a small train, and those too unarmed; and so he fell amongst the troops of the chancellor, who saluted him as sovereign, according to custom, and bade him be of good cheer and take courage. The chancellor, in as few words as the time would permit, advised him to provide for himself and the kingdom, and deliver himself out of Alexander's power, that he might hereafter live at liberty, and as a monarch; not ministering to the will and dictates of other men; but laying those commands, which were just and equal, upon his subjects; and thereby freeing them from their present misery, which they had been plunged into by the ambition and lust of their subordinate governors, so deeply, that there could be no remedy found for them, unless the king himself would undertake to rule; as he might easily do without peril or pain. He added, that he himself had provided a good body of horse near at hand, who would attend him to what fit place soever he would go. The king seemed by his countenance to approve of what he said; either that he really thought so, or else, that he dissembled his fear. Whereupon the chancellor took his horse's bridle in his hand, and led him to his own men; while they who were with the king, being few, and unarmed, not able to encounter so many, returned back in great sadness. Thus the king came to Edinburgh, guarded by four thousand unarmed men, where he was received by the commonalty with great demonstrations of joy.

When the regent heard of what had taken place, his thoughts were confounded betwixt anger and shame, insomuch that he returned to Stirling, to consider what was most advisable to be done in the case. His great spirit was mightily troubled at being so childishly deluded by his negligence; and he suspected that it was done by the fraud and connivance of his own followers; so that he stood long wavering whom to trust, and whom to fear; shame, anger, and suspicion, reigning alternately in his mind. At length he took a little heart, and began to consider what remedy to apply in his present misfortune. He knew that his own strength was insufficient against the chancellor, who was a man politic in counsel, and strong in force; besides which, he had the favour of the people, and the authority of the king's name, to support him. As for the queen, he had so offended her by a close imprisonment, that it was not likely she would ever be reconciled to him; and even if she was, he had no great confidence in her assistance. With regard to Douglas, it is true, he had strength enough, but no prudence; his age was tender; his mind infirm; he was corrupted by flatterers, and swayed by the persuasions of others; and, as usually happens in such cases, the worst of men could do most with him; therefore the regent thought it beneath his dignity to have any thing to do with such persons. But the chancellor, though of a contrary faction to him, yet was a wise man, and his age and disposition might more safely be trusted; neither was the cause of offence between them so great, but that it might yield to former civilities which had passed between them. The greatest chance of their reconciliation, however, was grounded upon the similitude of their danger, and the necessity of their union to maintain the safety of the commonwealth. Besides, the enmity of the chancellor was most to be dreaded; for, if he should join the other parties, he would have power in his hands, either to reduce or banish the regent. Having meditated upon these things for some days in his mind, and communicated them to some of his most familiar friends, who were good men, and lovers of

their country, he by their advice took an ordinary train of attendants, and went to Edinburgh.

It happened, that the bishops of Aberdeen and Murray were then there; two men, according to those days, of good learning and virtue. By their means and intercession, the regent and chancellor had a meeting in St. Giles's church, with a few friends on each side.

The regent first began to speak:

"I think it not necessary," says he, "to make a long discourse in bewailing those things which are too well known to all, or in reckoning up the mischiefs arising from intestine discords, and the benefits springing from unity. I would rather that we should observe those miseries in foreign than domestic examples. I will then come to those things which concern the public safety of the people; and next to theirs, our own, most of all. This disagreement betwixt us ariseth, neither from covetousness, nor from the ambition of government; but because, in the administration of public affairs, which both of us wish well to, we are not of one mind, but take different measures; yet we are to take great care, lest this our dissension should prove of public prejudice to the kingdom, or privately injurious to ourselves. The eyes of all men are upon us two. Wicked persons propose to themselves the liberty of doing any thing, when we are destroyed; and ambitious ones also think they shall obtain an opportunity to get wealth and power: besides which we have many calumniators and enemies, as usually men newly raised to the highest dignity are wont to have. All these, as they repine at our successes, and envy our prosperity, so they would gladly receive the news of our adversity, thereby hoping and wishing for our ruin; on which account it becomes us both to consult our own safety, which is closely interwoven with that of the public, and thus to avenge ourselves on our enemies and detractors in such a manner as may redound to our great glory and praise. The only way to accomplish these ends, is by forgetting our private injuries, and uniting our thoughts and counsels for the good of the public; remembering, that while the king's safety is committed to our care, as well as that of the realm we are both liable to an account. Therefore, as heretofore, we have been to blame in contending which of us should be the greatest in honour and authority; for the future, our contest should be, which shall exceed the other in moderation and justice. By this means, we shall recover the good will and reverence of the commonalty, who now hate us, and impute all their calamities to us. The nobility also, who, upon our disunion, have been guilty of the most unwarrantable excesses, may be brought back to a due sense of moderation; and the more powerful, who despise us, as weakened by division, may stand in awe of us, when united and reconciled, and so behave themselves toward us with greater respect than ever. As for myself, I willingly yield that the king, in his tender age, shall be modelled and governed by you as his father in his life-time appointed; for, as often as I seriously think of that service, I judge myself rather eased herein of a burden, than despoiled of an honour. If I have received any private injury from you, I freely forgive it, for the sake of the public; and if I have done you any wrong, let honest arbitrators adjust the damage, and I will make you satisfaction to the full, and I will take special care, that such shall be my behaviour for the future that neither my losses nor advantages shall be the least bar to the public prosperity. And if you are of the same mind, we may both of us rest secure for the present, and also leave our memories more grateful to posterity; but if you think otherwise, I call on all men to witness, both here and hereafter, that it is not my fault, that the evils under which we now labour are not either completely cured, or, at least, in some sort relieved and mitigated."

To this the chancellor replied:

"As I reluctantly entered upon this stage of contention, so I am very willing to hear any mention made of an honourable agreement; for, since I did not take up arms before the injuries I suffered had provoked me; so your modesty hath urged me not to suffer the public to be damaged by my obstinacy. For I see, as well as you, by this our discord, that good men are exposed to the injuries of the bad; in the minds of the seditious are excited hopes of innovation; our country is left for a prey; the regal dignity is

lessened; public safety betrayed; authority insulted and ridiculed, even by the meanest of the people; and, whilst we thus betray the safety of the public, our private affairs are in no better a condition. In the mean time, men who are given to sedition take advantage of our discords, and our enemies behold them with pleasure, for they hate us both alike, and if the loss fall on either of us, they count themselves gainers, by what each side shall lose; and, therefore, I will not repeat the causes of our feuds, lest I make old sores bleed afresh; but, in short, I declare, that I forgive all private wrongs and injuries, upon the score of my country; for there never was, nor shall be, any thing that I prefer to the safety of the people, and the good of the commonwealth."

Those who were present highly commended both these resolutions; and so, by joint consent, arbiters were chosen to compose their differences; and, to the great joy of all, old discords were annihilated, and new terms of amity entered upon; and thus they, by joint counsel, again undertook the management of the kingdom. After this reconciliation, an assembly of the estates was held at Edinburgh. Thither came, not a few persons, as is usual, but whole clans and tenantries, as if they had removed their habitations, to complain of the wrongs they had sustained; and, indeed, the sight of such a miserable company could not be viewed without the deepest sorrow, every one stating his grievance, according to his circumstances; that robbers had despoiled fathers of their children; children of their fathers; widows of their husbands; and all, in general, of their estates. Whereupon, after commiseration of the sufferers, the guilt of these enormities was chiefly charged upon the captains of those thieves, whose offences were so notorious, that they could not be endured any longer; and yet their faction was so numerous, that no man was able to defend his life or fortune, unless he was of their party; their power besides was so great, that the authority of the magistrate could afford little protection to the poorer and weaker sort against their violence. Wherefore, the wiser sort of counsellors were of opinion, that, seeing their power was insuperable by plain force, it would be most advisable to undermine it by degrees. They all well knew that the earl of Douglas was the fountain of these calamities, though no man durst name him publicly; and, therefore, the regent, dissembling his anger for the present, persuaded the whole assembly, that it was more prudent for them to keep peace with him than to irritate him by suspicions; for he had so great a power, that he alone, if he remained refractory, was able to hinder the execution of the decrees of all the estates; but that if he joined the assembly, he might easily heal the existing evils.

Agreeable to this advice, it was resolved that letters of compliment, in the name of the estates, should be sent to Douglas, putting him in mind of the place which he held; of the great and illustrious merits of his ancestors, for the advantage of their country; and withal to desire him to come to the public assembly, which could not well be held without the presence of him and his friends. If he had any complaint to make in the convention, they would give him all the satisfaction they were able; and if he or his friends had done any thing prejudicial to the public; in respect to his noble family, which had so often deserved well of their country, they were ready to remit many things upon the account of his age, the state of the times, his own dignity, and the great hopes that were conceived of him. And, therefore, they desired he would come and undertake what part of the public government he pleased; for, inasmuch as Scotland had often been delivered from great dangers by the arms of Douglas, they hoped, that, by his presence, he would, at this juncture, strengthen and relieve his country, which laboured under intestine disorders.

The young man, whose age and disposition made him ambitious of glory, was taken with the bait; to which his friends added their persuasions: for they were all blinded by their particular hopes; so that their minds were turned from every apprehension of danger, to the sole consideration of their several advantages. When the chancellor heard that he was on his journey, he went out several miles to meet him, and gave him a friendly invitation to his castle, called Crichton, which was near the road, where he was magnifi-

cently entertained for the space of two days; in which time the chancellor shewed him all imaginable respect, that he might the more easily entrap an unwary youth. For, to shew that his mind was no way alienated from him, he began, in a familiar manner, to persuade him to be mindful of the king's dignity, and of his own duty: that he should own him for his liege lord, whom right of birth, the laws of the country, and the decree of the estates had advanced to the sovereignty: that he should transmit the great dominion which his ancestors had gained by their blood and valour, to his posterity, in like manner as he had received it; and that the name of Douglas, which was illustrious for loyalty and achievements, should be free from the foul stain and suspicion of treason: that he and his tenants should forbear oppress the common people: that he should discharge all robbers out of his service; and, for the future, maintain the laws of justice in so inviolable a manner that if he had offended heretofore, it might be easily attributed to the counsel of bad men, and not to the depravity of his own nature; for, in that tender and infirm age, his repentance would pass for innocence. By these and such like speeches, he persuaded the young man, that he was his sincere friend, and so drew him on to Edinburgh, with David his brother, who was plying to all his projects and designs. But his followers had some suspicions of deceit, by reason of the frequent messages that came from Alexander the regent; for expresses were flying to and fro every moment; and, besides, the chancellor's speech seemed to some more dissembling and flattering, than was usual in one of his place and dignity. All the followers of the earl mettered this secretly among themselves, and some freely told him, "that if he was resolved to go on, that he ought to send back David his brother, and, according to his father's advice to him on his death-bed, not lay his whole family open to one stroke of fortune." But the improvident youth was angry with his friends, who thus advised him; and caused a kind of proclamation to be made among all his followers, that not a whisper of the kind should be heard among them. To his more particular companions he answered, "that he knew well enough, it was the common plague of great families to be troubled with men who loved to be restless and uneasy, and who made a gain of the dangers and miseries of their patrons: and that such persons being in time of peace restrained by laws, were the authors and advisers of sedition; that so they might fish the better in troubled waters; but, that for his part, he would rather trust his person to the known prudence of the regent and chancellor, than give ear to the temerity and madness of insurregents." Having spoken these words, to prevent any further remonstrance, he set spurs to his horse, and with his brother, and a few more confident, hastened to the castle, with more speed than is usual in an ordinary march. Thus, fate drawing him on, he precipitated himself into the snare of his enemies.

At that moment of time, the regent came in also; for it was agreed, that the whole weight of so great a blow should not lie solely on one man's shoulders. Douglas was kindly received, and admitted to the king's table; but in the midst of the feast, some armed men came round him, quite defenceless as he was, and put a bull's head upon him, which, in those times, was the messenger and signal of death. When the young man saw this, he was troubled, and attempted to rise from his seat; but the same men seized him and carried him into a court near the castle; where he paid for the imperance of his youth with the loss of his head. David his brother, and Malcolm Fleming, whom, next to his brother, he trusted most of all, were also put to death with him. It is said, that the king, who was then a well-governed youth, wept for his death; and that the chancellor rebuked him severely for his unseasonable tears at the destruction of an enemy, during whose life the public peace would never have been settled. William dying thus without children, James, surnamed the Gross, for such he was, succeeded him in the earldom, which was a male fee, as the lawyers speak; but the rest of his patrimony, which was very great, fell to his only sister Beatrix, a very beautiful person in her days. This James, though no bad man, was not less suspected by the king, and hated by the commons, than the former earls; because, though he did not maintain robbers, as they had done, yet he was

not very zealous in restraining them; but he was delivered from this state of enmity by his death, which happened two years afterwards.

William, the eldest of his seven sons, succeeded him, and being proud of the ancient power of the family, which he desired to restore to its pristine splendour, he resolved to marry the daughter of his uncle, who was the heiress of many estates. Several of his kindred, however, did not approve of the match, partly because it was an unusual, and by consequence an unlawful thing; and partly, because, by the accession of so much wealth, he would become an object of envy to the people, and of dislike to the king. A rumour was indeed spread abroad, and that not without ground, that the king himself was determined to oppose the match as much as possible. This made William hasten the consummation of the marriage, even within the time when by ecclesiastical usage matrimony is prohibited, that he might prevent the king's endeavours. Thus, having obtained great wealth, he grew insolent, and enmity followed his arrogance, because in all places troops of robbers swarmed, whose captains were thought to be no strangers to the purposes of Douglas. Amongst these was one John Gormack of Athol, who not only pillaged all the country about him, but set upon William Ruthven, sheriff of Perth, while conducting a thief of that country to the gallows, and fought with him, as it were a set battle. At last, Gormack the captain, and thirty of his followers, were slain, and the rest fled to the mountains. This skirmish happened in the year 1443.

A few days afterwards, the castle of Dumbarton, which was impregnable by force, was twice taken in a little time. Robert Semple was the commander of the lower castle, and Patrick Galbraith of the higher, but their government was so divided, that each had a peculiar entrance into his own part. These two men, though associated in one charge, were not free from factions between themselves, for as Patrick was thought secretly to favour Douglas, Semple, perceiving that his part was but negligently guarded, seized him, and commanded him to remove his goods. The day after this Patrick entered with four unarmed companions, to fetch out his property; and first lighting upon the porter alone, he seized some weapons, drove him and the rest out of the upper castle; and thus, sending for aid out of the neighbouring town, he beat them out of the lower castle also, and so reduced the whole fort into his own hands.

About this time, many murders committed upon the common people were partly perpetrated by the people of Douglas, and partly charged upon them by their enemies. The king being now of age, and managing the government himself, Douglas, finding that he could no longer stand against the envy of the nobles, and the complaints of the commons, resolved to become a new man, to satisfy the people, and, by all possible means, to recover the heart of the king, which was alienated from him. In order to this, he came with a great train to Stirling, and when he had intelligence by some courtiers, whom he had bribed and made his own, that the king's anger was appeased, then, and not before, he came into his presence, and laying down his life and fortune at his feet, submitted the whole to his disposal. Some of the crimes of his former life he excused; and other things, as the readier way to reconciliation, he ingeniously confessed; withal affirming, that whatever fortune he should have hereafter, he would ascribe it solely to the royal clemency, and not to his own innocence; but that if the king would be pleased to receive satisfaction from him, by his services and obsequiousness, he would do his utmost endeavour for the future, that no man should be more loyal and observant of his duty; and that, in restraining and punishing all those exorbitant offences which his enemies cast upon him, none should be more sharp and severe; because he was descended from that family, which was not raised by oppressing the poor, but by defending the commons of Scotland with their arms. This oration of the earl, and the secret commendation of the courtiers, so affected the king, that he forgave him all his past faults, received him into the number of his favourites, and communicated to him all his secret designs.

And indeed the earl, in a very little time, so obliged the king by his obsequious carriage, won so much on the courtiers by his liberality, and ingratiated himself to such a degree with all men by his modest deportment and

affable condescension, that the ordinary sort conceived great hope of his gentle and pliable disposition; but the wiser were somewhat apprehensive of the tendency of this sudden change of manners. Alexander Livingston and William Crichton in particular, surmising that all his counsels would lead to their destruction, resigned their places, and retired from court, Alexander to his own estate, and William to the castle of Edinburgh, there to watch and observe where the stimulation of Douglas would end. Nor were these men of penetration wrong in the opinion they had entertained; for Douglas, having now the king alone, who was destitute of graver counsel, and naturally unwary, by reason of the immaturity of his age, thought now that he had a fit opportunity to revenge the deaths of his kinsmen; accordingly, he easily persuaded the king to send for William Crichton, and Alexander Livingston, with the two sons of the latter, Alexander and James, to give him a legal account of the administration of their former offices. His design herein was if they came to court, to bring them under the control of his faction, and that if they refused to come, to declare them public enemies; and so, having the authority of the king's name as a pretence for his power, to sequester their estates. Hereupon they were summoned to appear, but instead of obeying the mandate, they returned answer by letters, "That they had never any thing more prevalent in their thoughts, than the good of the king and kingdom; and that they had so managed their trust, that they desired nothing more than to give up a full account, provided it was before impartial judges but that, for the present, they desired to be excused, as it was evident the minds of those who were to be their judges, were prepossessed with the favours and bribes of their accusers; and besides, all passages were heart with armed men; not that they shunned a legal hearing, but only withdrew from the violence of their mortal enemies for a while, and reserved their lives for better times, till the commanders of thieves being driven from the king's presence, as they had often been in doubtful times past, they might then justify and assert their innocence to the king and all good men."

When this answer was received, in a convention which was held at Stirling the 4th of November, Douglas carried the matter so, that they were declared public enemies, and their goods confiscated. And then he sent out James Forster or Forester of Corstorphine, his confidant, with forces to ravage the lands in Mid Lothian, and bring their goods into the king's exchequer. Having compelled their castles to surrender, he demolished part, and into the others he put new garrisons; and thus making a mighty waste, without any resistance, carried off a considerable booty. Scarcely had these depredators retired, before Crichton gathered an army of his friends and vassals, sooner than was expected, and with them over-ran the lands of the adherents of Forester and Douglas, as far as Corstorphine, Strabrock, Abercorn, and Blackness. He burnt their houses, spoiled their corn, and brought away as much of the plunder as he could; particularly a stately breed of mares; and thus he did his enemy much more mischief than he received. Douglas, knowing that Crichton had done this by the assistance of others, rather than with his own force, turned his anger upon his friends, who, he was informed, had sent him aid privately, for few durst do it openly. The chief of them were James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, George Earl of Angus, John Earl of Morton, the two last of whom were of Douglas's own family, one being born of the king's aunt, the mother of James Kennedy; and the other had married the king's sister. These persons did always prefer the public welfare, and the duty incumbent upon them to preserve it, before all private respects to their families. As Kennedy excelled the rest in age, counsel, and consequently in authority; therefore the adversary's wrath was principally increased against him; whereupon the Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie raised a sufficient body of men, and destroyed his lands in Fife; and, having a greater eye to the plunder than to the cause, they ransacked the neighbouring farms into the bargain; and then, without any opposition, returned into Angus, laden with spoil. Under these circumstances, Kennedy had recourse to his proper ecclesiastical weapons; and, because Crawford would not answer in court, he laid him under spiritual censure; which Crawford despised, according to his wonted contumacy; but, a little while after, he

was justly punished for his contempt of all laws, human and divine. For in the same year that these things happened, the college of the Bonedictines at Aberbrothick, because monks could not meddle with, or set themselves up for judges in civil causes, made Alexander Lindsay, eldest son of the earl, chief judge in civil matters, under the title of sheriff, or bailiff. He, with his train of followers, became burdensome to the monastery; besides which he carried himself as their master, rather than their agent; so that they dispossessed him of his office, and put Alexander Ogilvie into his place. Lindsay looked upon this as a wrong done to him, which made each of them rather what force they could, as if a war had been declared between them. When both armies stood in readiness to fight, the earl of Crawford, having notice of it, made all the haste he could, and rode in betwixt them both, thinking that the sole authority of his name had been armour of proof to him; but, whilst he was hindering his son from engaging, and calling Ogilvie to a conference, a soldier, who was neither known, nor his aim perceived, darted a spear into his mouth, and struck him dead from his horse. His death was an alarm to both armies; and, after a sharp conflict, many being wounded on both sides, the victory fell to the Lindsays. They say the cause of this was, that, whilst both armies stood with their spears upright, as thick as a grove, a man cried out, "Why do you bring these goads with you, as if you had to do with oxen? Throw them away, and let us fight it out with our swords, hand to hand, with true courage, as becomes men." This said, they all threw away their pikes on both sides, except one hundred Clydesdale men, whom Douglas had sent in to support the Lindsays. These held the tops or points of their pikes in their hands, and trailed them at their backs; but when they came to close combat, they held them out as a thick fence before them, and broke the ranks of their enemies, who were daunted at the sight of weapons which they did not expect. The victors lost one hundred; but the vanquished five times as many, amongst whom were several men of note. Alexander Ogilvie was taken prisoner, and died, a few days after, of the anguish of his wounds, and grief of mind. Gordon, earl of Huntly, was put upon a horse by a friend of his own, and so escaped. The slaughter would have been greater, if the darkness had not covered the sight of the fugitives, for the battle began a few hours before night, on the 24th of January.

The Lindsays managed their victory with great cruelty; pillaging and demolishing houses, and utterly spoiling the country. The war was not less hotly carried on between the two factions in other parts. Douglas had besieged William Crichton some months in the castle of Edinburgh; in consequence of which, the assembly of the estates, that was summoned to be held on the 15th of July, and had already begun at Perth, was removed to Edinburgh. When the siege had lasted nine months, both sides grew equally weary, and so a surrender was made on these conditions, "That William should be indemnified for whatever he had done against the king, and that he and his party should march out without molestation." Thus, in every dispute, he who is most powerful, would seem to be most innocent. Not long after his, Crichton was received into the king's favour, and was made chancellor again, by the general consent of all; but he kept himself as much from the court, and all public business, as his office would allow. Douglas, having thus rather terrified than overthrown Crichton, turned his fury upon the Livingstons. But before I come to this part of my history, I will touch upon the slaughter of some of the nobles of those times; for it would be a work without end, to record the fates of them all.

James Stewart, a noble knight, was slain by Alexander Lisle and Robert Boyd, at Kirkpatrick, about two miles from Dumbarton; neither could they satisfy their cruelty with his death, but they endeavoured to get his wife also, who was then far advanced in her pregnancy, into their power; in order whereunto, they sent a priest to her, as in great haste, to tell her, that all the roads were full of horse and foot, and that there was no way for her to escape the present danger, but to go on shipboard, and fly to Robert Boyd, at Dumbarton, who had solemnly promised to bring her safe home. The credulous woman, who did not know that Robert was present at the perpetration of the murder, being carried from Cardross into the castle, perceiving that she was



circumvented by the fraud of her enemies, and overcome with excess of grief, fear, and indignation, brought forth an abortive birth, which, with the mother, died in a few hours.

About the same time, Patrick Hepburn, earl of Hales, kept the castle of Dunbar, having with him Joan, the wife of James I. who, in those tumultuous times, had fled thither for refuge. Archibald Dunbar, thinking this a just cause for quarrel, set upon Hales, the castle of Hepburn, in the night, killed the soldiers of the garrison at the first onset, and took it; yet, in a few hours, for fear, he gave it up to the earl of Douglas, upon condition that he and his troops should march safely out. Not long afterwards queen Joan died, leaving these children by her latter husband, John earl of Athol, James earl of Buchan, and Andrew, afterwards bishop of Murray. After she was dead, Hepburn delivered up the castle of Dunbar, ungarrisoned and desolate to the king.

In Angus, Alexander earl of Crawford put John Lyons to death in the market-place at Dundee, because he had been raised to great wealth and honour, even to a match in the royal family, by Crawford's father; yet he proved ungrateful, and forgot the courtesies he had received.

Amidst these disorders, the men of Annandale embroiled the adjacent countries in every kind of calamity. The cause of these mischiefs was imputed to the earl of Douglas; who yet did all he could to conceal the wickedness of his clans; for he openly studied nothing more than to distress men of different parties, till his power was grown to such an enormous height, that it was a capital offence to call any thing he did in question. Thus he caused James Stewart, the king's uncle, to become a fugitive, because he spoke something freely concerning the state of the kingdom; and the ship being taken by the Flemings, he lost his life.

Next, Douglas thinking it high time to attempt the Livingstons, caused Alexander, the head of the family, and his son James, with Robert, the king's treasurer, and David, to be summoned to an assembly at Edinburgh; and all his friends, Robert Bruce, James and Robert Dundas. Of these, the two last with Alexander Livingston, were sent back to prison to Dumbarton; but the rest were put to death. Of what crime they were guilty, meriting so great a punishment, the historians of those times do not mention, neither will I interpose my own conjectures, in a business so remote from our memory; only I will relate what I have heard, that James Livingston, when he came to the place of execution, complained heavily and explicitly of the inconsistency of fortune: "That his father, who was honoured with a power next to that of the king, did yet freely give up the invidious title of regent, and went to his own estate, far from court, and out of the sight of his enemies, whose cruelty was never satiated with his miseries; and therefore he was forced to take arms to preserve his life, which he again laid down at the king's command. If there were any fault in this, he had long ago obtained his pardon; and since that time, he had lived remote, and free from all suspicion of any crime, of which this was an evident token, that the nobility thought him innocent, and did earnestly deprecate their punishment; and yet notwithstanding this, the severe cruelty of their enemies prevailed more than their former merits and good offices, the king's pardon, or the supplicating intercessions of the nobility. And, therefore, he entreated all who were then present, to look upon those lofty titles of empire and dominion, to be nothing else but the flattering compliments of fortune, who then intended to do most mischief, and that they were rather the flowery embellishments for one's funeral, than the safeguards of a man's life; especially since had men have more power to destroy the innocent, than the virtuous have to save them." And, having thus spoken, to the great grief of all the spectators, he submitted his neck to the executioner.

Amidst these combustions, Crichton was sent into France, partly to renew the ancient league, and partly to obtain from thence a royal bride. Douglas took his absence very well, though in an honourable employment; because, though he was a prudent and potent person, yet there were some relics of his former discords, that made him not partial to him. In this troublesome state of the kingdom, the same disease which vexed others, infected also

domination order. John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, committed many acts of cruelty and avarice to the yeomen of his diocese, which was very large, and he also gave encouragement to those who were in power to do the same; that so, when the owners were unjustly condemned, their estates might be confiscated to him. The repetition of these acts made it believed that he was the author, or the favourer, of all the mischiefs that were perpetrated by his people. It is reported that the man came to an end worthy of his wicked life. The day before Christmas, as he was asleep at a farm of his own, about seven miles from Glasgow, he seemed to hear a loud voice, calling him to the tribunal of Christ, to plead his cause. This sudden fright awakening him out of his sleep, he called his servants to bring a candle, which he took into his hand, and began to read; but presently the same voice was heard louder than before, and struck all those present with great terror. Afterwards, when it sounded again still more terribly and frightfully, the bishop gave a great scream, put out his tongue, and was found dead in his bed. This singular example of God's vengeance, as I shall not rashly credit, so I have no mind to refute; yet, because it is delivered by others, and constantly affirmed to be true, I thought proper not to omit it.

At the same time, James Kennedy, one of a far different life and manners, who referred all his counsels to the good of the public; finding that he could, either by his authority nor counsel, resist the daily increase of evils in his country; and seeing likewise, that the king's power was unable to oppose the insupportable wicked men, left all his estate as a prey, and went into obscurity. Neither, in these domestic miseries, were matters much better abroad. When the truce that had been concluded with the English was expired, the Scots made an inroad into England, and the English into Scotland; ravaging all the countries wherever they came with fire and sword. In England, Alnwick was taken and burnt, by James, brother to the earl of Douglas. In Scotland, the earl of Salisbury did the like to Dumfries; and the earl of Northumberland to Dunbar. Great captures of men and cattle were made and carried away on both sides; but the commanders agreed amongst themselves, that the prisoners should be exchanged; for they were in a manner equal, both for number and degree. By these incursions, the country was depopulated, and yet the main object of the war remained undecided; so that a truce was again agreed upon for seven years.

In this state of affairs, James Dunbar, earl of Murray, departed this life, leaving two daughters, as his heiresses. The eldest of them was married, by her father, before his death, to James Crichton; the younger, after his decease, was espoused Archibald, brother to the earl of Douglas. He, against the laws and custom of his ancestors, was called earl of Murray; so preponderating was the power of Douglas then at court. Neither was he content with this accession of honour; but that he might further increase the dignity of his family, he caused his brother George to be created earl of Ormond. His brother John, besides having many fair and fruitful farms and lands bestowed upon him, was made baron of Balveny, against the minds of several of his own friends, who were jealous lest the power of that family, too great before, should become at last formidable, even to the king himself; nay, they imagined, that these immoderate accessions and frolics of fortune would not be of long duration. His enemies, on the other hand, as invidiously as they could, bitterly inveighed against this insatiable ambition. "Who," said they, "can safely live under the exorbitant rule of such a tyrant, whose avarice nothing can satisfy, and against whose power there is no safeguard; who, right or wrong, invades the patrimony of the nobles, and exposes the meaner sort as a prey to his tenants; who causes those that oppose his power, either to lose all they have by thieves, or else to be put to death by assassins; and who advances upstarts to high honours, whom he grafts on the ruin of noble families, so that all the authority of the kingdom is now engrossed by one house?" At this time, besides many knights and barons, there were five potent earls of the family, insomuch, that the king himself did but reign precariously, and men were like to suffer all extremities under the cruel bondage of the Douglas party; and he that uttered the least word tending to liberty, forfeited his life for his boldness. These, and similar discourses,

some certain, others to create greater envy, exaggerated beyond the bounds of truth, were spread abroad amongst the vulgar; which made those who were of neither faction remain indifferent to the care of the public, every one being mindful of his own private concerns. The wiser sort of his enemies were glad to hear, that a man of such power, against whom there was no making head, should thus voluntarily run headlong to his own destruction. Neither did they presage amiss; for his mind was grown so proud and insolent by success, that he shut his ears against the advice of his friends while others could not, with any safety, dissemble and cover, by their silence what they disliked, because he had parasites, who did not only watch his words, but observe the very countenances of men. As for his old enemies many of them were brought for trial before him, who was both their adversary and judge; so that some were deprived of their estates, others were put to death, and many, to avoid his tyranny, fled the country.

The men of his faction lived in not the least fear of the law, for no one durst implead them; so that, letting the reins loose to all licentiousness, they invaded and made havock of things sacred as well as profane; and those who were obnoxious to them they murdered. Neither was there any end of their wickedness. Sometimes, when they had no sufficient cause to injure a man, they would do it unprovoked, and in a manner gratuitously, lest, through disease of malice, any honest and tender thoughts should arise in their minds, and make them grow tardy and rusty in cruelty. Every one thought himself the noblest and bravest fellow, that could cast the greatest contumely on the common people. When such great miseries were spread through all parts of the country, the kingdom would certainly have sunk under the burden, had not England, at the same time, been as much embarrassed by civil combinations; but these being somewhat allayed, the English violated their treaty and invaded Scotland. After running over a great circuit, and ravaging many places, they drove away a vast number of cattle, and returned home. But it was not long before the Scots amply revenged themselves; for they also entered England with a great force, and did the enemy more damage than they had sustained. Thus, the minds of both were irritated by the alternate depredations, so that a terrible desolation was made in the territories of both kingdoms; but the greatest share of the calamity fell upon Cumberland, whence the inroad to Scotland had first proceeded; and that province was so harassed by the war, as almost to be quite destroyed. When this was known in London, it occasioned the English to levy a great force against the Scots; thinking it would be easy to reduce the country into subjection, as it was already weakened by civil discords. Hereupon, an army was raised of the better sort of people, and the earl of Northumberland appointed their general, because he knew the country well; and had besides a great name and power in those parts. To him was joined one Main, of a knightly family, who had long served in France, with good repute, industry, and valour. It is said, that this man, out of mortal enmity to the Scots, having gained with the king of England, that the lands which he might take either by killing or driving away the inhabitants, should belong to him and his posterity. On the other hand, the Scots, hearing of the preparation of their enemies, were not negligent in gathering forces. George, earl of Orkney, was made captain-general; who presently marched into Annandale, whither his intelligence informed him the enemy would come. And, indeed, the English had prevented him, and entered Scotland before. They had passed over the rivers Solway and Annan, and pitched their tents by the river Sark from whence they sent out parties on every side, to pillage; but, hearing the approach of the Scots, they recalled them by sound of trumpet, and collected all their forces into one body. As soon as the contending armies came in sight of each other, they began the combat without delay. Maitland commanded the left wing of the English, and Sir John Pennington the right, in which were the Welsh, or descendants of the ancient Britons. The earl himself commanded the centre. George Douglas opposed Wallace, laird of Craig, against Main; and Maxwell and Johnston, each with their troops, were appointed to attack Pennington; while he took care himself of the main body. He gave them a brief exhortation, to entertain a confidence of victory.

"because they had taken up arms in their own defence, being provoked by the injuries of their enemies; but that a prosperous issue must needs attend so just a cause; and that if they could reduce the pride of the foe by a signal overthrow, they would reap a lasting fruit of their short labour." As the English, who abounded in archers, wounded many of the Scots with their arrows, at a distance; Wallace, who commanded the left wing, called aloud, so as to be heard by most of his men, why they trifled so, and skirmished at a distance, telling them to follow him, and rush in upon the enemy hand to hand; and then their valour would truly appear; for that such was the fighting proper for men. Having thus spoken, he drew the whole wing after him; and, presently, with their long spears, wherewith the Scots, both foot and horse, were furnished, they drove the enemy back, routed, and put them to flight. Main, perceiving his wing to give back, being more mindful of the splendid fame of his former life than of his present danger, rushed with great violence upon Wallace, that, by his boldness, he might either renew the fight, or breathe his last in the glory of an illustrious attempt; but by unwarily charging, he was separated from his own men, and was slain, as well as the few that followed him. When both armies heard that he had fallen, the Scots pressed on with such spirit, that the English army did not stand long. In their flight they dispersed, by which means more were slain in the pursuit than in the fight. But the greatest slaughter was upon the banks of the Solway; where the tide had swollen the river, so that they could not pass. About three thousand of the English were slain in this fight, and six hundred of the Scots. There were many prisoners taken, the chief of whom were Sir John Peasington and Robert Huntington. The son of the earl of Northumberland might have escaped; but, whilst he was assisting his father upon his horse, he was himself taken captive. The booty was greater than had ever been known in any previous battle betwixt the Scots and English. For the latter, trusting to the number and bravery of their soldiers, and depending also on the discord of the Scots, came on as securely as if it had been to a show, instead of a combat; so great was their confidence, and so much did they undervalue the enemy. Wallace was wounded, carried home in a litter, and, in three months after, died of his wounds.

Ormond, being thus a conqueror, took a view of the prisoners, and sent the chief commanders to the castle of Lochmaben. He then returned himself to court, where every one went out to meet him, and he was received with all the tokens of honour. The king highly extolled his military services, but advised him and his brother, that, as they had often given proof of their courage abroad, and had defended the state of Scotland by their labour and valour in perilous times, so at home they would accustom themselves to a modest deportment; and first refrain themselves from injuring the poorer sort, and next hinder their clans from doing it; and that they should employ their forces and use that grandeur, which their ancestors had obtained by their various merits, both from the monarchy and subjects, rather in restraining of robbers than in cherishing them; that this was the only thing which was wanting to complete their praise, and make it absolute; and, if they would do that, they should certainly find, that he would esteem the honour of the Douglas family, and their interest, before any thing else. They answered the king submissively, and so took their leave, and went joyfully home.

After this battle of Sark, the borders of Scotland were more secure from the wrongs of their enemies; but when the event was reported at London, it rather irritated than dejected the English. A council was immediately called about the war; and a new army was ordered to be levied, to erase the recent disgrace. Whilst they were all intent upon this expedition, at that crisis civil wars broke out among themselves; and a strong confederacy of the commons was formed against the king, which took off their thoughts from a foreign conflict; so that ambassadors were sent into Scotland, to treat for a peace; which was so much the more welcome, because the affairs there were not well settled. Yet as they could not agree upon terms, they only made a truce for three years, and so returned home. These things took place in the year of our Lord 1448.

This public joy was soon after increased by a message, sent out of Flanders

from the chancellor, who had gone on an embassy to Charles VII. about contracting a marriage. By his endeavours, Mary, the daughter of Arnold duke of Guelderland, was betrothed to James. She was of royal race on the side of her mother, who was sister to the duke of Burgundy. The year after, she came with a great train of noble persons into Scotland, and in July was crowned in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, at Edinburgh.

This universal joy, for the victory, the peace, and the marriage, was soon disturbed by the death of Richard Colvil, a knight of celebrity; which, though perhaps in itself not undeserved, yet was of very bad example to the commonwealth. Colvil, having received many and great wrongs from one John Affleck, a friend of Douglas, and not being able, after many complaints, to get any remedy in law or equity, fought and slew him, together with some of his followers. Douglas resented this deed so heinously, that he made a solemn oath never to rest, till he had expiated the murder by the death of Colvil. Neither were his threatenings in vain; for he stormed his castle, took and plundered it, and killed all the people in it who were able to bear arms. This action, though committed against law and custom, was excused and, in fact, commended by some, as proceeding from that indignation, which is considered as a passion not unbecoming a generous mind. Thus, as commonly happens in degenerate times, flattery, the perpetual companion of greatness, dressed up the highest offences with honest and plausible names. Douglas was so elated with the flattery of fortune, which was now bent on his destruction, that he was ambitious to make an ostentatious display of his power to foreign nations; as if the splendour of so great a family ought not to be straitened within the narrow theatre of an island; for which purpose he resolved to visit Rome. His pretence was devotion, but his motive was ambition. The church of Rome had adopted the old rites of that of the Jews; for, as in this all debts were cancelled, pledges restored, and slaves emancipated, at the end of every fifty years; the pope, who pretended to be God's vicegerent on earth, adopted the example, and arrogated the power of forgiving all offences. For while, at other times, he disposed of his pardons privately, every fiftieth year he opened his full garner, and poured them out by bushels publicly to all; though I will not say that he did this gratuitously.

Douglas, with a great train of nobles, who were partly desirous of erecting novelties, and partly tempted with the hope of riches, sailed over to Flanders; from thence he went to Paris, where he took with him his brother, then lately appointed bishop of Caledonia; and who afterwards, as Douglas had no children, was, by the king's permission, encouraged in the hope of being his heir. In France, he was highly caressed, partly on account of the public league with the Scots, and partly in consideration of the services which his ancestors had done to that crown. The fame also of this filled all Rome with the expectation of his coming.

About two months after his departure from Scotland, his enemies and rivals began to raise their heads, and though they durst not, through fear, complain of him while he was present, they now laid open all the injuries which they had received from him. And when it was noised abroad, that the access to the king was easy, and that his ear was open to all just complaints, the number of sufferers, lamenting their grievances, increased daily; so that all the avenues to the palace were crowded with them. The king could neither reject the petitions of the applicants, nor yet condemn the earl in his absence without hearing him, so that he gave a moderate answer, which satisfied them for the present. He said, that he would command the earl's procurator or attorney to appear; in order that the trial might be conducted openly and equitably. The procurator was accordingly summoned, but did not appear; so that the king's officers were sent to bring him by force. When he came into court, some alleged, that he ought to be immediately punished for disobeying the command of the king, whose authority, by too much indulgence in such a case, would be despised and disregarded, even amongst the meaner sort; for, under the pretence of lenity, the audaciousness of the wicked would increase, and the impunity of offenders open the way for an increase of crime. The king was not moved by these suggestions; but

ained constant to his resolution; which was, rather to satisfy the accusers by compensation for their losses, than to please their revengeful minds by the spilling of blood. He, therefore, caused the earl's procurator to be liberated from prison, and ordered him to plead his master's cause; telling him, that if he had any thing to allege, by which he could clear his lord of the crimes charged upon him, he should freely declare it, without any apprehension. After hearing and casting him in many suits, the king commanded him immediately to pay the damages, upon which the procurator answered, that he would defer the whole matter till the return of his lord, who was expected in a few months. This he spake, as it was thought, by the advice of Ormond and Murray, the brothers of the earl. When the king was informed of his resolution, he sent William Sinclair, earl of the Orkneys, who was then chancellor, first into Galloway, and then into Douglasdale, where he appointed sequestrators, to collect the rents, and so to pay the damages adjudged by law. But as Sinclair had not military sufficient to enforce his order, some eluded payment, and others abused him very grossly; so that he returned without accomplishing the objects of his mission.

The king, provoked by this contempt of his authority, commanded all the favourers of the Douglas party to make their appearance before him; and when they refused, he declared them public enemies; and an army was levied against them, which marched into Galloway. At their first coming, the commanders of the rebels took shelter in their castles; while a small party of the royal forces, pursuing the rest through craggy places, were repulsed; so that they returned back to the king, not without disgrace. The king, being in a great indignation, that a set of abandoned thieves should dare to make such a resistance, resolved that they should pay dear for their opposition to his authority, and accordingly attacked their strongest holds. He first took the castle of Maben, with no great difficulty; but his soldiers were so much fatigued and exhausted in reducing the castle of Douglas, that he entirely demolished it, by way of punishment. As for the vassals and tenants who submitted themselves and their fortunes to him, he commanded them to pay their rents to his treasurers, till the estate of Douglas should have fully satisfied what was awarded against him by law. And when this was done, he dismissed his army, after gaining great credit for his lenity and moderation, even amongst his enemies.

When these matters were imparted to the earl at Rome, his great spirit was mightily troubled; and his dignity was so much lowered thereby in the estimation of his own attendants, that a great part of them deserted him; and he set out on his journey homewards, with only a few followers. Having passed through England to the borders of Scotland, he sent forward his brother James to feel the king's pulse how he stood affected towards him; and finding that he was in the humour of being appeased, he returned home, and was kindly received: only admonished to abandon and subdue all robbers, especially those of Annandale, who had been guilty of many cruelties, to satisfy their avarice, in his absence. Douglas having engaged on oath to do this, was not only restored to his former grace and favour, but also made request over all Scotland; every one being enjoined to obey his commands.

But his towering mind, which was always soaring to the utmost height of exaltation, was not content with this honour, which was the greatest he could be advanced to, under the king. By his temerity, he gave the state new occasions of suspicion; for he undertook a journey privately into England; and, after his address to that king, told him, that the cause of his coming was, that his estate, though claimed, had not yet been restored. But this seemed to James a light, and not a probable cause of his journey; and, therefore, he conceived a great suspicion in his mind, which before was not well reconciled; neither did he conceal his anger, as supposing that there was a deeper design hid under this discourse with the English monarch. Douglas, having now an offended king to deal with, fled presently to his wonted refuge, the well known clemency of his sovereign, and cast himself at his feet. The queen also, and many of the nobles, interceded for him; and, after a solemn oath, that, for the future, he would never do any thing which might justly offend the king, his fault was forgiven; and he was only deprived of his office.

Upon this, the earl of the Orkneys, and William Crichton, who had always remained loyal, were advanced again to the management of public affairs.

Though Douglas was very angry with the whole body of courtiers for this disgrace, as he interpreted it, he was chiefly incensed against William Crichton; suspecting that it was by his management all his projects had been disappointed; and therefore he was resolved to despatch him out of the world, either by treachery, or otherwise. To do this with the least odium, he suborned one of his friends to witness, that he heard Crichton say, "That Scotland would never be at rest as long as any of the family of Douglas remained alive; and that the safety of the king and kingdom, the concord of the estates, and the public peace, depended upon the death of that one man for he being of a turbulent nature, and supported by many and great assistants, and irreconcilable by any offices of respect and advancements to honour, it was better to have him taken out of the way, than so the public peace might be confirmed and settled." This tale, when noised abroad, and believed by many, on account of its wearing the face of probability, excited a great deal of ill-will against Crichton. Douglas, on being informed by his spies of this departure from Edinburgh, laid an ambush for him, late in the night, as secretly as he could; and, when Crichton and his train came up, the perfidious ruffians set upon them with a great shout, at which, they who were first assaulted, were so astonished at the suddenness of the danger, that they could not lift a hand to defend themselves. But William, being a man of great courage and presence of mind, as soon as he had a little recovered from his alarm, slew the first man that assaulted him, and wounded another; and then he and his attendants broke through the midst of their enemies, having each received some wounds. He hastened to Crichton castle, and there remained some days, till his wounds were healed, soon after which, he collected a great number of his friends and tenants, and came with such secrecy and celerity to Edinburgh, that he almost surprised his enemy unawares.

Douglas, being thus freed from a sudden danger, either out of fear, shame, or both, when he saw the power of the adverse party increase and grow extremely popular, endeavoured to strengthen his own faction as much as he could; and therefore joined himself in league with the earls of Crawford and Ross, two of the most distinguished and potent families in Scotland, next to his own. A mutual oath was entered into betwixt them, that each should aid and assist the others with their respective forces and confederates against all the world. In confidence of this combination, they not only contemned the forces of the opposite party, but even those of the king. His majesty resented this as the highest indignity; and besides, he had other fresh causes of provocation against Douglas, which hastened his destructive John Herries, a knight of a noble family in Galloway, being averse to the practices of the party of Douglas, commonly kept within the walls of his own house; but the men of Annandale were sent in to harass him, and did him a great deal of mischief. He often complained of this to Douglas, but in vain; upon which, he determined at last to revenge himself, and resort to force by force. Accordingly, he gathered a company of his friends, but on entering Annandale, the whole of them were taken prisoners by the banditti; and being brought to Douglas, he hung Herries up as a thief, though the king earnestly interceded for him by his letters. The matter seemed so very heinous, as it truly was, that people generally said, Douglas, by his own practices, did endeavour, and that not obscurely, to make his way to the crown: for now there was nothing else remaining, which could satisfy his vast and aspiring mind. This suspicion was soon after increased by another action which he committed, as foul as the former. There was a certain family of the Macleans in Galloway, and one of the chief and best there; the principal person of whom having killed one of Douglas's attendants, but not till after receiving from him continual wrongs and affronts; Douglas put him and his brother in prison. The king was made acquainted with it; and very much importuned by the friends of Maclean not to suffer one so noble and honest to be dragged forth not to a trial, but undoubted destruction; as the same person was both his capital enemy and judge; they alleged

so, that his present misfortune arose not so much from any actual crime, as from having always been of the upright, or loyal party. Hereupon the king sent Patrick Gray, the uncle of Maclean, a worthy knight, and a relation of Douglas, to command him to send the prisoner to court, that the matter might be tried there, in due course of law. The earl received Gray courteously; but, in the mean time, caused Maclean to be executed; and then endeavoured to exouse himself by saying, that it was done by his officers without his knowledge. But Gray perceiving how much he had been deceived, was filled with rage, and told Douglas, that, from hence forward, he not only renounced alliance, friendship, and every kind of obligation to him, but was resolved to be his open and everlasting enemy, and to do him all the mischief he could. When this news was brought to court, the action appeared so atrocious to all who heard it, as to make it the universal topic of discourse. Douglas did now exceed the bounds of a subject, and plainly carried himself as a king: for to what other purpose tended his combinations with the earls of Crawford, Ross, Murray, and Ormond? It was observed also, that his private discourse with the king of England, his putting good men to death, and his allowed licentiousness in pillaging the people, were indications of the same design. Now, innocence was accounted cowardice, and loyalty to the king punished as perfidiousness; the enemies of the commonwealth grew insolent, by the excessive lenity and indulgence of its prince; for which reason it was time that he should take the reins of government into his own hand, and act like a monarch; and then it would appear who were his friends, and who were his enemies. It was said likewise, that if he did not dare to do this openly, by reason of the power of particular men; yet, that by some way or other, he ought to punish disloyalty; but that if he were so fearful, as not to do so, what remained, but that they, who had hitherto been constant in their attachment to him, should now at length provide for themselves? Though the conduct of the party accused, and the credulity of the monarch, who was prone to suspicion, verified these discourses; yet the king, either out of an innate clemency, or else having before had his design, sent for Douglas to court. But he, conscious of his evil practices, calling to remembrance how often he had been pardoned, and understanding how offensive his late league with Crawford was to the king; though he put great confidence in his majesty's goodness, yet being more inclined to fear, refused to come; alleging, that he had many powerful enemies at court, some of whom had lately lain in wait to take away his life. Hereupon, to remove his fear, many of the nobles about the king, sent him a schedule, with their hands and seals to it, promising upon oath, that, if the king himself should meditate any thing against his life, they would guarantee his safety. In consequence of this, Douglas, encouraged by the royal clemency, and the public faith, testified by the subscriptions of so many noble persons, with a great train of followers, came to Stirling; where he was courteously treated by the king, and invited into the castle. After supper, the king cheerfully took him aside into a private chamber, with only a few attendants; not admitting so much as those to whom he was wont to communicate his most secret counsels. There he discoursed over, from the beginning, the loyalty and valour of his ancestors, and his royal indulgence towards their family, and especially himself; who, after having committed many heinous offences, either through the inexperience of his years, or by the persuasions of wicked men, had been freely pardoned; in the hope, that either his royal mercy toward him, or else his growing further into years of discretion, would reform him. "And as yet," said he, "I despair not but it may be so; and if you repeat of what you have impiously committed, the dose of my favour shall never be shut against you. This last league, (proceeded he,) with Crawford and Ross, as it is not creditable for you, so it is unpardonable to me; and therefore, though I take it much amiss that you should enter into it, yet I put it into your power, and give you liberty to cancel and break it off; which, though by my prerogative I might command, I would rather, by fair means, persuade you to do; that, since the eyes of all men are upon you, the cause of suspicion may be removed with greater security." Douglas answered submissively enough to all other points; but



when the king came to mention the league, he was somewhat perplexed: he did not frankly declare what he would do; but said that he would advise his associates. He also ventured to remark, that he did not see any cause why the king at present should oblige him to a breach of the agreement, as it contained nothing that could justly offend his majesty. The king, thus having resolved upon the matter before, or else provoked by his contradictory answer, as the courtiers say, replied, "If thou wilt not break it, I will:" and immediately struck his dagger into his breast. Those who stood nearest the door, hearing the noise, rushed in, and, after a great number of wounds, gave him the finishing blow. Some say, that next after the king, Patrick Gordon of whom mention was made before, struck him on the head with a bill, so that the rest, on coming in, to shew their loyalty, gave him every one a blow. He was killed in the month of February, 1452, according to the Roman account.

Douglas had then four brothers in Stirling, who were accompanied by a great number of the nobility; and they, on hearing of what had been done, ran in great amazement to their arms, as it commonly happens in such sudden confusions, filling the town with noise and clamour. But, when the tumult was appeased by the nobles, they were commanded to go, each man to his respective lodging. The next day they met to consult; and first of all James was saluted earl in the room of his departed brother. After bitter inveighing against the perfidiousness of the king and the courtiers, he proposed laying siege to the castle with what forces they then had, and with speed to levy more; in order, as he said, to drag those men out of their recesses, who were valiant only to commit acts of treachery, while they were yet in some fear and anguish for the guilt of their offence. The company commended the affection and courage of James, but were against his project of a siege; because they were not prepared with materials for such an enterprise; so that they all departed home. But, after holding a consultation with the chief of their friends, they returned again on the 27th of March, and hastened to the tail of a horse the schedule of the king and nobles, promising the public faith to Douglas for his security; drew it through the streets, abstaining in their march from every reproach, either against the king or council, till they came to the market-place, where, with the sound of five hundred trumpets, and the voice of a crier, they proclaimed the king, and those with him, truce-breakers, perjured persons, and enemies to all good men. Moreover, they were angry with the town, which had committed no offence, and, after having pillaged and left it, they sent James Hamilton back to set it on fire: nay, their fury continued for some days; so that they raged throughout the country, and ruined the lands of all who were loyal to the king. They besieged the castle of Dalkeith, and took an oath not to depart till they had taken it; for they were greatly displeased with John, the owner of it, because he, and the earl of Angus, had separated themselves from the party of Douglas. The siege lasted longer than they expected; for Patrick Corburn, commander of the garrison, made a vigorous defence against all the efforts of the assailants; so that, after they had received many wounds, and were worn out with toil and watching, they broke up and retired. In the mean time, the king levied an army to relieve his distressed friends; but not having strength enough to encounter his opponents, he resolved to wait till Alexander Gordon could come to his assistance; who, it was reported, had collected a great force in the northern parts, and was marching towards him. But, in his progress through Angus, he was encountered at Brechin by Crawford, with a considerable body, and a sharp battle was fought betwixt them. When the main body of the royalists, being overpowered by their antagonists, were giving ground, John Colclough, who commanded the left wing, forced Crawford, through a grudge, and so left the centre exposed. This struck those who had almost gained the victory, with such terror, that they turned their backs, and fled. Thus Gordon unexpectedly gained the day, though with much loss on his side; two of his brothers, and a great number of his friends and followers, being slain. Of the men of Angus, also, there fell several men of note; and, amongst the rest, John Lindsay, brother to the earl. As for the earl himself, he turned his wrath from the enemy, against those

who had deserted him, storming their castles, and ravaging their estates with fire and sword. He was the better enabled to do this, because Gordon made a speedy return into his own country of Buchan, on hearing that the earl of Murray was practising all manner of cruelty against his territories; so that he was forced to march back with his victorious army; with which he not only revenged his loss upon the enemy, but also quite expelled him out of his own domain. These actions were performed towards the end of the spring.

In the mean time, the king, chiefly by the advice of James Kennedy, caused an assembly of the estates to meet at Edinburgh, to which he summoned, by a herald, the earl of Douglas, and the nobles of his party. But that chief, instead of complying with the order, caused a libel to be suspended the next night on the church doors, saying, that he would not trust the king with his life, nor yield obedience any more to one who had sent for his vassals to Edinburgh, and his brother to Stirling, under the protection of the public faith, and there had perfidiously slain them, without hearing their cause. In this assembly, the four brothers of the late earl who was slain, James, Archibald, George, and John, with Beatrix, the wife of the late earl, and Alexander, earl of Crawford, were declared public enemies to the commonwealth. Many persons were advanced to the rank of nobility, and rewards were assigned them out of the lands of the rebels. An army was levied to pursue the enemy; which, after some devastation of the country, driving off cattle, and burning corn in the granaries, was again dismissed in the winter, because the soldiers could not keep the field; and an expedition was then appointed to meet before the ensuing spring.

Meanwhile, James Douglas, lest the wealth of his family, which was mightily increased by rich alliances, should pass away to other people, took for a wife Beatrix, the relict of his brother, and solicited the pope to confirm the marriage. But the king, by his letters, interposed, and hindered his holiness from giving his ratification to it. This year, and the two next following, there was much quarrelling between the several parties; lands were pillaged, and some castles were overthrown; but they never came to the decision of the main controversy by a set battle. The greatest part of the damage fell on the counties of Annandale, Forres, and the neighbouring lands belonging to the Douglas party. This devastation of the estates was followed by a famine, and that by a pestilence. The wisest of Douglas's friends used all their arguments to persuade him to endeavour a reconciliation with the king, and to lay himself and all his concerns at the foot of the throne, from whence his ancestors had before experienced mercy. They urged this, especially since he had a king who was naturally benevolent; and who, moreover, might be made more placable by the mediation of friends; and they entreated Douglas not to suffer so noble a family as his was to be extirpated by his obstinacy; nor betray the lives of so many brave men who followed his party; nor yet bring them to such an extreme point of necessity, that, after having suffered so many calamities, they should be forced to make terms for themselves. Whilst he was in a prosperous state, he might gain easy terms of peace; but if once his friends deserted him, he could then have no hopes of obtaining his pardon.—The man, being in the full pride and warmth of his youth, and of a fierce disposition too, made answer, "That he would never submit himself to their power, who were restrained by no bonds of moderation, nor by any divine or human laws; who, under fair promises, had enticed his cousins and brother to come to them, and then perfidiously and cruelly murdered them; in a word, that he would suffer the height of all extremities, before he would ever put himself into their hands."

This answer was approved or disliked according to every man's humour; those who were violent, or who made a gain of the public miseries, commended the greatness of his courage; but the wiser sort persuaded him to take the opportunity that offered, lest, after his friends had forsaken him, he should find reason, when it was too late, to complain that he had neglected the time for a reconciliation, which is usually the end of hasty and headstrong resolutions. But the earl of Crawford, wearied out with so long a war, and reflecting upon the injustice of his cause, and the frequent turns and changes

of human life; knowing, moreover, that he might easily obtain his pardon, if he would be but early enough in his solicitations for the king's favour: but that he would find it extremely difficult to get it, if he stood out; and besides being forsaken by some of his friends, and suspecting the fidelity of the rest, clad himself in such a habit, as would most probably move compassion. Accordingly, he came bareheaded and barefoot, in most humble manner, to the king, as he was passing through Angus; and having ingenuously confessed the offences of his former life, laid his life and fortune at the royal mercy, and prefacing something concerning the fidelity and good services which his ancestors had performed to their sovereigns. He was conscious, he said, that his fault had deserved the extremity of punishment; but declared, that whatsoever hereafter he should possess, either of life or fortune, he would regard as a debt wholly due to the clemency of the king. Having spoken these, and other words to the like effect, not without tears, all the spectators were much moved and affected, especially some of the nobility of Angus; and though they had themselves adhered to the king's party, yet they were unwilling that so eminent and ancient a family should be destroyed. James Kennedy conducted himself, at the same time, like a good bishop, and a friendly patriot; for he not only forgave the earl the many grievous injuries he had done him, but further commended his suit, and spoke in his favour; foreseeing, as it afterwards happened, that, by this occasion, the royal cause in future would be strengthened, and the enemies of the king weakened daily, as many were likely to follow the example of this great man. Besides, the king, thinking that his former fierceness was humbled, and that he was really penitent for what he had done, was not hard to be treated; but gave him his pardon, and restored him to his former estate and honour; only advising him, for the future, to keep within the bounds of his duty. And indeed Crawford, being thus engaged by the lenity and indulgence of the king, did afterwards endeavour to render him all the service he could. He followed him with his forces in his progress to the remotest parts of the kingdom; and, having settled things there for the present, entertained him nobly at his house in his return. When he marched to make an end of the civil war, he promised him all the force he could raise; and indeed the whole course of his life was so changed, that, laying aside his former ferocious behaviour, he lived courteously, and in amity with the neighbouring nobility: so that his death, which followed soon after, was the greater grief to the king and to all the people.

Thus the king, having weakened the party of Douglas by degrees, that earl's only remaining hopes were in obtaining support from England. For this purpose he sent Hamilton to London, who brought him back word, that the English monarch would consent to engage in a war with Scotland on no other terms, than that of receiving the submission of Douglas, with all his concerns as a subject. Thus all his hopes from thence were cut off. And, on the other side, the king of Scotland pressed hard upon him by his edicts, proscriptions, and arms, and by all the miseries which accompany rebellious insurrections; so that Hamilton advised the earl not to suffer the king to destroy his forces by piecemeal; and, by taking them in parties, to weaken and in time overthrow the whole; but, rather to march out with his army, and trust fortune in a battle, there to die valiantly, or conquer honourably. This resolution, said he, is worthy of the name of Douglas, and the only way to end the present misery. Alarmed and fired with this speech, he gathered a great an army as he could, of his friends and dependants, and hastened to relieve the castle of Abercorn: which the king, after having demolished many castles belonging to the party of Douglas, had at last besieged. It was a very strong fortress, situated almost in the mid-way between Stirling and Edinburgh. When Douglas came so near, that he saw and was seen by the enemy, his friends advised him to begin the fight, and either make himself renowned by some eminent victory, or, by a noble death, free himself from reproach and misery; but, when all his party were ready for the onset, he damped their spirits by his own backwardness; for he retreated with his army again into his camp, determined to protract the war to a greater length. His commanders disapproved of this plan; and Hamilton, abhorring his con-

ardice, and despairing of the success of his arms, went over that very night to the royal side. Upon this defection, though the king gave him his pardon, he could not repose any confidence in him, because of his subtlety, and therefore sent him prisoner to Roslin, a castle belonging to the earl of the Orkneys: but afterwards, by the mediation of his friends, he was released, and received into favour, and the unbloody victory ascribed to him, as being the main occasion of it.

Most of the rest of the Douglas party followed the example of Hamilton, and abandoned their chief, each going where he thought it most convenient for his own security; so that, at length, the castle, after much loss on both sides, was taken, the garrison put to the sword, and the walls left half demolished, as a monument of the conquest. Douglas, being thus deserted by almost all his friends, with a few of his associates fled into England. From thence, not long after, he made an inroad with a small party into Annandale, which was then possessed by the king's troops; but, being defeated in a skirmish, he and his brother John escaped; Archibald, earl of Murray, was slain; George, being severely wounded, was taken prisoner; and, after his wounds were cured, was brought to the king, and put to death. In an assembly of the estates held at Edinburgh, on the 5th of June, in the year 1466, James, John, and Beatrix Douglas, were again proscribed. The public acts make Beatrix to be their mother; which seems not very probable to me, unless perhaps the others might be called her sons by adoption. Earl James being thus deprived of his brothers, deserted by his friends, and distrusting the English, as his last resource, applied himself to Donald, king of the Isles. They met at Dunstaffnage; where the earl easily persuaded Donald, a man naturally prone to mischief, to join him in the war; whereupon they committed great outrages in the king's provinces adjacent, without paying respect to age or sex; sparing nothing that could be violated by fire or sword. The like cruelty they used in Argyle and Arran; and Douglas, laden with booty, returned home. After this, having wasted Lochaber and Murray, he made an incursion to Inverness, where he took the castle, and pillaged and burnt the town.

Neither were the English quiet all this while, but, watching their opportunity, they invaded March, where they slew some men of note, who endeavoured to oppose their furious ravages; and so returned home without loss, and laden with plunder from that opulent country. In the following year, Beatrix, widow of the former earl of Douglas, and who lived for some years with James his brother, as his wife, came to the king. She laid all the fault of her former miscarriages upon James; saying that being a woman, and helpless, she was forced to that wicked marriage; but, taking an advantage of his absence, she had quitted that servile state, to lay herself and all her affairs at the king's feet; and that whatever order he should please to make concerning her, or her estate, she would willingly obey it. The king received her into his protection; gave her an estate in Balveny; and espoused her to his uterine brother, the earl of Athol. The wife of Donald the islander followed her example. She was the daughter of James Livingston, and was married to Donald by her grandfather the regent, at the persuasion of the king; that so he might a little soften the rugged disposition of the man, and keep him firm to his duty. But when her kinsmen were restored to the favour and grace they had formerly enjoyed, her husband, on joining the party of Douglas, treated her every day with additional injury; so that she implored the king's assistance against his barbarous cruelty. There was the less need of her making any apology, in regard to the marriage, as the king himself had been the author of it; so that she was nobly treated, and had a large revenue settled upon her, by which she was enabled to live honourably during the rest of her life.

About the same time, Patrick Thornton, who had followed the court a great while, yet was secretly of Douglas's faction, having got a convenient opportunity, slew at Dumbarton John Sandiland of Calder, a young man of about twenty years of age, and Alan Stuart, both of noble families, and eminent for their loyalty to the king. But soon after, he was himself taken by the clans of the opposite party, and executed.

This year was very remarkable for the death of many noble personages.

but especially of William Crichton. Though descended of a knightly family only, yet, such was his great prudence, fortitude, and singular loyalty to the king, even to the last of his days, that his departure was a great loss to the good men. The next year, the English, encouraged by their former successes, made great spoil in March, under the command of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and James Douglas the exile. In order to put a stop to these devastations, George Douglas, earl of Angus, gathering a party of his countrymen together, made an assault upon the plunderers, and drove them whom he attacked in great confusion to their own standards. The English, irritated at this repulse, advanced with their army, before the rest had recovered their colours; and the Scots were as ready to receive them.

The fight was conducted on both sides with greater courage than force for a long time together; neither party appearing to have the advantage, till the English, who were scattered up and down the country, by the noise and tumult, perceiving that the enemy was come, for fear of losing the rich booty they had gained, hastened directly home. Their departure decided the victory though not an unbloody one, in favour of the Scots, there being almost an equal number slain on both sides; but many of the English were taken in the pursuit. The news of this exploit being brought to the king, somewhat raised his spirits, which had been depressed by the insurrections of his own subjects as well as the invasion of foreigners. Donald the islander also, perceiving the ill success of his affairs, was now induced to send agents to the king to sue for a peace. These messengers, in a humble oration, reminded the king of his clemency to Crawford, and the rest of his partisans in the same cause. As for their own offences, they laid them on the evil genius of the times; but now they made large promises, how loyal and obsequious Donald would prove for the future. The king seemed to be somewhat affected by their speech, yet gave them no positive answer; neither quite pardoning Donald nor utterly excluding all hopes of pardon. He told them, that though the crimes of Donald were numerous and glaring, he discovered no sign of repentance; and that if he really was as penitent as he pretended to be in words, or wished to be thought sincere in what he professed, he should make restitution for the loss he had formerly occasioned, and restore their estates to the rightful owners who had been deprived of them; and thus cancel the memory of his former mischiefs, by some eminent and loyal service. "It is true," said he, "no virtue becomes a king more than clemency; but care must be had, lest the reins of government be not let loose by too much lenity; and so the wicked be made rather more insolent, than good men excited to their duty by it." He added, that he would give Donald and his party time to manifest, by some tokens, that they repented of their miscarriages, and that they should always find him acting towards them as their deeds, and not their words, deserved from his hands. In the mean time they need not fear for now they had it in their own power, whether they would every man be happy, or miserable, for the future.

Intestine feuds being hereby either composed, or laid asleep, the king bestowed all his care against the English. Whilst he was consulting about carrying on a war with them, on account of their frequent violations of treaties, ambassadors came at that very crisis from the English nobility, to demand against Henry their king, who had slighted them by advancing upstarts, and following their counsels, with those of his wife, a woman of masculine spirit and courage. Besides, Henry had incurred the contempt of his people and the displeasure of his friends, because things had not succeeded well in Gascoigne and Normandy; for they having lost so many provinces, and being now pent up within the ancient limits of their own island, were discontented and openly declared, that the king's indolence, and the queen's pride, were no longer to be endured. The heads of the conspiracy were Richard duke of York, and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick. After the English ambassadors had discoursed much in justification of their taking up arms against Henry, and also concerning their own power, and the cowardly disposition of their king, they craved aid against him, as being a common enemy. He was fearful in war, sordid in peace, and who had nourished civil discord among the Scots by having supported their exiles. Withal, they promised

they gained the victory, to restore the castles and countries which had been taken in former wars from Scotland. The king, by the advice of his council, made answer, that he knew before the state of the English affairs, and that he was not ignorant of the right or demands on either side; but that he would not interpose himself as an arbiter in another man's kingdom, unless he were chosen by both parties to that office. As to the war, he said he had long since determined to revenge the injuries of former times; and, since he could not by law obtain the places he had lost, owing to these discords, he could endeavour to recover them by force; but that if the duke of York, with his party, would promise to restore them, he would assist him against Henry. The ambassadors agreed to the terms, and so returned home. The king then mustered his forces, and was about to march, when, just in the instant of his march, an English impostor, sent by Henry, met him. He had been a long time at Rome, and was well acquainted with the speech and custom of the Italians. His habit and train corresponded perfectly with the character he assumed, and he had counterfeit letters as from the pope; which made unsuspecting men believe that he was actually a legate sent from him; while, to gain the greater credit to his imposture, he had a monk with him, whose assumed sanctity made the fraud less suspected. These men were brought to the king, and, in the pope's name, commanded him to proceed no further with his army; for if he did, they were empowered to excommunicate him with bell, book, and candle: "For his holiness," said they, "is wholly intent upon a war against the common enemy of Christendom; and so would have differences composed all over Europe, that the people may be free for the enterprise." They averred also, that they were sent before, to give the king notice of it; but that there was a more solemn embassy, which would shortly arrive, and which, they believed, was already come as far as France, to decide the civil discords in England, and to give satisfaction to the Scots for the wrongs they had sustained. The king had no conception of any fraud in the case, and as he desired nothing more than an honourable peace, because things at home were not quite settled to his mind, he therefore obeyed the legate, and disbanded his army. But he had hardly done this, before he was advised from England, that this supposed ambassador was a cheat; so that he raised some new forces; and, because he could not join the duke of York, that he might draw off some of the royal armies from him, and at the same time revenge his own wrongs, he marched directly to Roxburgh; which town he took, and destroyed it at his first coming. Whilst, however, he was laying siege to the castle, ambassadors came from the duke of York and his associates, informing him, that their king was overcome, and the war ended in England. They gave him thanks for his good will, in assisting them in the maintenance of their cause; and assured him, that they would, in time, requite the courtesy; but that, at present, they desired him not only to raise the siege, and withdraw his troops from the castle, but likewise forbear from any other act of hostility against England; otherwise the people would not be satisfied, unless an army was immediately sent against the Scots. James congratulated them on their victory; but asked the ambassadors, whether the duke of York had given them nothing in command, concerning the performance of his late promise. They answered, that he had not. "Then," said he, "before your embassy came to me, I was determined to pull down that castle, which is built upon my land; neither, since that, am I so much obliged by the artifices of the faction, as to give over an enterprise, which is begun, and almost finished. As for the threatenings, whether they are their own, or that of their people, let them look to it: go you, and tell them, that I will not be removed hence by words, but by blows." Thus the ambassadors were dismissed without their errand. And, whilst he pressed upon the besieged with all the hardships of war, Donald the islander came into his camp, with a considerable body of his countrymen. He, to obtain the easier pardon for his past offences, and fully to make atonement and reconcile the king, promised him, that, if he would march forward into the enemy's country, as long as he was there, he would advance a mile before the royal army, and so endure the hazard of the first onset, and stand the greatest shocks. But he was commanded to remain near the king; yet some of his troops were sent

to prey upon the country. It happened also, that, at the same time, Alexander Gordon, earl of Huntly, brought in new forces to the king, which accession of strength made him more resolute to continue the siege, though a stout defence was made by the garrison. It had hitherto been a blockade only, but now vigorous operations were carried on against the place, and, as there were troops enough, the soldiers relieved each other; while the besieged suffered a daily diminution, many being slain, numbers wounded, and the rest wearied with continued toil and labour. To intimidate them the more, the king commanded to batter part of the wall with iron ordnance, which were then much used, and were very terrible; but whilst he was very busy about one of them to encourage and press on the work, the piece exploded, and, with its force, drove out a wooden wedge, or plug, which immediately struck the king dead on the earth, without hurting any one else. The courtiers that stood next him, though terrified at this sudden accident, yet covered his body, lest the report of his death should make the common soldiers run away. The queen, who came that very day to the camp, did not spend the time in feminine lamentations, but called the nobles together, and exhorted them to be of good courage, telling them that so many valiant men should not be dismayed at the loss of one; and that it would be dishonourable to desert a business that was so near a conclusion. She added, that she would herself speedily bring them another king, in the place of him that was slain; and that, in the mean time, they should press with might and main upon the enemy, lest they grew more resolute upon the news of the death of the general, and imagine, that all the courage of so many valiant men was extinguished in the fate of one person. The officers, ashamed to be exceeded in courage by a woman, assaulted the castle with such violence, that neither party was sensible of the loss of the king. In the mean time, his son James, who was then about seven years of age, was brought into the camp, and saluted as sovereign. Nor was it long after, before the English, quite tired out with watching, and fatigued by continued service, surrendered up the castle to the new king, on condition of being allowed to march away with bag and baggage. The castle, that it must not be the occasion of another war, was levelled to the ground. Such was the end of James II. in the year of Christ 1460, a few days before the autumnal equinox, in the 30th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign. He had been ever exercised, even from his youth, in domestic or foreign wars; he bore both the conditions of life, prosperity and adversity, with great moderation of mind. He shewed such valour against his enemies, and such clemency to those who submitted themselves, that all estates were much afflicted by his loss; and his death was the more lamented, because it was sudden, so in the flower of his age, after having escaped many dangers, and when the expectation of his virtues was at the highest. He was also missed the more, because his son was yet unfit for the government, and when men considered what miseries they had suffered during the last twenty years, the ashes, which fire were hardly yet covered up, the recollection of the past, and the reflection that memory induced, made them augur unfavourably of the future.

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## BOOK XII.

*JAMES III. the Hundred and fourth King, began his reign A. D. 1460.*

JAMES II. as I have related, being slain in his camp, to prevent all such disputes concerning the right of succession, as had happened at other times, his son James, a child of about seven years old, who was the younger and survivor of twin brothers, entered upon the sovereignty in the town of Kelso. The nobles, according to custom, having taken the oaths of allegiance to him eight days after he began his reign, he left the army, and retired to the castle of Edinburgh, to be under the care of his mother, till an assembly of the state should be held for the arrangement of the important concerns of the kingdom. The assembly was summoned later than ordinary, because matters were neither composed in England, nor quiet in Scotland; so that the nobility were

of opinion, the war was the first thing to be attended to; that so they might revenge old injuries, and punish their enemies by gaining some notable advantage over those who always lay upon the watch to profit by the distresses of others. For this end, they marched into the enemy's country, without any resistance; where they committed much damage, and demolished many castles, from whence the English had been accustomed to make incursions. The chief of these fortresses was Werk, situated on the banks of the river Tweed, and, by its neighbourhood, was very injurious to the country of March. The army having ravaged the enemy's country, as far as they could, for the time of the year, at the beginning of winter returned home.

This year, Henry, king of England, was taken by the duke of York, and brought to London, where a form of peace was concluded between them, for Henry durst not deny any thing; "That he, as long as he lived, should bear the name and outward show of a king, but that the power of government should be in York, under the name of a protector; and that, on the death of Henry, the regal title should be transferred to Richard and his posterity." Whilst these things were transacted at London, news arrived that the queen was marching with a great army to rescue her husband from prison. York, upon this, went out to engage her, with about five thousand men, leaving the earl of Warwick behind. He marched as far as Yorkshire; and, that it might not be said, that he who in France had defended himself against numerous forces, not with walls, but arms, now shunned combat with a woman, he fought against a number far greater than his own, and, in the battle, fell, as well as his youngest son, and a great many nobles. The heads of the commanders were placed as a spectacle on the gates of York. The queen, thus victorious, marched on to deliver her husband, but was met by the earl of Warwick, bringing the king with him, as if he would defend the compact made concerning the kingdom under his auspices. Both armies met at St. Alban's, which is thought to be the old Verulam; where the queen was again the conqueror. She slew the principal officers of the adverse army, released her husband, and marched towards London; but, finding that the earl of Pembroke, whom she had sent to collect fresh forces, had been defeated by Edward, the son of her enemy Richard, the late duke of York; and knowing besides, what cruel hatred the citizens of London bore against her, she withdrew towards Northumberland, which country she looked upon as the seminary or source of her strength. But there she was overcome in a bloody fight; more than 36,000 valiant men being, according to report, slain on both sides, and the enemy pressing upon her, and giving her no time to collect her forces, she, with her husband and son, fled into Scotland.

The conqueror called himself Edward IV. king of England. Henry craved aid in his distress, and, through James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose authority in Scotland then exceeded that of all others, and whose prudence was held in the highest esteem, he was entertained with great honour and respect, so that he had some prospect of recovering his former fortune; to nourish which hope, by all the means he possessed, he restored the town of Berwick to the Scots, which the English had held ever since the days of Edward I. The Scots, upon this obligation, assisted Henry in all things; not only in repairing the wreck of his fallen fortunes, but promising him more aid, in time, to recover his right. And, that the friendship now begun, might be the more firmly established, the two queens, who were both of French descent, began to treat concerning a marriage between the sister of James and the son of Henry, whom they called prince of Wales, though neither was yet seven years old. Philip of Burgundy, uncle to the queen of Scots, but a mortal enemy to the queen of England, in order to hinder this marriage, sent Grothus, a nobleman, as his ambassador for the purpose. Philip at this time was so rancorously inimical to Renatus, the grandfather of the young lady by the mother's side, that he sought all occasions to hinder his family from increasing; in consequence of which, out of favour to him, the matter was, at that time, rather delayed than annulled. But the fortune of Henry protracted that union which Philip of Burgundy feared. Being somewhat encouraged by the kindness of the Scots towards him, and also by some comfortable letters that from his friends out of England, he sent his wife beyond sea to Renatus,



her father, to procure what aid she could from her foreign connexions. She prevailed so far in France, as to secure an asylum there for her adherents, the exclusion of her adversaries; and, moreover, she obtained two thousand men, as Monstrelet says, under Warren, their general; but our writers, as well as the English, with whom I rather agree, reduce the number to five hundred, which they say were commanded by Peter Brice, or, as some call him, Brace, a Briton, and that they were rather companions for her journey than an auxiliary aid. With this small band she returned into Scotland, and thought fit to attempt something, not doubting but that, at the report of her assistance, the English would rise and join her. Whereupon, she made descent at Tynemouth; but this small company, being dismayed on hearing that a great force was coming against them, returned to their ships, without doing any thing remarkable; where, also, as if fortune had crossed them on other hands, they met with a dreadful storm, which drove the greatest part of the queen's followers into Berwick; but some of them were cast upon the isle of Lindisfarne, where they were taken by the enemy, and put to the sword.

The heroic queen, however, was not discouraged at this misfortune. She enlisted a great number of Scots to join with her own soldiers, and resolved to try her fortune once more. Accordingly, leaving her son at Berwick, she and her husband entered Northumberland, from whence she made great devastation, with fire and sword, in all the adjacent parts. On the report of this new army, some of the nobles, as the duke of Somerset, Ralph Percy, and many other old friends of Henry, who, for fear of the times, had retired to king Edward, came in to them; but there was a far greater confluence from the neighbouring parts of England, of such persons as had led irregular lives in hopes of some new plunder. To repress this commotion, Edward made great military preparations both by land and sea. He commanded the lord Montague, with a great part of the nobility, to march against the enemy, while he himself followed with his whole army. Both parties pitched their tents not far from Hexham; but the common soldiers, who enlisted only for booty, beginning to desert, Henry thought it best, in such a desperate case, to hazard a battle; and accordingly the fight began, wherein he was overthrown, his chief friends were slain or taken, and he himself made a hasty retreat to Berwick. Of the prisoners, some had their heads cut off on the spot, but others were reserved for execution. Edward, having thus gained the day by his generals, came himself to Durham, in order to prevent the incursions of the Scots by the terror of his army; and also, that by his presence he might quell any domestic insurrections, if any should arise. While there he sent out part of his force, under several commanders, to take those places which were possessed by his enemies, of which he reduced many by storm, and compelled them to capitulate, and at last laid siege to the castle of Alnwick. This fortress, which was greater and stronger than the rest, was defended by a garrison of French, who held out bravely, in hopes of relief from Scotland, which was near at hand. The Scots, however, having lately met with ill success in England, could not so soon levy an army as the present exigence required, for the raising of the siege. But whilst others were, at this time, backward, and delayed their decision, George earl of Angus, with great boldness and bravery, undertook the hazardous attempt. Having raised among his friends, vassals, and the neighbouring province, of which he was governor, about ten thousand cavalry, he came to the castle, and supplied the French garrison with some spare horses he had brought for the purpose, and carried them all off safe into Scotland, whilst the English stood looking on, amazed at the boldness of his enterprise; either thinking that Douglas had help near at hand, or rather hoping to have the castle given up without a battle, and so they would not put the whole to hazard, by joining in battle with that small, though select party. Edward settled guards at all convenient places, that no insurgent troops might pass; and then, as if he had quieted the whole kingdom, he returned to London.

In the mean time, the exiled Henry, either flattered into hopes by his friends, or weary of his banishment, determined to shelter himself privately amongst his adherents in England. But fortune continuing to frown upon him, he was discovered, taken, and carried to London, where he was committed

prisoner to the Tower; and his wife Margaret, distrusting her present affairs, with her son and a few followers left Scotland, and sailed over to her father Renatus, in France.

To return to the affairs of Scotland. The time for the assembly, which was summoned to be held at Edinburgh, having arrived, there was a very full attendance, but the body was divided into two parties. Some of the nobles adhered to the queen; but the far greater part joined James Kennedy, and George Douglas, earl of Angus, who were the heads of the opposition. The queen lodged in the castle; the bishop and the earl lay in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, at the farther part of the suburbs, towards the east. The cause of the dissension was the claim of the queen to have the tutelage or guardianship of her son; while the other party judged it most fit, that one should be chosen out of the whole assembly, for that important charge. The queen pleaded very strongly the tenderness of a mother, and the powerful ties of interest and blood. The adverse party insisted on the old law, confirmed by uninterrupted custom. On the third day of the assembly, the queen came from the castle with her followers, and caused herself to be decreed guardian of the king, and governess of the kingdom, by her own faction, and so returned back again. When Kennedy heard of this, he hastened with his party into the market-place, and there, in a long speech, told the multitude, who were numerously collected about him, "That he and his associates aimed at nothing but the public good, and the observation of their ancient laws; but that their adversaries were each of them led by his private advantage; and thus he would evidently make appear, if he might have a place allotted, and freedom to dispute the point." This said, he retired with his followers to his lodging; but before he had gone far from the market-place, he heard that the other party was coming down armed from the castle. Douglas looking upon this as an intolerable thing, that valiant men should yield to the threats of a few, and that their retirement should be looked upon as a flight, would have assaulted the adjoining gate of the city, had he not been restrained by Kennedy. Defenceless as he was, he seemed bent upon attacking armed men; but the bishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Dunblane, upon noise of the uproar, came in, and by their mediation the matter was so far composed, that a truce was agreed upon for a month.

Though the chiefs of the faction were thus quieted, yet the multitude could not be restrained from expressing their wrath and indignation, in rough and sharp language, against the queen, whose conduct, they said, was dishonourable to the kingdom, and indecent in herself. "What," said they, "is the valour of the old Scots reduced to so low an ebb, that, amongst thousands, there is none worthy to govern the affairs of the kingdom but a woman? Was there no man," they exclaimed, "to rule over the nation; and lead the greatest part of his life in arms? What likelihood was there, that those, who were already disinclined to respect their king, should yield obedience to a foreign woman? Was it to be endured that men, born and bred up to arms, who had undergone so much labour, and lost so much blood, should tamely give up themselves to the servitude of a woman? What if the English should invade them, as they had often done at other times, in revenge of their losses, with a great army? Who could, in that case, set up the standard, and lead them out to battle? Who could give, or accept, terms of peace or war?" Such were the discourses of the common people in all their clubs.

But in the course of a month their minds were somewhat more calm; and the truce being at an end, there was another convention, where the queen alleged this for herself, in justification of her cause, "That, since she had not entered upon the government, the year before, by force, or against the minds of the nobility, but, being chosen to that dignity by their unanimous consent, had only used her own right, she took it amiss to be degraded, especially as no crime at all was imputed to her administration. If, (said she,) as is usual, degrees of relation be considered in guardianship, there is none nearer than a mother; if the safety of the king was in their view, none could be more faithful; for other persons might have their various and distinct hopes from his death, but that nothing remained for her, except to mourn for the loss of so dear a son. But if they had respect to the good of the public, they should

reflect that she was a stranger, and had no concern or interest in their feuds or friendships, which was a point of importance in those who sat at the helm of government, it being necessary that they should not only be free from vicious courses, but likewise from those temptations which might set a bias upon their mind to pervert justice and judgment. Some had opulent parents, kinsmen, connexions, by whose interest they might hope for a palliation of their offences, or, at least, an easier pardon; nay, sometimes rulers were compelled to square and accommodate their actions to the will and humour of friends. As for herself, the queen said, her innocence alone was her only advocate; she had but one son to regard, and the benefits and advantages of both were closely joined and interwoven. Were it not, she observed, for these considerations, she would choose much rather to live a quiet and happy life in retirement, with the good opinion of all, than undergo the enmity of all offenders, by punishing their crimes; nay, sometimes to incur even the displeasure of the virtuous. Neither was it a new thing for a woman to desire the regency of a kingdom, since not only in Britain, but even in the greatest and most powerful nations on the continent, women had enjoyed the supreme power and their reigns were such, that their subjects never repeated of their government."

When she had thus spoken, many assented to her; partly to secure a place in her future grace and favour; partly in hopes that the fruits of other people's envy would redound to their advantage: nay, there were some, who had an evil surmise, that, if an election should take place, they would themselves be passed over as less fit; and therefore they rather desired, that the queen should be made head over them all, than that others, who were either their equals in rank, or even of a superior order, should be preferred before them.

However, the more upright part of the nobility shewed, both by their countenances and speeches, that they were disgusted at the queen's oration; but that which principally affected the whole assembly, was the authority and speech of James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, it is reported, spoke in this manner:

"It is my chief desire, noble peers, that they whose aim is the good of all in general, might freely declare their minds, without offence to any person in particular. But in our present circumstances, when the sense of things, delivered for the public good, is wrested and turned to the reproach of those private individuals who speak them, it is a very difficult thing to observe such a mean between conflicting heats and different opinions, as not to incur the resentment of one or other of the parties. As for myself, I will temper and moderate my discourse, that no man shall complain of me, without first confessing his own guilt: yet I shall use the liberty of speech, received from our ancestors, with such moderation, that as, on the one side, I desire to prejudice no man; so, on the other, neither for fear nor favour will I pass by any thing which is for use in the debate before us. I see, that there are two opinions which retard and impede our concord; the one is of those who judge that, in a matter relating to the general good, an election out of the whole is to be made: and, as we all meet to give our suffrages in a business concerning the safety of the entire kingdom, so it is just and fit, that no man should be excluded from the hopes of that honour, who seeks to obtain it by honest and virtuous methods. The other is, of such as think that it will be a great injury done to the queen, who is both a noble princess and an excellent woman, if she be not preferred before all others in the guardianship of her son, and the administration of the government of the kingdom.

"Of these two opinions, I prefer the former, and will presently give you my reasons for it. In the mean time, I so far approve of the mind of the latter, as to think it below the queen's grandeur that any single person should vie with her for this point of honour, lest her authority, which ought to be, as in truth it is, accounted venerable, should be lessened by contending with inferiors; and indeed I should be wholly of their judgment, if the dispute lay here, about the honour of one, and not the safety of all. But, since we are, this day, to make a determination about that which concerns the lives and fortunes of all private men, and the safety of the whole kingdom besides, it is highly requisite that single interests and concerns of every kind should stay

and give way to this consideration; and therefore I earnestly advise those who are of this opinion, so to consult the dignity of the queen, as not to forget, at the same time, the reverence they owe to the laws, the old customs, and the universal good of their country. If they can shew that it is lawful, and publicly expedient, that the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom, ought to be in the queen's hands, I will be of their opinion. But, if what they plead for be pernicious to the public, I hope the queen first, and next all good men, will pardon me, if (always saving the majesty of the queen, as sacred, so far as by law and the custom of our ancestors I may,) I do not conceal my opinion, or, rather, if I speak out that with freedom, which it were the greatest impiety in me to conceal. To begin, then, with the laws: there was one made above five hundred years ago, by our king Kenneth, a prince no less eminent for his wisdom and prudence, than for his military achievements; and it was assented and yielded to by all the orders of the state; and approved of even to this very day, by the observance of several ages, 'That when the king happens to be a minor, the parliament of the nation shall assemble, and choose some one man, eminent for wisdom and power, to be his guardian, and to govern him as long as he shall be unable to wield the sceptre with his own hands.' Though this law be referred to Kenneth as the author, yet it seems to me, that he did not so much enact it first, as revive and confirm the ancient custom of the Scots by a new sanction. For our ancestors were so far from committing the supreme power to the hands of a woman, that, if you look over our chronicles, you shall not find the name of a female regent recorded in any of them. For why, pray, should they mention such a name, of which they never had occasion, and hoped in future never to have any? For those females, whom other countries call queens, we only call wives or consorts of our kings; neither do we owe them any higher name: for, I believe, our wise ancestors had this in their eye, that as often as these consorts heard their names subjoined to that of their husbands, they might remember that they were subject to men; and therefore a woman has never been admitted to the regency, or the administration of public affairs, to this very day. The same course hath been also constantly observed in inferior magistracies, both as to their appointment and execution. For though many honours, and some seignories with them have come either by inheritance to women, by reason of extraordinary services and grants from their country, or allotted to them as dowries; yet it was never known, since the memory of man, that any woman did ever preside at a public council, or in any court of judicature, or did ever take upon her any of those offices which are appropriated to men. And truly, since our ancestors, though not bound by law to it, did constantly observe this custom, only by the impulse of nature; if we, their posterity, should bring the commonwealth into an apparent danger, by opposing a law received by the votes of all, and approved by so long a usage, who will free us from the brand—I will not say of rashness, but even of madness itself? especially, since we have been warned by examples near at hand; for the Saxons, justly urged and provoked to it by the wickedness of one woman, namely, Ethelburga, made a law, that, after that time, no woman should be called queen, nor should sit in public, next to the king, in any seat of honour. I beseech you, therefore, consider how much they deviated from prudence, who, against a law so ancient, and one no less advantageous to women than honourable to men, would put the reins of government into their hands, to whom our ancestors never gave so much as a royal name; and from whom our neighbours took it away, after they had given it to them. Other nations, I grant, have acted otherwise; but with what success, I shall declare, after I have answered those who dare not calumniate this law openly, but, in the secret meetings of women, implead it as unjust. But whoever he may be that finds fault with it, he seems to reprehend—not some sanction merely approved by the suffrages of men, but even the authority of nature, that is the primary law imprinted in our hearts by the Divinity; I repeat it again, nature itself, whom our legislator had as a guide and directress of all his counsels when he proposed and enacted this law. For nature, from the beginning, hath not only distinguished men from women by the strength of mind and body, but hath also appropriated distinct offices and virtues to each

sex, the same indeed for kind, but far different in degree; for it is no less unbecoming a woman to pronounce judgment, to levy forces, to conduct an army, to give a signal to the battle, than it is for a man to pick wool, to handle the distaff, to spin or card, and to perform the other services of the weaker sex. That which is liberality, fortitude, and severity in man, is profusion, madness, and cruelty in a woman. And again, that which is elegant, comely, and ornamental in a woman, is mean, sordid, and effeminate in a man. Do not they, therefore, who endeavour to confound and mix these things which nature, of her own accord, hath distinguished; do they not, I say, seem to you, not only to disturb, but also to overthrow, the state of the kingdom, which is founded upon such good laws and customs? This they do when they would obtrude on us the government of a woman, which our ancestors never so much as once named. For the maker of that law, which I mentioned before, doth not seem so much to induce a new sanction in the enacting of it, as to commit to writing the perpetual usage of our ancestors: that it might be transmitted to posterity; and that which hath been always observed according to the guidance of nature, in the making of a king, is consecrated by public authority, in the appointment of a guardian to a sovereign when under age. They who strive to undermine and infringe this law, what do they, but endeavour at once to overthrow all the other laws, rites, and customs of our ancestors? I speak this, that I may prevent all cavil: not that I think all laws are immutable, as if they were enacted to last for ever: no, laws are of different powers, degrees, and kinds: those which are accommodated to the vicissitudes of times, are subject to the inconstancy of fortune, and are intended to last as long as the necessity which imposed them; and those which are obtruded on men by the wills of tyrants, are commonly dismantled and abrogated with their authors. But with regard to the instinct or impress of nature, which is, as it were, a living law, ordained by God, as deeply imprinted and engraven in men's hearts; this, neither the consent of the multitude, nor any decrees of men, can abolish. For, as an excellent poet is reported to have said, 'It was not born yesterday or to-day, but it grew up together with maternal nature herself, and lives and dies with her.' And seeing our law, of which we now speak, is of that sort, and a principal one too, he doth not oppose the dignity of the queen, who desires, that she, of her own accord, would prescribe to herself those bounds which nature hath appointed, her sex requires, custom hath established, and the laws made by the consent of almost all nations approve; but they do this who would have her forget her sex, and would fain persuade her to break through all bonds of law, and to disturb the order of things instituted by God, received by use, and allowed in all well-governed cities and countries. And, certainly, whosoever slights that order, will be grievously punished, not by men only, but by God himself, who will assert his own ordinances. For if good laws threaten a man with death, who shall clothe himself with women's apparel, and a woman, if she wear the habit of a man; what punishment can be inflicted on them too great for their offence, who, by a preposterous flattery, would overthrow the whole force of nature, and the everlasting constitution of God himself? Will you understand how these flatterers do not speak what they cordially mean? In a public assembly, to give a vote; to be president in a court of justice; to enact or abrogate a law:—these are great things in themselves; yet they are but a small portion of public government. Will they do not these flatterers bring their wives hither to us, to consult? why do they also preside in judicatures? why do they not deliberate upon the passing of laws? why do not these men look after their domestic affairs at home, and send their wives abroad to the wars? But if they would impose those as regents upon us, whom they themselves will hardly trust in the management of their own household affairs, much less think them fit for the least part of any public business, consider, I pray you, how inconsiderately they act; but restrained by modesty, rather than judgment; yet let them hope well of others who both can and will perform their own, that is, the services proper for men. But if, as I rather judge, they think by this kind of complaisance to gratify the queen, I advise and admonish them to lay aside their false opinion of a

princess of the great prudence that she is, and not believe her to be so ignorant of things, as to reckon that an increase and accession of dignity to her, which would be the foulest thing imaginable in other women. I enter upon this part of my discourse very unwillingly; therefore, since our noble princess hath so well deserved of the whole kingdom, that it is fit she should hear nothing which might justly offend her ears or heart, I will not mention those things, which ill men commonly allege, in contemning and undervaluing the sex; I shall rather insist on those virtues which are proper to the queen; and though these are many, and eminently illustrious, yet none of them have procured greater praise and commendation than her modesty: which is esteemed so proper to her sex, that even in a private person, it doth either cover, or at least much extenuate other faults. But in our princess, none of whose words or deeds, in regard of the eminence of her birth and condition, can be concealed, it doth shine out so illustriously, that all her other virtues become much more acceptable, and are more amply commended, merely for the sake of this one grace. And therefore I need say but a few words in reference to her, save only to warn and encourage her to persist in that way to glory and honour, which she hath already entered upon; and that she would not give ear to the flatteries of any, so as to be forgetful of herself; but that she would rather tread the sure and experienced path to immortal renown, than, by running upon unsafe and craggy precipices, hazard the splendour of her former life.

"But my great business is with you, my lords, who, either out of envy, are afraid that your betters should be preferred before you; or else, out of a wicked ambition, are laying artfully the foundation of your future favour with a good princess. I will therefore, most noble queen, under the shelter of your prudence, speak freely my thoughts in this case. Such persons do not court you, but your fortune; and whilst they think upon the queen, they forget that the same person is a woman. When I say woman, I use not the word reproachfully, but as denoting one to whom nature hath given many blemishments and eminent endowments, but withal mingled them, as she usually doth, in the most usual and precious things, with some alloy of infirmity; and therefore would have her to be under the guardianship of another, as not sufficiently able to protect herself: so that, instead of having an empire over others, the laws, in imitation of nature, command the sex to be under the perpetual tutelage of parents, brothers, or husbands. Neither doth this tend to their reproach, but is a relief to their frailty: as it keeps them off from those affairs for which they are unfit; and it is a kindness to their modesty, not a scandal detracting from their honour. I forbear to notice how difficult it is to control them by the vigilance of their husbands, or the authority of their parents; neither will I mention, how far the licentiousness of some women hath proceeded, when they have been free from all restraints. I shall confine my speech only to what the present case offers, or rather dictates and requires; and which cannot, without damage to the public, be concealed. If there be any thing of private concern amiss in the sex, let their husbands and kindred look to that; I shall only briefly touch what may be publicly prejudicial. Greatness of mind was never required in this sex. It is true, women have their other proper virtues; but as for this, it was always reckoned amongst virile, and not female endowments. Besides, the more they are liable to perturbations, passions, and other mental emotions, through the imbecility of their nature, the more doth their violence, when they have broken through the restraints of judgment, carry them to excess, so as hardly ever to be reduced, and brought back within its due bounds. Women are like impatient, both of diseases and their remedies; and if any of them appear remarkably valiant and courageous, they are so much the more dangerous, as being liable to more impetuous and vehement passions. For they, who, being weary of their sex, have put off the woman, are very willing to extend their liberty, even beyond the limits of a masculine genius. If you once exceed and pass the boundaries set by nature, whatsoever is beyond, is infinite; and there is no mound left, for desire or action. Moreover, there is a further addition to this infirmity of nature; for the less conscience one hath in himself, the more easily he interprets the words and deeds of others to his

own reproach; so that he is more vehemently angry, and is hardly appeased. Such a person is immoderately vindictive, and avenges himself upon his adversary with mortal hatred. Now, that all these things disqualify one for the magistracy, none of you can be ignorant. But if any man think that I devise these things of my own head, let him consider what great disturbances there were, not long ago, when Joan of Naples reigned. Examine the historical records of ancient times. I will not mention Semiramis of Assyria nor Laodice of Cappadocia; for those were monsters, not women. The celebrated Zenobia of Palmyra, the subduer of the Parthians, and a match for the Roman emperors, was at last overcome, and led in triumph; and as besides herself, the kingdom, which had been enlarged and increased by her husband, Odenatus, was lost in a moment.

"Neither may I pass over in silence what is principally to be regarded in the management of other's men's affairs; that the chief command is not to be intrusted to such sort of persons, who cannot be called to an account for their mal-administration. I do not at all distrust the ingenuity, faithfulness, and care of the queen; but, if any thing be done amiss, as it often happens, by the fraud of others, and matters be carried otherwise than the public good or the dignity of her place doth require; what mulct can we exact from the king's mother? what punishment can we require? who shall censure her in her carriages? Shall the highest matters be managed by a council held with women in a nursery, or the dressing-room? Must you there, either each man in particular, subscribe to decrees, or all in general agree in making them? How will you be able to bear female power clothed with your own authority, which now, when it is without arms, and subjected to you by laws and customs, you can hardly restrain within reasonable bounds? Do not think I speak this, as if I feared any such thing from our queen, who is the best and most modest of women; but because I think it degrading and unseemly for us, who have all things yet in our own hands, to place the hope of our safety, which we owe to ourselves, in the power of another; especially since both divine and human laws, the custom of our ancestors, nay, and the consent of all nations throughout the whole world, make for us against such a practice. Though some nations have endured women to be their sovereigns, they were not elected to that dignity by the public voice, but obtained it by their birth. For there never yet existed any people with a freedom of vote, who, when they had plenty of able men to choose, did ever prefer female to masculine government. And therefore, most eminent patriots, I advise, and earnestly entreat you, that, according to the laws of our country, and the customs of our ancestors, we choose one, or, if you think fit, more, the most worthy out of the noble and worthy, who may undertake the regency, till the king shall arrive at that strength, both of body and mind, as to be able to manage the government himself. And I pray God to bless your proceedings in this affair."

Thus spoke Kennedy, with the approbation of an undoubted majority of the assembly; and the rest, perceiving that it was in vain to oppose them, acceded to the counsel. Now the matter was so arranged, that neither side might seem to have the better of the other, by selecting two of each party for the guardianship of the king, who were to manage all public affairs with fidelity; to collect and expend the king's revenue; and to undertake the charge of the royal family. On the queen's side were William Graham and Robert Boyd who was then chancellor; of the other, Robert, earl of the Orkneys, and John Kennedy; all chief men of their respective families. To these were added the two bishops of Glasgow and Caledonia. The queen was allowed to have a share in the education of the king; but she was not to meddle with any part of the public government. As for the other children, who were four, namely, Alexander, duke of Albany, John, earl of Marr, and two young females, she had the charge of their education solely to herself.

Matters being thus composed at home, ambassadors from England had their audience, who desired a truce, which was granted for fifteen years. The next year, which was 1463, the king's mother died with the unhappiness of not being well spoken of in regard to virtue. The same year, Alexander, the king's brother, returning from a visit to his maternal grandfather in France,

was taken prisoner by the English; but delivered up soon after, on the Scots complaining of it as a breach of the truce, and threatening war by way of retaliation.

Peace being obtained abroad, it was not long before intestine commotions arose at home; for, the disputes betwixt the nobility concerning the state of the nation, magnified by vulgar rumours, and the king's minority, together with the fresh remembrance of the licentiousness of the late times, all conspired easily to let loose the reins to men, who were turbulent enough in their own nature. Allan of Lorn, a seditious person, coveting the estate of John his elder brother, threw him into prison, with the intention of detaining him there till he should comply with his will and pleasure; but when Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, heard of it, he gathered a band of his tenants together, freed John, and cast Allan into prison in his room; resolving to carry him to court, that he might suffer punishment for that, as well as for his other noted robberies; but he prevented his punishment by death, whether voluntary or casual is unknown.

In another part of the country, Donald, the islander, who was a still more powerful person, began to make a greater disturbance; for, after the king's death, being free from fear, and judging that unsettled state of things to be a fit opportunity for him to injure his inferiors, and increase his own power, he came to Inverness, with no great train, and was kindly invited into the castle by the governor; who had no thoughts, or so much as the least apprehension, of any hostile design in him. But he had no sooner entered, than he turned out the garrison, seized the castle, and calling in his people, proclaimed himself king of the islands. He sent forth edicts into the neighbouring countries, that the inhabitants should pay tribute to none but him; and that they should acknowledge no other lord or master; denouncing a great penalty to those who did otherwise." The news of it made persons of debauched principles flock to him from all parts; so that, having gathered an army of sufficient force, he entered Athol with such despatch, that he took the earl of that name, who was the king's uncle, and his wife, prisoners, by surprise. For the earl, on hearing the sudden tumult of war, distrusted the strength of his castle of Blair, and went into the church of St. Bride adjoining, thinking that the sanctity of the place would prove an effectual security. Many, also, of his vassals and countrymen, being alarmed at the unexpected danger, carried and laid up their best goods in the same sanctuary. This church was held by the people of those parts in great veneration, and it had remained inviolate to that very day, on account of the general respect to its sanctity; but the consideration of gain was more prevalent with that savage and avaricious person, than any sense of religion; for he violently dragged out the earl and his wife from thence, together with a great number of other persons, and, after pillaging the church, set it on fire. And, when the priests spoke to him, to deter him from that sacrilege, he killed some of them, and sent others away, though not without inflicting upon them tokens of his barbarity. After having wasted the neighbouring countries with fire and sword, as he was returning home with a great booty, a sudden tempest arose, which sank many of his ships, and greatly damaged the rest; so that he, with a few only of his followers, were rather cast ashore than landed, on the island of Ila. Those who survived this wreck, thinking that the visitation resulted from the vengeance of the Deity, on account of their sacrilege to the church of St. Bride, went thither barefoot, and covered only with scanty linen garments, in all humility, carried gifts to her, whom a few days before they had so contumeliously abused. It is reported, that, from that day forward, Donald, their commander, became deranged, either for grief that he had lost his army and spoil, or because his mind, though brutish, was at length galled with the consciousness of his sacrilege, and contempt of religion. This misfortune of their commander occasioned his kindred to set the earl of Athol and his children at liberty, and to propitiate St. Bride with many large and expiatory gifts.

When the news of these things were brought to court, the design of an expedition against the islanders was suspended. The first tumults being appeased, the administration of Scottish affairs was carried on with so much equity and tranquillity, that the oldest man alive never remembered more



secure, quiet, and peaceable days; owing to the prudence and gravity of James Kennedy, whose authority the court principally followed; and to the modesty of the rest of the nobility, in yielding obedience to wiser men than themselves. James Kennedy had obtained such a reputation, by his numerous merits, the services he had rendered to his country, and his good offices to the former king; nay, he had procured such a great opinion of his skill in all matters, as well as by his complacency and near alliance to the king; that the other guardians, who were to succeed one another alternately two and two, did willingly admit and suffer him, whenever he came to court, to be the sole censor and supervisor of the pains and diligence they took in that service. By this concord the education of the king was carried on regularly; and as his own steadiness and ingenuity aided their industry, all conceived great hopes of him.

Thus affairs proceeded till about the sixth year of the king's reign. There was then at court Robert Boyd, the chief of his family, who, besides his large personal estate, was allied to many other great and noble houses; and he had also a flourishing stock of children of his own, particularly Thomas and Robert. He had a brother too, named Alexander, who was well instructed and versed in all polite letters. This Alexander, at the desire of John Kennedy, his kinsman, who, by reason of his declining age, was not fit for youthful exercises, and with the consent of the rest of the king's tutors, was appointed to teach the king the rudiments of the military art: in which knowledge he was supposed to exceed all his contemporaries. The Boyds, on account of these advantages, were not content with the place and authority, though very great and honourable, which they had at court; but first sought to transfer all public offices into their own family. To accomplish this, Alexander was desired by them to incline the royal favour towards them. He, having to deal with a king of tender age, and very pliant, easily insinuated into him, by his flattering complaisance, that he could do any thing he pleased with him. Being admitted into such familiar intimacy and converse, he would often let words drop before the king, that he was now to hold the reins of government himself; that it was time for him to be freed from the attendance of old men, and that he ought to maintain a company of noble military youths about him; that so he might enter upon those pursuits, wherein, whether he would or not, he was likely to pass the greater part of his life. Discourses of this kind were easily entertained by an inexperienced youth, who was now in that slippery part of his age most eager for liberty: so that he began to be a little stubborn and headstrong against his governors: some things he would do without their advice, many against their seeking an opportunity to be delivered from the severity of those elders, as from a kind of bondage and imprisonment. Accordingly, going from Leithgow, for the pleasure of hunting, unknown to Kennedy, whose turn was then to wait; the old man, being informed of it, went out to overtake him, not far from the town; and, having done so, he took his horse by the bridle, and endeavoured to stop, and bring him back; alleging, that it was not a convenient time, nor was the company fitting for such an exercise. Hereupon, Alexander ran forward, and with a bow which he held, broke the old man's head, though he deserved better things at his hands. Kennedy, being thus driven off, as a troublesome hinderer of their sport, they proceeded to the place whither they intended to go, while Kennedy returned wounded into the town: nor did Robert Boyd, when he came again to court, disapprove of what his brother Alexander had done. By this means, the seeds of enmity were sown between these two parties, which grew up to the great detriment of the kingdom, and, at length, to the total destruction of one of them.

The feud was first discovered upon this occasion. The Boyds would have the king removed from that place to Edinburgh; but Kennedy and his friends would have him reside at Stirling. As the Boyds could then do meet at court, they, without public consent, carried the king to Edinburgh, there to enter upon the regal government. The attendants of the journey were, besides their own kindred, Adam Hepburn, John Somerville, and Andrew Carr, the heads of their respective families. This took place about the 10th of July, in the year 1466. The Kennedys having been defeated in the dispute, departed.

each to his estate, John into Carrick, and James into Fife; their minds swelling with anger, and resolving to omit no opportunity of revenge. The Boyds, being thus conquerors, not contented with the wrong they had done, sent John an ape, out of mockery, for the old man to play and sport himself with at home, thereby upbraiding him as a dotard.

Not long afterwards James Kennedy departed this life, maturely enough, if we respect his age; yet his death was lamented by all good men, as though they had in him lost a public father. For under him, besides the virtues already mentioned, there was a high degree of frugality and order observed at home, united to great splendour and magnificence abroad. He not only excelled, in liberality to the public, former bishops, but all those that have succeeded him in the same see to this day, though his ecclesiastical revenues were not great: for as yet the Scots had not arrived at the ill custom of adding preferments to preferments; nor had they learned to spend that upon luxury, which they had badly gained by avarice. He left one eminent monument of magnificence behind him in the public schools at St. Andrew's, which he built at a great expense, and endowed with large revenues, issuing out of the income of the church. He gave order, that a magnificent tomb should be erected for himself there; which yet, such was the malignity of the age, excited envy, though he had deserved so well privately of most, and publicly of all men. They alleged it savoured of too much vanity to bestow so much cost upon a useless structure. His death, however, made his virtues more illustrious, and increased the regret felt for his loss; because when he, who was a perpetual censor and corrector of manners, was removed out of the way, the public discipline began, by degrees, to grow weak and remiss; and at last became so corrupt, as to bring almost all things, with itself, to ruin.

The Boyds made use of pretences in law, to increase the domestic power of their family, and weaken that of their opponents. And first, Patrick Graham seemed most fit for their purpose: he was brother to James Kennedy by the same mother; and was also cousin on the maternal side to Robert Boyd. He, according to the custom of those days, was elected bishop by the canons, in the room of his relative James; but being hindered by the court-faction from getting the king's leave to go to Rome, he went privately to the pope, without any train, and so was easily admitted to his brother's place; for, besides the nobleness of his blood, and the strong recommendation of his virtues, he was also well learned for those times. During his stay at Rome, the old controversy concerning the liberty of the church of Scotland began to be revived; the archbishop of York pretending that the bishops of Scotland were under his jurisdiction; so that he endeavoured to retain that power in the time of peace, which had been usurped in the licentious times of war. But a decree was made at Rome in favour of the Scots; and Graham was not only constituted primate of that church, but also appointed the pope's legate there for three years, to inquire into the degenerate manners and conversation of the priests, and to restore decayed ecclesiastical discipline to its pristine state and integrity. Yet this great man, though illustrious for his endowments of mind and fortune, could not, even with the support which he derived from the papal authority, venture to return home till the power of the Boyds was on the decline at court.

This family, perceiving that the concurrence of the nobility to them was not so great as they hoped; to avert the accusations of their enemies, and provide for their own security for the future, caused a public assembly or parliament to be summoned against the 13th of October. There Robert Boyd the elder fell on his knees before the king and his counsellors of state; complaining, that the service which he had performed to his sovereign in bringing him to Edinburgh, was ill interpreted, and traduced by the malignant speeches of his adversaries, who gave out threatening words, that the advisers of the journey should one day suffer punishment for it. On this account, he humbly besought the king, that, if he felt any ill-will or disgust in his mind against him for that journey, he would openly declare it; in order that the calumnies of his detractors might be either prevented, or allayed. The king, having advised a little with the lords of the articles, made answer, that Robert was not his adviser in, but rather the companion of his journey; and therefore, that

he was more worthy of a reward for his courtesy, than of punishment for his obsequiousness and compliance therein. The king added, that, to put an end to all invidious reports, he was willing to make a declaration to the same effect in a public decree of the estates, containing, besides a provision that the subject should never be prejudicial in future to Robert, or any of his companions. Boyd desired, that this decree might be registered amongst the acts of assembly; and that the same should be confirmed by letters patent under the great seal. The decree was accordingly enrolled amongst the acts, and the letters patent were delivered to him on the 25th of that month. The same day also, the king, by the advice of his council, gave him other letters patent, wherein he was constituted regent, and had the safety of the king, his brothers, sisters, towns, castles, and all the jurisdiction over his subjects, committed to him, till the monarch should come to the age of twenty-one; and he managed it so with the nobles then present, that they solemnly promised, under penalty, in case of disobedience, to assist the Boyds in all their public actions. To this stipulation and pledge the king was also a subscriber.

By this means, the sovereign being their declared friend, part of the nobility in league with them, and the administration of the whole government put into their hands, they thought themselves sufficiently secured for a long time. But to lay the foundation for the future greatness of their posterity, they contrived that Thomas Boyd, the son of Robert, should marry the king's eldest sister. This alliance, while it seemed an effectual prop and establishment of their power, increased the hatred of their enemies, and gave occasion to a variety of discourse amongst the common people. For, although by this means all passage to the king's ear seemed to be intercepted, and they alone were the sole arbiters of his words and actions, their flourishing condition at court was more than counterbalanced by the opprobrium in which they were held by the public. This enmity lay concealed indeed four years, but then it broke out, to the destruction of their whole family. And the wiser sort of the adverse party did not much dislike their sudden increase of honour; for they expected to see in them what commonly happens, the union of arrogance with elevation; for they who cannot endure a superior, will despise an equal, and trample on an inferior; and when hereby the bounds of a subject's condition are exceeded, it rouses kings, who are impatient of rivals, to overthrow those whom they suspect of such designs. The noise of this discord betwixt such potent factions, let loose the reins of popular licentiousness; for the people, accustomed to robberies, did, at intervals, more eagerly return to their former trade. The seeds of hatred, which were suppressed for a time, began now to bud forth again with greater vigour; and the seditions willingly laid hold of these occasions for disturbances; so that there was a general liberty taken to do what men listed, in hopes of impunity.

Neither were the Kennedys backward in availing themselves of the opportunity, which these circumstances gave them, of inflaming the people by the circulation of reports to the injury of the Boyds, who were accused with being the authors of the public disturbances and miseries. Some were also of opinion, that, so far from being hostile to the designs of the seditions, they artfully and secretly threw fuel into the fire. It was indeed plain and evident, by their very manner, that this troublesome state of affairs was not unpleasant or unacceptable to them. There seemed only one thing wanting, utterly to subvert the flourishing power of their enemies, which was, to bring the king to their side; for, in other respects, they had strength enough, if not rather too much; and they were aware that the commonalty, who affect innovations, and love every thing more than what is present, would flock to their party. Upon this, they agreed to sound the inclinations of the king, by some crafty persons, who should pretend themselves to be adherents to the faction of Boyd.

In the mean time, ambassadors were appointed to go to Denmark, to treat for a marriage between Margaret, the daughter of that monarch, and king James; but they were required to take all the care they could, that the old controversy concerning the Orkneys and isles of Shetland, which had cost both nations so much blood, might be terminated. The chief of the embassy was Andrew Stuart, son of Walter, chancellor of Scotland. The Danes both

easily assented to the marriage, and yielded, in the form of a dowry, all the right which their ancestors claimed over the islands round Scotland, only the private owners of estates therein were to enjoy them upon the same terms as they had formerly done. Some relate, that they were made over in a mortgage, till the dowry should be paid, but that afterwards the king of Denmark gave up all his right over them for ever, to his grandson James, immediately on his birth.

When the chancellor had informed the king that all things were finished according to his desire, the next point was, to send a handsome train of nobles to bring over the new queen. And here, by the fraud of his enemies, and inadvertency of his friends, Thomas Boyd, son of Robert, earl of Arran, was chosen ambassador, his very adversaries purposely commending his aptness for the charge, by reason of his valour, splendour, and estate, which were requisite qualities for such a magnificent errand. He, esteeming all things to be safe at home, as his father was regent, willingly undertook the employment; and, at the beginning of autumn, with a noble suite of friends and followers, went on shipboard.

In the mean time, the Kennedys had loosened the king's affections to the Boyds; and while the latter thought to retain his good-will by pleasures, and by drawing him off from public cares, these very baits the others imputed against them as crimes; and, by magnifying their wealth, which was great in itself, as too bulky, and even dangerous to the crown; and withal alleging what a great addition would accrue to the royal exchequer, from the confiscation of their estates upon conviction, they put strange scruples into the weak mind of the monarch, who was naturally inclined to suspicions and aversion. The Boyds, on the other side, though they endeavoured, by their obsequious flatteries, and by concealing the public miseries from him, to banish all melancholy thoughts out of his mind, yet the complaints of the vulgar, and the desolate state of the court, both which were purposely contrived and increased by their enemies, could not be hid. And besides, there were some who, when the king was alone, discoursed with him freely concerning the public calamities, and the way to remedy them; nay, the sovereign himself, being grown up to a state of mature thought, declared, that those things which occurred sometimes, did not please him. But the Boyds, though they perceived that the king became every day less favourable to them than formerly, and withal, that popular envy rose higher against them, yet remitted nothing of their old licentiousness, as trusting to the king's former lenity, and the amnesty which they had obtained for what was past.

The opposite faction, therefore, having secretly brought over the king to their party, and Thomas, earl of Arran, being sent ambassador to Denmark, from whence he was not expected to return till late in the spring, because the northern seas are tempestuous and impassable for a great part of the year; thought it a fit season to attack the Boyds, who were aged and infirm men, and seldom came to court; besides which, they wanted the assistance of their friends now on the foreign mission. The first thing the Kennedys did, was to persuade the king to convene a parliament, which had been much desired by many, at Edinburgh, on the 22d of November, 1469. Thither the two Boyds, who were brothers, received a summons to come and make their appearance, where various matters were discussed, in regard to them, just as hatred directed some, and favour disposed others. But they were so astonished at this sudden blow, for which they had made no provision, that their minds were quite dejected, not so much on account of the power of the adverse party, as by reason of the sudden alienation of the king's mind from them; so that Robert, in despair of safety, fled into England; but Alexander, who, owing to his sickness, could not escape, was called to answer the charges alleged. The crime objected to both the brothers, was, that they had laid hands on the king, and, of their own will, carried him to Edinburgh. Alexander, in his defence, stated, that he had obtained his pardon for that offence in a public convention; and, therefore, he humbly desired that a copy of the amnesty might be transcribed out of the parliament rolls; which request was denied. What objection his accusers made against that pardon, the writers of those times do not record; and, therefore, though a conjecture is

not very difficult to be made in the case, yet I would rather leave the whole matter to the reader's thoughts, than to affirm uncertainties for truths. Alexander being then brought to trial, was condemned and beheaded. Robert, a few years afterwards, died at Alnwick in England, the grief of banishment being added to the pains of old age. His son, though absent, and that upon a public business, was declared a public enemy, without being granted even a hearing, and all their estates were confiscated.

Thus stood the fact; but I shall not conceal what I have heard some good men, and those too not ignorant of the history of their times, affirm. They say, that the amnesty given to the Boyds was thus worded in the records, "that the king forgave them all the prejudice and rancour of mind, as they then phrased it, that he might have conceived against them." Thus they, who were willing to gratify the king, did interpret, (according to the distinction then celebrated amongst divines, concerning the remission of the fault and punishment,) in the following manner, that, "though the king forgave them his personal resentment, they were not exempted from the punishment of the law." When Thomas Boyd heard of the calamity of his family, though some put him in hopes of pardon, in a time of public rejoicing, he was afraid to land; for his wife, upon the first news of the approach of the fleet, went immediately to inform him, that there was no hope of his re-admission to the king's favour, as his enemies had stopt all avenues thereto. In consequence of this, he sailed back to Denmark, and then travelled through Germany into France, where he in vain endeavoured to obtain in his behalf the mediation of Lewis XI. who had just turned the legitimate government of that nation into a tyranny. Thus disappointed, he went to Charles duke of Burgundy, where he behaved himself valiantly, and did him much faithful service in the wars, for which he was well rewarded by him with honour and profit. There he lived a private, yet honourable life; and his wife bore him a son, called James, and a daughter called Grecina, of whom in their place.

The marriage of James III. and queen Margaret was celebrated amidst a great concourse of the nobility, on the 10th of July, in the year 1470. Three years after this marriage, on St. Patrick's day, in March, was born James, who succeeded his father in the kingdom.

In the mean time, the king, not yet satisfied with the misery of the Boyds, wrote over to Flanders, to recall his sister home; but knowing that she bore so great a love to her husband, that she would hardly be induced to part from him, he caused others to write to her, giving her some hopes, that her brother's anger might, in time, be appeased towards her husband; and that no doubt was to be made, but she herself might prevail much for his relief; only that she must plead in person, and not intrust the case to others. Upon these allurements she returned, but no sooner did she arrive in Scotland, than the king communed with her about a divorce; and, accordingly, affixed public libels and citations, attested by many witnesses, at Kilmarnock, which was the chief house of the Boyds before their fall, where Thomas was commanded to appear in sixty days; when all men knew, that even if the public faith had been given him, he could hardly have come. As he did not appear at the day, the former marriage was pronounced null, and a divorce was decreed, though the husband was absent and unheard; and so, Mary, the king's sister, was compelled, against her will, to espouse James Hamilton, a man who had been but lately elevated, and was much inferior to her former husband in estate and dignity. She bore him a son, named James, and a daughter called Margaret. The children she had by her former husband, were also recalled by the king. Boyd did not long survive this misfortune; but died at Antwerp, and having no kinsman there to claim his estate, Charles of Burgundy expended the money he had bestowed upon him, in the erection of a magnificent monument to his memory, with a honourable epitaph thereon, in the church where he was interred. Thus, the family of Boyd, which had been the most flourishing in all Scotland, within a few years grew up and was cut down, thereby proving to posterity, what slippery things are the favours of young princes.

Their ruin not only amazed their friends, but terrified their very enemies, so that none would venture to aspire to that dignity from whence they were

cast down; partly on account of the instability of human affairs, and partly in consideration of the king's sudden caprice in repenting having bestowed his grace and favour, and his perseverance in the hatred which he had once conceived. It is certain, that they who were raised to great hopes of preferment by this mutation of public affairs, found themselves much mistaken; for the king, who had hitherto indulged himself in domestic ease, and seldom appeared in public, being now newly married, spent a great part of his time in the pleasures of his palace. He excluded the nobility, and was wholly governed by a few of his servants; for, being of an eager and fervid disposition, he could not well bear to be contradicted in his own will; so that he shunned the liberty which the nobles took in advising him, and kept only those about him who would not reprehend, but rather approve of what he did, that so, by avoiding any occasion of offence, and by using all the flattery they could, they might gain his favour. Amidst these manners of the court, the ecclesiastical state was not much better. For, though the ministers of the church had been given of old to luxury and avarice, yet there was still some shadow of ancient gravity remaining, so that some encouragement was given to learning, and advantage to such as were good proficients therein; for the bishops were chosen by the colleges of canons, and the abbots by their respective fraternities. But now the parasitical courtiers, who alone had the heart and ear of the king, persuaded him that he would find it much to his advantage, and very practicable, to recall and assume the designation of those offices to himself, and not suffer matters of that great importance to rest in the hands of a generation of drones like the ecclesiastics, who were unfit for any public business. The king was the more easily inclined to this, because it was farther alleged, that hereby, besides other benefits, he would have an opportunity of curbing the contumacious, confirming the wavering, and rewarding the meritorious. But, said they, under our present circumstances, promotions and honours are in the hands of the dregs of the vulgar, who are as parsimonious in case of public necessities, as they are profuse in their private pleasures. All men should depend upon the king alone, so that he may have the sole power of punishing, pardoning, and rewarding.

By these and the like flattering arguments, they drew the king to their opinion, for his mind was not yet strengthened by ripeness of years; besides, it was weakened by ill custom, and not fortified against the temptations of avarice; and he was, moreover, naturally prone to liberty. Hereupon, a new face of things presently appeared throughout the whole kingdom, and all matters, both sacred and civil, were brought to court, to be bartered and sold, as in a public fair. In this state, Patrick Graham was the only man who endeavoured to stop the precipitous ruin of the church. When his enemies swayed all at home, he staid at Rome some years; but on receiving information from his friends of the state of things in Scotland, he resolved to return, depending for his security upon his relation to the king, as being the son of his great aunt. But, that he might previously prepare the minds of men, he sent the bull which he had obtained from the pope, for his legantine power, and caused it to be published in the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1472. This, however, raised much envy against him; for they who had bought ecclesiastical honours at court, were afraid of losing their purchase and money too; and they who thought to make advantage by such bargains, were grieved to be so disappointed, but particularly that faction raged furiously, that had already mercenarily obtained ecclesiastical preferments from the king, in order to sell them to others; being afraid that this lucrative practice would be taken out of their hands. All these made a conspiracy against Patrick, and, in his absence, loaded him with reproaches. They came to court, and complained, that their ancient laws, as well as the late decrees of the king, were violated; and that the Romanists were carrying on many matters very prejudicial to the realm; and that, unless his majesty did speedily resist their encroachments, they would quickly bring all things under their power, till they had reduced the sovereign himself to a state of subjection.

To prevent this danger, persons were sent, by order of the council, to Patrick, when he had scarcely set his foot on shore, to forbid him to execute any part of his office, until the king should have heard the complaints made

against him. The first of November was accordingly appointed for his appearance, in order to a hearing at Edinburgh.

In the mean time, his friends and relations having assured him that the king would do what was equitable in so just a cause, the adverse faction, on being apprised of it, did so engage the king and his courtiers, by the promises of great sums of money, that Patrick could never have a fair hearing afterwards. When he came to the assembly, he produced the bull and grant, wherein he was constituted archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of Scotland, and the papal legate for three years, to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. The inferior body of the clergy rejoiced that this necessary office was put into the hands of so pious and learned a man; but they did not dare to speak out, for fear of some powerful persons who had gained the ear of the king and his counsellors. The adversaries of the archbishop made their appeal to the pope, who alone could be judge in the case; which they did on purpose to create delay; so that the favour of the people towards Patrick might in time abate. He was himself sent by the king to his church, but with an express injunction neither to wear the robes of an archbishop, till the cause was determined, nor to perform any office beyond what had been executed by the former prelates.

Whilst these things were acting, a new enemy rose up against Patrick, in the person of William Sives, who was the bitterest of all the rest; and that upon a light occasion. He was a young man of a ready wit, who had lived some years at Louvain, under the tutorage of John Sperjnc, a person well skilled in the study of physic and astrology. On his return home, Sives quickly insinuated himself into the favour of the courtiers, on account of his various accomplishments, and particularly his boasted knowledge of the occult sciences. This qualification gained him great respect from the court, which was then madly addicted to all sorts of divinations; so that, being of an acute wit, and in great favour, he was soon made archdeacon of St. Andrew's; but the bishop refused to admit him to that office. Upon this, he entered into a consultation with John Lock, rector of the public schools there, who was a secret enemy of Patrick, and these two together employed all their engines to work his overthrow. The rector, having a grant from the pope, whereby he was privileged and exempted from archiepiscopal jurisdiction, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Patrick. But he so slighted this communication from one of an inferior order to himself, that though, when he came to court, it was twice or thrice served upon him, he went on in his ordinary course of life; whereupon his enemies, as is usual in cases where ecclesiastical censures are contemned, implored the assistance of the king, and got Patrick excluded from all the churches. Officers of the exchequer were also sent, to take an inventory of all his goods; his retinue was commanded, under a heavy penalty, to depart; and a guard was set upon him, to observe that he did nothing contrary to the edict. The rest of the bishops, that they might not seem ungrateful towards so benevolent a monarch, raised a considerable sum of money, which they violently extorted out of the small benefices, and presented it to him. The king, on the receipt of it, affected to deal more mildly with Patrick, as if he took pity on him; and accordingly sent to him the abbot of Holyrood, and Sives, the effect of which was, as apparent reconciliation between all the parties. But this act of condescension on the side of the king, did not take place till he had received the contributions which had been collected by the friends of the bishop. Patrick seeming to be thus freed from all his troubles, retired to his manor-house of Menymul, and began to prepare himself for the execution of his office, publicly and privately; when, lo, the Romish tax-gatherers were sent in upon him by his adversaries; and because he had not paid his fees for the papal grant, or bull, as they call it, they likewise excommunicated him. The man was now reduced to extreme poverty; for his revenues, both before and after his return, were, for the most part, taken and brought into the royal exchequer. Besides which, whatever his friends could make up, had been given to the king and his courtiers. When the officers of the crown were again sent to take possession of his estate, guards were set upon him by the king; his household servants were discharged, and he was kept prisoner in his castle,

all which had the effect of depriving him of the use of his reason. William Sivez, his capital enemy, was first appointed by the king, and afterwards approved by the pope, to be what is called his coadjutor, on account of his mental disorder. This Sivez was also made inquisitor, by the power of the adverse faction, to inquire into the life and character of the archbishop. Many trifling, and some ridiculous and incredible things were objected against the prelate, and amongst the rest, this was one, that he had said mass three times in one day, whereas, in that age, there was hardly a bishop, who did the same in three months. Thus his enemy being his judge, and the witnesses against him suborned, he was turned out of his bishopric, and Sivez, who carried the decree to the pope, was nominated in his room. Neither were his enemies content with the mischief they had done him; but, perceiving he bore all their contumelies with much greatness of spirit, they made an order, that he should be shut up in some desolate monastery with four keepers. The place chosen was Inchcolm, a rock rather than an island; from whence, three years after, he was removed to Dunfermline, for fear of the English; betwixt whom and the Scots a war had then commenced. Afterwards, he was carried to the castle of Lochleven; where, being worn out with age and miseries, he departed this life. He was a man guilty of no known vice; and in learning and virtue was inferior to none of his age. Other upright men, terrified by his calamity, and perceiving no hopes of any reformation of the church, went every one about his own private affairs. In the court, ecclesiastical preferments were either sold, or else given away to flatterers and panders, as a reward for their base and scandalous services.\*

Though these things occurred at different times, I have put them all together in my discourse, that so the thread of the history might not be broken off too much; and also, that, by a single memorable example, we might have an entire view of those times; for one may easily imagine how wretched the common people were, since a man eminent for all kind of virtue, and who, besides, had the advantage of being allied to the king, as well as to many noble families, was, by a few villains of the lowest sort, exposed to the reproach and cruelty of his enemies. But to return to the other transactions of those times.

In the year 1476, there was a public decree made against John, lord of the Isles, who had seized upon some provinces, and committed great ravages on the maritime coasts, insomuch that the king resolved in person to march against him by land, while the earl of Crawford, his admiral, received orders to meet him by sea. Hereupon John, perceiving that he was too weak to withstand such preparations, by the advice of the earl of Athol, the king's uncle, came in a humble manner to court, and surrendered himself to the royal mercy. The provinces which he had forcibly entered, were taken from him, as Ross, Kintyre, and Knapdale; but he was suffered still to continue in the command of the islands. The same year, the dispute with the English was settled amicably, just as it was about to break out into an open war. The occasion was this. James Kennedy had built the largest ship that had been known to sail upon the ocean; but, in her voyage, she was cast by a tempest upon the English coast, where her lading was plundered by the inhabitants, and though restitution was often demanded, none could be obtained. This circumstance bred a disgust betwixt the two nations, for some years. At last, the English sent ambassadors into Scotland, the chief of whom were the bishop of Durham, and a nobleman named Scroop. By these persons, king Edward, who had been tossed about by the caprice of fortune, and whose exchequer was drained by continual wars, desired a treaty of peace; which was easily renewed, on condition that a proper compensation should be made for the ship and cargo that had been rifled, according to the estimate of the arbitrators appointed for the purpose.

The same year ambassadors were sent to Charles duke of Burgundy, in behalf of the merchants who had been disturbed in their trade. On their

\* The body of the Scottish prelates being jealous of the metropolitical jurisdiction of St. Andrew's, made a present to the king, and petitioned him to solicit the pope for a revocation of part of his bull. His holiness complied for the same consideration, and a new archbishopric was founded at Glasgow.—*Collier's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. 681.



arrival in Flanders, they were honourably received by the prince; but one Andrews, a physician, who was also a great astrologer, being occasionally invited by them to supper, and understanding the cause of their coming, took them aside, and told them that they should not make too much haste in their embassy; for, in a few days, they would hear other news of the duke. Accordingly, his prediction was fulfilled; for within three days after, the duke's army was overthrown by the Swiss, at the city of Nancy in Lorraine; where he was killed.\* Hereupon the ambassadors returned without effecting their business; and when they came to the king, and told him how highly skilled this Andrews was, in predicting things to come, they persuaded him, who of himself was inclinable to those arts, to send for the man, upon promises of a good reward. Hither therefore he came, was well received, and gratified with a rich parsonage, and other benefices. It is reported of him, that he told the king he should speedily be destroyed by his own subjects; and that this speech agreed with the prediction of some witches, a species of divination to which he was immoderately addicted. These women are said to have prophesied, that a lion should be killed by his whelps. Hereupon, from a prince at first of great ingenuity and good hopes, and as yet not wholly depraved, he degenerated into a fierce and cruel tyrant; for when his mind had received and become filled with suspicions, he accounted even his nearest kindred, and the best of the nobility, as his enemies. The nobles also were disgusted with him, partly by reason of his familiarity with that base kind of people; but chiefly because he slighted men of rank, and chose mean persons for his counsellors and advisers. The chief of these was Thomas Preston, one of a good family, but who made it his business to humour the king in all things. Another was Robert Cochran, a man endued with great strength of body and equal audacity of mind, who became known to the king by a duel which he fought; so that presently, from an architect he rose to be a courtier, and was put in a fair way of rising to some greater advancement. Having performed some lighter matters intrusted to him, with diligence, and by accommodating himself to the king's humour, he was soon admitted to advise concerning the great affairs of the kingdom; insomuch that Preston chose him for his son-in-law. The third was William Rogers, an English musician, or singer, who, coming into Scotland with the ambassadors, after the king had heard him once or twice, he was so taken with him, that he would not suffer him to return, but advanced him to wealth and honour; and, in a short time, made him a knight. The rest of his intimates were the most despicable sort of the meanest tradesmen, who were only known by their improbity, or had nothing to recommend them but their boldness. Whereupon the nobility had a meeting, wherein the king's two brothers were chief, to consult upon the means of clearing the court of these low characters. Some intimation of the design being divulged abroad, John, the youngest of the brothers, more unwary than the rest, spoke a little too boldly and rashly concerning the state of the kingdom, for which he was seized by the courtiers, cast into prison, condemned by the privy-council, and put to death, by having a vein opened till he expired. The cause of his death was given out amongst the vulgar, to be, his having conspired with sorcerers against the king's life: and, to make the matter more plausible, twelve witches of the lowest condition were tried and burnt. The death of John, however, did rather stifle than dissipate the conspiracy, which seemed almost ready to break forth into action.

Alexander, the next in blood, as well as in danger, though he endeavoured to avert all suspicion from himself as much as he could, yet the king's officers thought they could never be secure while he was alive; and therefore presently shut him up prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh. Here he was strictly kept by these who judged his power would be their destruction; and seeing he could not appease the king's wrath by the mediation of his friends, he began to think of making his escape. He had but one of his servants left to wait upon him in his chamber. Him, and none else, he acquainted with his

\* Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, was slain January 5, 1476: but there was nothing extraordinary in the prediction of his death, for Philip de Comines tells us that there was a conspiracy formed for the purpose.

design, who hired a vessel for him, to be ready fitted in the adjoining road; then he employed messengers to make frequent errands to him from the court, who should tell him stories before his keepers, for he was not allowed to speak with any body except in their presence, that the king was now more reconcilable to him than formerly, and that he would speedily be set at liberty. When the day appointed for his escape approached, he assumed as cheerful an air as in this calamitous condition he was able to do, and told his keepers, that now he believed, by the messages sent him from the king, he was reconciled to him, and that he hoped he should not be held much longer in durance. Accordingly, he invited them to a noble supper, and himself drank freely with them, till late at night. They then departed, and, being all full of wine, fell into a sound sleep. Thus left to himself, he made a rope of the sheets of his bed, long enough, as he thought, for the height of the wall; but first, to make a trial, he caused his servant to slide down it, till, perceiving by his fall that it was too short, he lengthened it out as well as he could in these circumstances, and himself descended, took up the man, who had broke his leg by the fall, upon his shoulders, and carried him about a mile to the vessel, where they went on board; and, having a fair wind, sailed to Dunbar. Here he fortified the castle against any forcible assault, and soon after, with a small retinue, went over into France. Andrew Stuart, the chancellor, was now sent with an army to take the castle, which was besieged closely some months; but it was defended not less bravely, till at last, the garrison, for want of necessaries, were forced to get vessels, and, in the night, they departed privately for England. In the morning, the empty fortress was taken; but the conquest cost the besiegers some men of note, who were slain there.

It was much about this time, that the kings of England and Scotland, wearied out with domestic troubles, desired each to make peace. Accordingly, an embassy from England was appointed to complete it, which was kindly received, and the terms were not only agreed upon, but an affinity settled to confirm it; that Cecilia, the daughter of Edward, should be espoused to James, the son of the king of Scotland, as soon as both were marriageable. Part also of the dowry was paid, upon this condition, that if, when they came to the proper age, the marriage should not be consummated, the money should be repaid to the English. Some burghers of the principal towns were also given up as hostages, for the performance of the conditions. But this peace lasted not long; for, by reason of the grudges remaining since the last wars, incursions were made, plunders committed, and villages burnt; so that both sides were inflamed by these mutual injuries, to such a degree, that it broke out at last into open hostility. But, besides this, each king had other peculiar provocations. Douglas the elder, and Alexander, the king's brother, in exile, stirred up the English king to war. For Alexander, who, as I said before, went into France, married the daughter of the earl of Bolougne; but, not being able to procure aid from Lewis XI. then on the throne, for the recovery of his own, he passed over into England, hoping, from thence, to make some attempt upon Scotland. As for James of Scotland, Lewis of France incited him to make war, having sent Robert Ireland, a Scotchman, and doctor of the Sorbonne, with two French knights to him, on that errand. Thus the peace came to be violated; and although the Scottish affairs, owing to part of the country being wasted, were in an indifferent condition, and a great army of the English, under the duke of Gloucester, was expected; yet the king, and those about him, levied forces, but with no great heart; for the upstarts, as they lately were, and very poor ones too, whose greatness was founded on the calamities of others, and who had been the authors of desperate counsels, feared nothing more than a numerous assembly of the incensed nobility. When they came to Lauder, a town near the borders of March and Teviotdale, though those countries had been either wasted by the enemy, or else were necessitated to submit; the king proceeded in his wonted course of exactions, distrusting the nobility, and managing every thing by his cabinet-council. This indignity the nobles would endure no longer; and therefore, during the third watch, they assembled in a church in the town, where, in a full audience, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, is reported to have declared the cause of their meet-

ing in this manner.

"I think it not necessary, noble peers, to make a long oration concerning the state of the Scottish affairs, which you partly remember yourselves, and partly see now before your eyes. The chief of the nobility are either banished, or else compelled to suffer intolerably, and to perform unworthy things, while you, in whom the strength of the kingdom rests, are left without a head as a ship without a steersman, subject to all the storms and tempests of fortune. Your houses are burnt, your estates are plundered, the husbandmen are either slain, or else, being without a remedy, have submitted to the enemy. The king, though of himself a man of a generous spirit and singular prudence, is carried away by poisonous insinuations, and refers all things pertaining to the good of the commonwealth, as peace, war, and the like, not to an assembly of the nobles, but to inferior upstarts. These men consult soothsayers and wizards, and carry their answers to the king, whose mind is become infirm, sickly, and easily taken with such vain superstitions. Thus decrees are made under the influence of such directors, concerning the general safety for they, knowing themselves to be deservedly hated by all men, bear the his hatred to all; and their endeavour is, not only to undermine your authority, but to cut you all off, by whatever arts and practices are in their power. They have removed some by death, and others by banishment. Neither do they proceed step by step, to play their game, as inferior persons, when promoted, are wont to do; but immediately exercise the trials of their cruelty and avarice upon the royal blood. One of the king's brothers they have most inhumanly put to death; of the other the country has been robbed by banishment, so that he is given as a general to our enemies. These being thus taken out of the way, their next work is, to deal with the nobility; for, being of low estate and condition themselves, they would have no man of excellence, or of high birth, to survive them. All such as have either riches to satisfy their avarice, or power to resist their presumption, are accounted as their enemies. Yet, in the mean time, we are undertaking a war against a public foe, the English, as if any enemy were more deadly than he who is never satisfied, in point of covetousness, with your estates, nor, in point of cruelty, with your blood. Now, to make it clear to you, that this intestine plague is more dreadful than the foreign one; suppose, which God forbid, that the king of England should defeat us, doubtless he would remember old grudges, and, in pursuance of that conquest, what end of his successes would he propound to himself, or what reward of his victory! Would he aim at the life of his enemy, the king, or at ours? I think at neither. For the dispute between us is, not for life, but for glory and empire: and a generous mind, as it is vehement and eager against those who resist it, so it is easily mitigated and inclined to lenity by submission and obsequiousness, even by the mere consideration of the instability of all human affairs. But, suppose that the rage of the enemy should aim at the king's life and destruction, I pray, which of the two can be said to act most mercifully, he that, together with life, takes away all sense of misery, or they who reserve him, whom they ought principally to love and reverence next to God, to a daily butchery and execution? who arm his mind, already prepossessed with witchcrafts, to the destruction of his friends? who keep the king, now almost encompassed by the arms of his enemies, as a prisoner, and do not suffer him to see the faces of his people, that he may understand their affection to him, and experience their loyalty? They are not so much enemies, who pitch camp against camp, and so openly profess their hostility, as they who, at home, treacherously contrive our ruin. They alienate the king's mind from his friends, and betray him to his adversaries; and thus they deprive us of our commander, and expose us as a prey to the arms of the enemy, by whom, if your lives are given you, after you are conquered, yet you will fall into shame and servitude; and, if you overcome them, yet you will not procure quiet to yourselves, strength to your country, nor glory to your king, but a greater liberty to your foes to exercise their pleasure, not only at present, but in perfect security for the future. Thus we shall bring a plague and misery on ourselves, and a stricter servitude on our king, so that victory instead of freeing us from foreign miseries, would only increase our domestic ones. Therefore, in short, my opinion is, that we ought to shake off the yoke

at home, before we venture to engage the enemy abroad; otherwise we shall be all made slaves to the arbitrary humours of a few men; and thereby strengthen the enemy, and betray the commonwealth. God bless your consultations in this matter."

When Douglas had ended his speech, there followed, not a debate, but a confused noise, throughout the whole assembly, and a continual cry of, "To your arms against the public enemy!" For the minds of all present were so inflamed, that though they had none to lead them, most of them were ready to break in upon the king's quarters. But the graver sort, who, by their honour and authority, had a great interest among the rest, appeased the tumult; fearing lest, in any impetuous assault of the people, the king himself might come to some harm. Therefore they agreed, that the principal commanders should take a small number of their chief confidants, and, without any general movement, go to the king's pavilion, and seize the offenders who had the management of things, and bring them forth to be tried before the whole army, that so they might suffer condign punishment, according to the laws.

Whilst these things were in agitation, intelligence came to the court, that the nobles had assembled before day in the church; but for what purpose could not be surmised; though it certainly must be some great matter, which engaged such persons to meet, unknown to the king and his counsellors. The king being awakened, rose in great fear out of his bed, and consulted those about him, what was best to be done; sending, in the mean while, Cochran out to observe what was passing, and to bring him word. Just as Cochran came pretty near the church with a small retinue, he met the chief of the nobility coming to court. Douglas no sooner saw him, than he immediately laid hold of the massy gold chain which he wore about his neck, and almost strangled him, after which he gave him up as a prisoner to the marshal, and then went directly to the king's bedchamber. They who were there made no opposition, either out of reverence to his person, or because they were astonished at his sudden appearance; so that there the rest were soon seized upon, who were thought to have corrupted the king by their wicked counsels. Only one young man, who hung about the king's neck, and desired pardon, escaped. His name was John Ramsay, who came of a good family, on account of which, and his age, he was excused and dismissed. Whilst the rest were led out to their trials, there was a universal tumult and noise raised throughout the army, crying out, "Hang the rogues!" whereupon they were presently hurried away, and ended their lives in a halter. The army in general was so intent upon their execution, that when they wanted ropes upon so sudden an occasion, they all offered the reins of their horses' bridles and their baggage tackle for the purpose, striving much who should have the honour of presenting his own first.

This faction of the court had committed many injuries against private persons; but their wrongs to the public lay chiefly in their having been the authors of a new brass coin, to which the common people gave the odious name of black money. Upon this coinage there first ensued a dearth of all things, and afterwards a famine; for the traders would rather suffer their commodities to spoil on their hands, than, under a pretence of sale, give them away to the buyers. But, that all commerce might not wholly cease amongst the people, this one remedy was found out for dealers and chapmen, that they should mention, in their contracts, in what sort of money the payment should be made. It is true, some of our former kings had coined a similar kind of money, but it was more for the necessary use of the poor, than for their own gain; and also provision was made by a law, appointing such a sum, beyond which sellers should not be compelled to take it in payment. Thus the purchasers of small commodities had a benefit; and care was taken, that the richer sort should have no damage by this mode of change or sale. It was also objected against these men, that they had alienated the king's heart from the nobility, had set him upon the study of magic; and hurried him on to the destruction of his own kindred. But that which made Cochran most hated, was his earldom of March; which country his royal master had either given to him, or at least committed to his trust, upon the death of the king's younger brother.

When these evil counsellors were removed out of the way, the king having no great confidence in the soldiery, nor they in him, the army was dismissed, and returned home. But though the king for the present suppressed his anger, and made many large and fair promises to the nobility, his heart inwardly boiled with blood, slaughter, and revenge. And therefore, as soon as he thought himself at liberty, he retired, with a few of his confidants, into the castle of Edinburgh; while the nobility, not knowing what to think, held also their separate consultations. The king of England, chiefly through the persuasion of Alexander, who informed him of the dissension between the Scottish king and his nobles, and also assured him, that as soon as ever he entered that country, great numbers of horse and foot would come in to him, raised forces in the winter, over which he made Richard his brother, duke of Gloucester, general, and commanded him to go into Scotland. He began his march about midsummer; and, understanding in what condition the Scottish affairs were, turned aside to Berwick. He was received immediately into the town, and leaving four thousand men to besiege the castle, with the rest of his force proceeded directly to Edinburgh, making dreadful devastation wherever he came. But Alexander leading them on, they entered the city without committing any rapine there; and by a public proclamation made in the market-place, he advised James, seeing he could not speak with him, first to perform what he had promised to Edward; and then, that before the first of September he would cause satisfaction to be made for all the wrongs and injuries he had offered to the English; adding, that, unless he complied, Richard duke of Gloucester would persecute him and his country with fire and sword. To all this, James, perceiving that at present he was not able to perform what was required, and that, on the other hand, he was unable to withstand the power of the enemy, returned no answer at all, either by writing or message. The nobles of Scotland, however, when they found themselves forsaken of their king, that they might not be wholly wanting to the public safety, levied another army, and formed a camp at Haddington. and, that they might somewhat alleviate the imminent danger and pressure, and stop the enemy in his career of victory, they sent agents to the duke of Gloucester, to desire, that the marriage, so long proposed, might be consummated. They were also to declare, that it should not be their fault, if the agreements made between the two nations were not punctually performed. The English general, knowing that the Scots would not run the risk of a battle, because part of their strength was with him on account of Alexander, who was a popular man, and that the rest were divided into several factions, returned for answer, "That he did not know what his king had resolved upon in regard to the marriage, but that he thought it fit the money, paid to James as part of the dowry, should be presently returned; and that if they would have peace, they should promise to give up the castle of Berwick; or, if they could not do that, then solemnly to swear that they would neither attempt to relieve the garrison, nor hinder the besiegers, until the place was either taken by storm, or surrendered upon conditions." The Scots returned answer by their ambassadors, that it could not be their fault the marriage was not consummated, since both bride and bridegroom were under age: that the money was not due, as the day of payment was not come, and that if there were not sufficient security given for it, they would give more; but that with regard to the castle of Berwick, it was built by the Scots on their own ground, and had for many ages been under their jurisdiction, therefore they could not part with it; and that though the English had sometimes taken it, and possessed it by force, yet their violence did not prejudice the ancient right of the original owners. But Gloucester, who was superior in strength, resolved to carry the point, and to admit of no legal dispute in the case. The same day, Campbell, earl of Argyll, Andrew Stuart the chancellor, and the bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunblane, sent to Alexander, who was in the English camp at Leithington, a deed signed with their own hands and seals, promising him, if he would be loyal to the king, in the next assembly they would take care that his estate should be restored, and an amnesty given for what was past; in assurance of which they solemnly engaged their faith. Alexander acquainted Gloucester with this, who was very friendly, and dismissed him upon it; and

so he returned into his own country, where, in the next assembly of estates, he was unanimously made regent; and presently a proposition was made concerning raising the siege of Berwick. The wiser sort were of opinion, that in so dangerous a time, when things were unsettled by reason of domestic seditions, it would be best to make peace upon any terms; for they saw plainly, that if they should have the better of so powerful an enemy, yet it would rather provoke than dishearten him; and that if they were themselves overcome, it was uncertain how an enemy, fierce by nature and elevated by success, would use his victory. Some, who were more spirited than prudent, opposed this opinion; which, however, was carried in parliament. After many conditions had been discussed, it was agreed at length, that, on the 26th of August, 1492, the castle of Berwick should be surrendered to the English, and a truce made for a few months, till they could have more time to treat of a peace. Thus Berwick was lost to the Scots, after it had been enjoyed by them twenty-one years since their last recovery of it. The duke of Gloucester having thus made a prosperous expedition, returned home in triumph.

Edward, by the advice of his council, judged it more for the advantage of England to disannul the marriage contract: for he feared that the intestine discords of the Scots were so great, that the issue of James might be in danger of losing the crown; and he was most respectful to Alexander, because, if he should succeed to the throne, he hoped to have a constant and faithful ally in him, on account of the great kindness he had received at his hands. Hereupon, a herald was sent to Edinburgh, to renounce the affinity, and to demand the repayment of the dowry. When he had declared his errand publicly, on the 25th of October, the Scots obtained a day for the repayment, and restored it to a penny, and withal, they sent some to convoy the herald as far as Berwick. Alexander, that he might extinguish the remains of the old hatred of his brother against him, and so obtain new favour by a fresh courtesy, brought him out of the castle, and restored him to the full possession of his kingdom. But the memory of old offences prevailed more with the proud and restless spirit of James, than this act of kindness. Moreover, besides the king's rooted jealousies, there were some who daily calumniated Alexander, and whispered in the ear of his brother, that the great popularity which he had acquired, afforded an evident proof that the crown was his object. Alexander, upon this, being informed by his friends, that mischief was hatching against him at court, fled privately into England, and gave up the castle of Dunbar to Edward. In his absence he was condemned, and the crimes alleged against him were, first, that he had often sent messengers into England; that he had retired thither himself, without obtaining the royal permission; and that there he had joined in council against his country and the life of his king. All his adherents, however, were pardoned, and amongst the rest, William Crichton, who was accused not only of being an abettor of his designs against his country, but also as the chief instigator of them. But when he had obtained indemnity for what was past, he fell again under the charge of giving counsel and advice to Alexander, after he was condemned, frequent letters passing between them, by the means of Thomas Dickson, a priest; and of causing his castle of Crichton to be fortified against the king, and commanding the soldiers of the garrison not to surrender it to the royal forces. Wherefore he was summoned to answer the 14th day of February, in the year 1485; but, as he did not appear, he was outlawed, and his goods were confiscated. These were the causes of his punishment, as stated in our public records; but it is thought that the hatred which the king had conceived against him, upon a private occasion, did him most mischief. The cause was this, William had a beautiful wife, of the noble family of Dunbar, of whom he was very fond, till she was seduced by the king. On being made acquainted with this dishonour, he had recourse to a rash kind of revenge, by intriguing with the king's younger sister, who was very handsome, but of a light character, and even suspected of being too familiar with her brother. By her Crichton had a daughter, named Margaret, who died not long since. In the mean time, Crichton's wife died at his own house; and the king's sister, just mentioned, was so much in love with Wil-

ham, that she seemed at times to have lost her senses out of regard to him. The king, partly by the mediation of William's friends, partly mindful of the wrong which he had himself done him of the like sort, and willing also to cover the infamy of his sister under the veil of marriage, permitted Crichton to return again to court, on condition that he made her his wife. William was persuaded by his friends; and for want of better prospects, especially when Richard of England was dead, he came to Inverness, where he had a conference with the king, not long before the demise of both; so that great hopes were there given of his return. His sepulchre is yet there to be seen. These things occurred at several periods, but I have put them together, that the thread of my history might not be discontinued and broken off. Let us now return to what was before omitted.

Edward of England died in the month of April next after the delivery of Dunbar to him, in the year 1483, leaving his brother Richard guardian to his sons. He was first content with the name of Protector, and under that title governed England for two months: but afterwards having, by sinister practices, engaged a great part of the nobility and commonalty to his side, he confined the two young princes in prison, while the queen and her two daughters sought refuge in a sanctuary near London. In June following he took upon him the name and entire dignity of a king.

Alexander of Albany, and James Douglas, being willing to try how their countrymen stood affected towards them, came with five hundred chosen horse to Lochmaben on the day of St. Magdalen, because a great fair used to be then held at that place. Here a skirmish began between the parties with enraged minds on both sides, and the success was various, as aid came in out of the neighbouring district, either to one party or the other. They fought from noon till night, and the issue was very doubtful; but at last the victory inclined to the Scots, though it was a bloody one, as they lost many of their men. Douglas was there taken prisoner, and sent to the monastery of Lindores. Alexander was set on a horse, and escaped, but did not remain long after this in England. In the mean time, many incursions were made, more to the loss of the English than benefit to the Scots. Richard was uncertain of the event of things at home, and withal feared his enemy abroad; for many of the English favouring the earl of Richmond, who was then an exile in France, they sent for him over, to take upon him the government of the kingdom. Richard at this was mightily troubled; neither was he less disturbed with the consciousness of his own wickedness; but because he could not quell domestic seditions as soon as he hoped, therefore he thought it best to oblige foreigners by any conditions whatever; that so, by their authority and power, he might be safer at home, and more formidable abroad. For this cause he sent ambassadors into Scotland, to make peace, or at least a truce for some years. There he found all things more easy than he could have hoped; for James, whose many and notable crimes made him no less an object of bitter hatred to his own people, than Richard was to his, willingly gave ear to the ambassadors; thinking that, if once he could secure a peace with England, he might revenge his private wrongs at leisure, and more effectually, because his opponents would be deprived of a refuge. On these grounds especially, both kings sent some of their confidants to the borders where, after many and long disputes concerning compensation for losses, seeing peace could not be made by reason of the multitude of complaints, and the weakness of their proofs, they only concluded a truce for three years.

But because matters could not then be adjusted, on account of the above difficulties, and the shortness of the time, arbiters were appointed on both sides, who, together with the commanders of the borders, should see all things settled according to equity. One condition in the treaty was set down so very intricately, about the restoration of the castle of Dunbar, that the English interpreted the article in the sense of being allowed to retain it, while the Scots understood it to mean, that they might reduce it by force, notwithstanding the truce. When the Scots, after the expiration of six months, sent ambassadors to demand the castle, Richard by his letters made them promises of good will, but delayed the restoration, alleging sometimes one, and

sometimes another thing, as an obstacle, till his death, which ensued not long after. He was slain by his countrymen, and Henry VII. was not yet fully established in the throne, when James laid siege to the castle in a very sharp winter. The garrison, seeing that they were not likely to have relief from England, in the present distracted state of affairs there, surrendered the place. Henry, being troubled with many cares, that he might out of the occasion of foreign wars, and extirpate the seeds of old hatred, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; from whence he sent ambassadors to Scotland, either to make a perpetual league, or, at least, a long truce. He, as a man of great prudence, and having experienced many vicissitudes of things in his life, judged it highly conducive to the settlement of his kingdom, to make peace with his neighbours, and especially the Scots; because, commonly, those two nations lying upon the watch for advantages against each other, protected rebellious fugitives, entertained those who were exiled, and maintained sedition, by giving the authors of it hopes of refuge and supply. James also desired nothing more, than to be free from the fear of foreigners, that he might punish his own disobedient subjects at his pleasure. Therefore he kindly received the ambassadors, and told them that he wished very much for an amicable understanding, but that he feared his people would neither consent to a perpetual peace, nor to any long truce. He was of this opinion, partly because a long truce was forbidden the Scots by an ancient law, lest, when all fear of an enemy was removed, their minds might languish in idleness, and the sinews of their vigour be remitted; and partly, because they could not so suddenly lay aside that fierceness of spirit, which they had acquired by an habitual use of arms. If, however, he added, they could be brought to yield to a truce for six or seven years, he would not have them refuse it; but as for himself, he was willing to maintain a firm and inviolate peace with the English, as long as he lived; and he would also take care, that the truce should be renewed, before the date of it was quite expired; but he earnestly desired the ambassadors not to divulge abroad the discourse which had passed in secret between them, lest his nobility should be more backward from assenting to a peace, if they saw him forward in the measure. When this was reported to Henry, who knew in what a tumultuous state the affairs of Scotland were, how convenient it was for the king to have a peace, and imagined that he spoke in sincerity of heart, he accepted of the truce for seven years, and so returned to York. In the mean time the queen of Scots died, a woman of singular beauty and probity; who, by her good conduct, was thought sometimes to have moderated the unbridled appetites and passions of her husband. Alexander also, the king's brother, died in France, leaving two sons behind him, Alexander, by his first wife, the daughter of the earl of the Orkneys, and by his second, John, who was afterwards the regent of Scotland for some years.

James, having thus settled peace abroad, and at home being freed from two troublesome disturbers of his designs, returned to his extravagant courses, excluding almost all the nobility, and keeping none but upstarts about him; upon whom he bestowed great honours and preferments; entrusting to them the care of all public affairs, and the ways and means of raising money, while he himself lay, as it were, drowned in voluptuousness. The chief of this new faction of the court was John Ramsay, who had been preserved at Lauder by the desire of the king, and escaped punishment. Such now was his arrogant pride, that, not content with the stewardship of the household, a place of some honour amongst the Scots, which the king had given him, and many other lordships besides, he obtained an edict, that "none but he, and his retinue, should wear a sword, or other weapon, in those places where the king resided;" that so, by this means, they might strengthen themselves and their followers against the nobility, who kept their distinct and frequent meetings by themselves, and walked up and down in their arms. But this edict made the people hate Ramsay, rather than fear him; for now, they had nothing but the image of perfect slavery before their eyes. In the mean time, the king meditated nothing more, than how to satiate himself with the blood of those men who were supposed to have been the authors of the former insurrection, and were suspected of rebellious designs. But as he could not do this by open



force, he thought to effect it by subtlety ; and therefore feigned friendship for the very men who were the objects of his malevolence ; and treated them with more familiarity than became the dignity of a prince. To others, who were eminent in power, he gave honours and various grants. He made David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, duke of Montrose ; endeavouring to draw him over to his side by that means, because he was a powerful man in his country. As for George, earl of Angus, he entertained him frequently about his prison ; and, as if he had wholly received him into his favour, acquainted him with his private designs ; yet none of his rewards and flatteries could persuade men that he was sincere. For they who knew his disposition, did not at all doubt, that his dissimulation of benevolence and respect, tended to no other end, but that he might either arrest the nobility one by one, or else cause them to quarrel with each other ; as his assembling the chief of them at Edinburgh made more plainly appear ; for he called Douglas to him into the castle, and told him, that he had now an eminent opportunity to revenge himself ; because, if the leaders of the faction were apprehended and put to death, the rest would be quiet ; but that if he omitted this opportunity, where was so fairly put into his hands, he could never expect the like again.

Douglas, who knew that the king's mind was no more reconciled to himself than to others, craftily reasoned with him concerning the cruelty and danger of the design ; alleging, that men would judge it a base and flagitious act, if he should, without a hearing or trial, hurry so many noble persons to death, after having pardoned their former misdemeanors, and given them the public faith for their safety. He observed also, that so far from the fierce minds of his enemies being broken by the death of a few, if his faith should be once violated, all hope of concord would be cut off : and that, if once men despaired of pardon, their anger would be turned into rage ; and from thence a greater obstinacy and contempt, both of the king's authority, and even of their lives, would infallibly ensue. But if you will hearken to my counsel, said he, I will shew you a way, whereby you may preserve the dignity of a king, and gratify your revenge. I will gather my friends and clans together, and so openly, and in the day time, will lay hold upon them, that you may try them where you will, and inflict what punishment you please upon them. This way will be more creditable and safe, than if you were to set upon them secretly, and by night ; for then it would look as if they were murdered like thieves. The king, thinking the earl sincere in what he spoke, and knowing that he was able to perform what he promised ; gave him many thanks, and more promises of great rewards, and so dismissed him. But he presently acquainted the nobility with their imminent danger, and advised them to withdraw themselves from court, as he himself also did. The king, perceiving that his secret projects were discovered, from that day forward would trust nobody ; so, after staying some time in the castle of Edinburgh, he sailed into the countries beyond the Forth ; where the people still continued firm in their obedience to him, and there he levied a considerable force. The nobles, who had hitherto sought his reformation, and not his destruction, now seeing that all hopes of an agreement were cut off, directed their counsels to his utter overthrow and ruin ; only there was one thing which troubled them, and that was the choice of a general, who, in case of their subduing the king, might be regent or viceroy, with the consent of the people, and next an one, as, on account of the honour of his family, would excite as little envy as possible. After many consultations upon this point, at last they pitched upon the king's son, who was allured to a compliance by the superintendants and tutors of his childhood. But he consented out of fear, lest, if he refused, the government and command should be made over to the English, who were the perpetual enemies of his family.

The king by this time had passed over the Forth, and pitched his tent near the castle of Blackness ; the army of his son being not far off, and ready for the encounter. At this crisis, the difference was composed by the intervention of the earl of Athol, the king's uncle, who was given up as a hostage for the peace, to Adam Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, with whom he remained till the death of the king. But though peace was thus restored, it did not last long ; for new suspicions arose on both sides, and many complaints passed

between them ; till, at length the nobles came to this decision : " That, since the king did nothing sincerely, a certain war was better than a treacherous peace ; therefore, only one medium was left, upon which they could agree ; and that was, that the king should resign the government to his son, and if he would not consent to that, it was in vain for him to give himself the trouble of any more messages or disputes." The king communicated this answer, by his ambassadors, to the French and English courts, making it his request that they would assist him, by their influence, against the fury of a few of his rebellious subjects, and, if necessary, by some auxiliary forces, that so they might be reduced to obedience. He observed, that this ought to be regarded as a common concern, since the contagion, by such an example, would quickly spread to the neighbouring nations. Ambassadors were also sent to Eugenius VIII. pope of Rome, desiring him, out of his paternal affection to the Scottish name, to send thither a legate with full power, by ecclesiastical censures, to compel the rebels to lay down their arms, and obey the king. The pope wrote to Adrian of Castell, his legate in England, and a man of great learning and prudence, enjoining him to exert his endeavours for settling the Scottish affairs. But these remedies came too late ; for the nobles, who were not ignorant of the king's designs, and knew that he was implacable towards them, resolved to hasten a battle, before he should receive any more forces. Though they had the king's son with them, to give their cause a better grace among the common people, and also to shew that they were no enemies to their country, but only to their misled king ; yet, lest the public might be depressed by the approach of foreign ambassadors, they were solicitous, night and day, to bring the contest to a battle. But the king's fearfulness was an hinderance to their purpose, for, having levied a great strength in the northern parts of the kingdom, he resolved to keep himself within the castle of Edinburgh, till he should receive the promised succours. This certainly was the safest course that he could adopt, and yet his resolution was overruled by the fraud or simplicity of those about him ; who, being impatient of the delay occasioned by the frequent washes and friths that impeded the arrival of the foreign aid, advised the king to go to Stirling, as the only place in the kingdom fit for the conjunction of the forces he expected from different quarters. There, they said, he might be as safe as he was in the castle of Edinburgh, since his enemies were unprovided with the materials requisite for the storming of fortresses, and there also he might have his fleet, which he had fitted out in case of extreme hazard, to ride in some convenient harbour near adjoining. This counsel seemed faithful, and might have been safe enough, if James Shaw, governor of the castle, being corrupted by the contrary faction, had not refused to give him entrance. The enemy followed him so close, that before he knew where to betake himself, he was forced, with the strength which he had, to venture a battle. At the beginning, they fought stoutly, and the first ranks of the army of the nobles began to give ground ; but the men of Annandale, and the neighbouring parts, inhabiting the west of Scotland, came boldly up, and, having longer spears than the adverse party, presently routed the main forces of the king ; who, after being weakened by the fall of his horse, fled to some water-mills, near the place where the battle was fought. His intent was, it is supposed, to get to his ships, which lay not far off ; but here, with a few of his men, he was taken and slain. There were three who pursued him very closely in his flight, namely, Patrick Gray, the head of his family, Sterline Ker, and a priest named Borthwick ; but it is not well known which of them gave him his mortal wound. When the news of his death, though not as yet fully certain, was divulged through both armies, it made the conquerors press less violently upon those who fled, so that there were the fewer of them slain ; for the nobles managed the war against the king, and not against their fellow-subjects. There fell of the king's party, Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, with some few of his vassals and kindred, but many were wounded on both sides.

Thus James III. came to his end, a man not so much of a bad disposition by nature, as corrupted by ill habits, into which he had been brought up by vicious acquaintance. At first he gave a specimen of considerable ingenuity,

and of a mind truly royal, but afterwards he degenerated by degrees, the Boyds being the first occasion of it, into all manner of licentiousness. When these men were removed, then persons of the lowest description were his advisers in all kind of wickedness; but besides this, the corruption of the times, and the ill examples of cotemporary and neighbouring princes, contributed not a little to his overthrow and ruin; for Edward IV. of England, Charles duke of Burgundy, Lewis XI. of France, John II. of Portugal, all of them laid the foundations of tyranny in their respective dominions. Richard the Third also exercised it to the highest degree of cruelty in England. The death of James was branded with this ignominy, that, in the ensuing assembly, the whole parliament voted that he was justly slain; and provision was made for all that had borne arms against him, so that neither they nor their posterity should be prejudiced by it. He died in the year of our Lord 1488, in the twenty-eighth of his reign, and the thirty-fifth of his age.

### BOOK XIII.

JAMES III. being thus slain, near Stirling, in the month of June, his supporters, who were as yet uncertain what was become of him, retreated to Linlithgow. There word was brought to them, that some boats had passed backwards and forwards from the ships to the land, and that they had carried off wounded men. Upon this, a suspicion arose amongst them, that the king himself also was gone on ship-board, which occasioned them to remove their camp to Leith; from whence the Prince (as the king of Scotland's eldest son is called) sent some agents, to require the admiral of the fleet to come on shore to him. He was a knight, named Andrew Wood; and, being mindful of the king's kindness towards him, remained constant in his affection to him, even after he was dead. He refused to come on shore, unless hostages were given for his safe return, upon which Seton and Fleming, two noblemen, were sent for that purpose. When he landed, the council asked him if he knew where the king was, and who they were that were carried off to his ships after the fight? As for the king, he told them he knew nothing of him, but that he and his brothers had landed from their boats, that so they might assist the sovereign and all his loyal subjects; but having endeavoured, in vain, to preserve him, they returned to the fleet. He added, that if the king were alive, they would obey none but him; but that if he was slain, they were ready to revenge his death. He uttered also many reproachful speeches against the rebels; notwithstanding which they sent him away in safety to his ships, that so the hostages might not suffer. On their return, the inhabitants of Leith were called to the council, and pressed by promises of great reward, to fit out their ships, and subdue Andrew Wood. They all in general made answer, that he had two ships so completely equipped for fighting, and so well furnished with able and valiant seamen, while he was himself so skilful in naval affairs, that no two ships in Scotland were able to cope with his two. Upon this, the consultation was adjourned, and they went to Edinburgh; where they were fully assured of the king's death, and appointed a magnificent funeral to be made for him at Cambuskenneth, a monastery near Stirling, on the 26th of June.

*JAMES IV. the Hundred-and-fifth King, began his Reign A. D. 1489.*

In the mean time, an assembly was summoned to meet on a particular day, in order to confirm the new sovereign. There were, however, but few who came together to perform this service, and those were mostly of the party that had conspired against the former king. The young monarch, just after his accession, sent a herald to the governor of Edinburgh castle, commanding him to surrender it, which he accordingly did; and then he marched to Stirling, which castle was also delivered up to him by the garrison. When the troubled state of Scotland became generally known in England, a squadron of five ships belonging to the royal navy, was despatched to the Frith of Forth, and there plundered the merchantmen, obstructing their commerce, and making frequent

lescents on both shores, to the extreme injury of the maritime parts, beyond which the invaders did not venture, naturally thinking that the Scots in the interior were up in arms against each other. For, seeing the defeated party were rather shattered than broken in the late fight, in regard they were not all here, and of those who were, not many were slain; they thought a fiercer tempest would have arisen from minds which still continued to be inflamed with hatred and envy, and were elevated by confidence in their own strength. And indeed it increased the public indignation, that now the power over so many noble and eminent persons had thus fallen easily, not into the hands of the king, but a few particular men. For though the king retained the regal name and title, yet being but a youth of fifteen, he could not be said so much to rule, as to be governed by those who had killed his father, the whole management of affairs centering in Douglas, Hepburn, and Hume, whose confidence was but more increased, because all the shores were covered by the Scottish and English fleets. To remove these difficulties, the new king in the first place endeavoured to bring over the naval forces to himself, lest, during his absence in the remoter parts of the country, to settle matters there, they should raise new commotions, and open a way for the English to penetrate far into his dominions, and spoil the midland countries. When the death of the former king came to be publicly known, the new one thought that Andrew Wood would become more flexible, and therefore sent for him, giving him the public faith in his security. On his landing, the king told him what a great dishonour, loss, and public shame it was to the whole nation, that a few English ships should, in defiance, ride on their coasts; by which means he drew over Andrew to his party, and set him forth in good equipage against the English. He advised him to fit out at least an equal number of ships against the enemy, who had more and larger vessels than he had; but Wood answered, "No, I'll have only my own two." Accordingly, as soon as the wind served, he made directly toward the English, who were riding before Dunbar; and after a gallant fight, took, and brought them all into Leith, where he presented their commanders to the king. Andrew was liberally rewarded; and his skill in naval engagements, as well as the singular valour of his soldiers and crews, was highly magnified. Yet some of those sort of creatures, who always extol the achievements of kings, whatever they may be, and if great, view them in a magnifying glass, foretold that this victory only preceded a greater. Meanwhile the adverse party of the nobility sent messages into all parts of the kingdom, to persuade the country to rise, and not endure the present state of things, or suffer so many valiant men to be deceived by such public parricides, who had not only murdered one king, and made another captive, but accused the defenders of their sovereign as traitors. It was observed, that the men who affected to be the only assertors of the rights of their country, and the sole maintainers of its liberty, were themselves violators of all divine and human laws; who kept their prince in a state of servitude, and had forced him to take up arms against his father and king; and, that after the monarch had fallen a sacrifice to impiety, they compelled his successor to prosecute, by a nefarious war, those who were the friends of his parent, and the defenders of his life. Many such discourses they spread abroad among the vulgar: and, to kindle a greater flame of indignation and hatred, Alexander Forbes, the chief of a noble family, carried the king's shirt, bloody and torn with the marks of the wounds he received, upon a spear through Aberdeen, and all the chief towns of the adjacent country; exciting all men, by this spectacle, and by the voice of a herald, to rise in arms to revenge so black a deed. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, also a man of great wealth and power, and who, by a honest kind of popularity, was equally dear to high and low, appeared no less active in the countries on this side the Forth; or he raised up the neighbouring lords, and with a good force endeavoured to pass over the bridge at Stirling, to join his associates; but that position being occupied by the king's forces, he attempted to cross a ford, not far from the mouth of the river, at the foot of Mount Grampius. His design, however, was discovered to John Drummond by Alexander Macalpin, his vassal, who had joined the enemy; and gave information of the negligent state of their camp; where every one went about as he pleased; there being no watch set in

convenient places, nor the least military discipline observed. Upon this intelligence, Drummond, with some volunteers who came to his assistance, set upon them in the dead of the night, so that many were killed in their sleep, and the rest, running away without their arms, returned from whence they came. Several prisoners were taken, but a great part of them were dismissed by their friends who knew them; and those only were severely dealt with, who had written or spoken more contumeliously than others.

The joy for this victory was increased by the news of another at the same time, which Andrew Wood had gained over Stephen Bull, in an engagement at sea. For king Henry of England, hearing that five of his ships were taken by two of the Scots, inferior in size, was anxious to blot out the infamy of the defeat; and though he could find no just pretence for a war, he called his ablest naval officers together; offering them what ships and warlike provisions they pleased, with an earnest exhortation to purge away this stain cast upon the English name; promising them withal, great rewards on bringing Wood to him, dead or alive. When those who knew the valour of the man, and his successful exploits, hesitated, Stephen Bull, a knight of known courage, undertook the expedition: and opportunity seemed to favour his design, because he knew that Wood was shortly to return out of Flanders; and he thought it would be a matter of no great difficulty to attack him unawares in his passage. Taking therefore three ships out of the royal navy, he equipped them well at all points, and so stood for the uninhabited Isle of May, in the frith of Forth, selecting that place for its conveniency, because on every side there is sand-riding, and a harbour for large vessels in bad weather; while the channel is so narrow, that not a boat can pass without being discovered. Whilst he lay there, he continually kept some of his most skilful mariners abroad in fishing boats, to watch and give him notice of the enemy's ships. He had not rode at anchor there many days, when Wood's squadron appeared with full sail making towards him. Bull knew them, and presently weighing anchor, as being already the victor in his mind, prepared himself for the fight. Wood, with equal alacrity, lay by no longer than till his men were ready to engage, and so made up to him. Thus did these two valiant commanders contend, as if they engrossed the courage of mighty armies, fighting obstinately till night closed the fray, and the victory inclined to neither side. The next morning each encouraged his men, and renewed the attack with redoubled fury. They threw grappling-irons into one another's ships, and so fought hand to hand, as if they had been fighting on land, and that with so much eagerness, that neither of them took notice of the falling of the tide, till they came to the heaps of sand at the mouth of the Tay. There the water being shallower, the great ships of the English became so unmanageable, that they were forced to surrender; and so were towed up the stream of that river to Dundee, where they staid till the dead were buried, and the wounded were placed under the hands of surgeons for their cure. This battle was fought on the 10th of August, in the year 1490.

A few days afterwards, Wood went to the king, taking with him Stephen Bull, with the other commanders of the captured ships, and the most noted of the soldiers, whom he presented to him. Andrew was highly commended, and honourably rewarded for this achievement. The king freely dismissed the prisoners and their ships, and sent them back to their own sovereign with a high commendation of their bravery: observing that as they fought for honour, and not for booty, he therefore would shew, that valour ought to be honoured, even in an enemy.

King Henry, though highly concerned for the loss of his men in this unhappy fight, yet returned his thanks to the king of Scots, and told him, that he gratefully accepted his kindness, and could not but applaud the greatness of his mind.

About this time a new kind of monster was born in Scotland. In the lower part of its body it resembled a male child, nothing differing from the ordinary shape of the human structure; but above the navel, the trunk, and all the other members, were double, representing both sexes, male and female. The king gave special order for its careful education, especially in music, in which it arrived at an admirable degree of skill; and moreover it learned several

tongues, but sometimes the two bodies would discover different appetites, disagreeing one with another; and so they would quarrel, one liking this and the other that: yet, at times again, they would agree and consult, as it were, in common, for the good of both. This was also memorable, that when the legs or loins were hurt below, both bodies were alike sensible of the pain; but, when it was pricked or otherwise hurt above, the sense of pain affected one only. This difference was also more remarkably observable in the article of death; for one of the bodies expired many days before the other; and that which survived, being half putrified, pined away by degrees. This monster lived twenty-eight years, and then died, when John was regent of Scotland. I am the more confident in relating the case, because there are many honest and credible persons yet living, who saw the prodigy with their own eyes.

When the people of the north of Scotland heard of the naval victory, they gave over all thoughts of war, and returned every man to his own home. This tumult and broil being so easily quieted, the king applied his mind, not only to quell all seditions for the present, but to prevent all occasions of them for the future. He summoned his first parliament to be held at Edinburgh, on the 6th of November; where many wholesome laws were made for the establishing of public concord; and, in order to pacify the people in general, and produce unity of mind, the blame of what had occurred was thrown upon a few particular persons, whose punishments were either very light, or else wholly remitted. When the lawfulness of the late war came under debate, John Lyon, lord of Glanmavis, arose, and exhibited several heads of articles, which the discontented peers had formerly submitted to the king, who not only assented thereto, but would have concluded a treaty upon those terms, had he not been prevented from it by evil counsellors, who persuaded him to call in an old enemy to fight against his own subjects. By this inconsistency on the part of the late king, the earls of Huntley and Errol, the earl Marischal, and Lyon himself, with many other noble persons, forsook him at that time, and set up his son, as being a lover of the public peace and welfare. After a long discussion, at last they all consented to a decree, wherein those who had fallen in the battle of Stirling were affirmed to have been cut off by their own fault, and that their slaughter was just; and that they who had taken up arms against the enemies of the public, for thus they covered their hidden fraud under honest pretences, were guilty of no crime, and consequently not liable to punishment. All who had votes in the assembly subscribed to this decree, that so they might give a better account of the transaction to foreign ambassadors, of whose coming they had information. Many other statutes were also made at that time, to restore to the poor what had been taken violently from them; to inflict small fines on the rich; and to indemnify both parties, so that the taking up of arms on either side in the late war might never turn to the prejudice of them or their posterity. This moderation of spirit was highly commended in a young king, who was only fifteen years old, and who was also a conqueror, and had the command of all; but it was further heightened by his benignity and faithfulness in performing his promises. To this we may add further, which commonly takes most with the vulgar, that he was of a graceful person, well proportioned, and of a lively and quick apprehension. Thus, by using his victory neither with avarice nor cruelty, and by his generosity in pardoning offenders, in a short time there grew up a great concord amongst both parties, both equally striving to shew their love and duty to the king; a few only, who were most obstinate, being punished with a small fine, or with the loss of part of their estates, but none of all were deprived of their whole patrimony; neither were the fines brought to the king's exchequer, but applied to defray the charges of the war. This royal clemency was the more grateful, because men did yet retain fresh in memory, upon what slight occasions, in the former reign, many eminent men were deprived of all; and how greatly inferior to them those were who came in their places. Moreover, to engage the chief leaders of the contrary faction to a greater fidelity, he joined them in bonds of affinity to himself; for, as he aunt had two daughters, by two husbands, he married Græcina Boyd to Alexander Forbes, and Margaret Hamilton to Matthew Stuart. Hereby, in a short time, the minds of all men were reconciled, and a happy peace and

tranquillity ensued; nay, as if fortune had condescended to become maid to the virtue of the king, there was such an increase of grain and of other fruits of the earth, that a golden spring appeared suddenly to have ted up out of a more than iron age. Thus, after the king had suppressed beries by his arms, and other vices by the severity of the laws, lest he ht seem too severe to others, and indulgent to himself, he expressed his cern at the fate of his father, by wearing an iron chain about his waist as ; as he lived, adding every year one link more to it: and though this pres- might give umbrage to those who were instrumental to that catastrophe, they had such confidence, either in the gentleness of the king's disposi- , or in their own power, that it occasioned no disturbance.

amidst this public jubilee, and the private rejoicings of particular per- s, about the seventh year of the king's reign, Perkin Warbeck came into land. But before I declare the cause of his arrival, I must go further k.

Margaret, the sister of Edward IV. king of England, having married Charle- e of Burgundy, endeavoured, by all the means she could devise, if not to throw, yet at least to vex Henry VII. who had supplanted her family. In er, therefore, to annoy the reigning monarch, she raised up Perkin Warbeck a competitor for the kingdom. He was a youth born of mean parentage, at rmay, but of such beauty, ingenuity, stature, and comeliness, that he might ily be taken as a descendant of royal stock. By reason of his poverty, he travelled through several countries, so that he was known to few of his own tions, and thus he had not only acquired several languages, but had insured his face and mind to the most complete assurance. When Margaret, who intent on all occasions to disturb the peace of England, had gained this th, she kept him a while privately with her, till she had informed him under t factions England laboured at that time; and what friends and what ene- s she had there. In a word, she made him acquainted with the whole gene- y of the royal progeny, and what happiness or misfortune had attended h of them. As soon as things were sufficiently ripe, she resolved to try the nce of fortune; and accordingly gave private directions, that he should be veyed, with a decent equipage, first into Portugal, and next to Ireland re a great concourse of people flocked to his standard, and acknowledged as the son of Edward the Fourth, king of England; either deceived by address in personating the character, or else hoping that he would be the ms of raising great commotions. While he was thus engaged in Ireland ar broke out between the French and English, in consequence of which, kin was suddenly sent for by Charles the Eighth, who gave him many pro- es of assistance. On his arrival at Paris, he was honourably received, treated in every respect as a prince, with a guard assigned him; nor e the English exiles and fugitives, who were then numerous at that court, kward in paying him their respects, and flattering him with assurances of cess. But when the quarrel between the two crowns was settled, Perkin fear of being delivered up, withdrew privately from the French court, into nders, where he met with a hearty welcome from Margaret, who affected nake it believed that this was their first interview. He was now intro- d to all the nobility; and frequently, when a sufficient number was assem- d, he was desired to give a narrative of his adventures. Margaret, as if had been the first time she ever heard of it, so well accommodated her embled passions to the progress of the tale, both when he recapitulated successes and his misfortunes, that every person thought she really eved the whole to be true.

n a day or two, Perkin was equipped to go about in the habit of a priore, n thirty attendants for his guard, each wearing a white rose, which was badge of the house of York; and so he was every where announced as undoubted heir of the English throne. When these things were spread oad first in Flanders, and afterwards in England, the minds of men were gitated, that numbers flocked to him, not only of persons who lurked ut in private places and sanctuaries, for fear of the laws; but even of the ility, who were either dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, or ously looked for a revolution. But when, after a little delay, Perkin

found that his forces began to lessen rather than increase, owing to the discovery of the cheat, he determined to try his fortune in the field. Accordingly, he collected a band of his adherents, and landed them on the coast of Kent, to try the affections of the people in that county. Being disappointed in his expectations there, he steered for Ireland, where also, notwithstanding his former success, he met with such a cold reception, that he sailed to Scotland, being encouraged by the knowledge that peace between the two neighbouring nations was seldom of long continuance. Here, on being admitted to the presence of the king, he gave a melancholy history of the ruin of his family, and of the miseries which he had himself endured; earnestly beseeching him to protect the royal blood of York from contumely and ignominy. The king, in reply, encouraged him to be of good heart, and promised him, that he would shortly find he had not, in his distress, desired assistance in vain. Within a few days afterwards, a council was held, where Perkin appeared, and gave a full relation of his numerous misfortunes, saying, "that though he was the son of the most puissant king of his time, and of the highest hopes, he had been left destitute by the untimely death of his father; that in his infancy, before he knew what evil meant, he narrowly escaped falling into the tyrannical hands of his unnatural uncle, Richard, who caused his eldest brother to be cruelly murdered; but that, through the management of friends, he was himself conveyed abroad, where, ever since, he had led a precarious life amongst foreigners, and now could not obtain a poor and quiet settlement in the kingdom which was his own lawful inheritance. He said, that, in his wanderings in strange lands, his condition had been so wretched, that he envied the lot of his brother, who had been snatched from all calamity by a sudden and violent death, leaving him to be the sport of fortune, without the common solace of venting his griefs to excite the pity of strangers, since no sooner did he make his dignity known, than he was instantly assailed by new shafts of malice; that to his former miseries was now added a continual fear of treachery; for that his crafty enemy had, on some occasions, tempted those who gave him an asylum, to take away his life, and on others, had privily set spies about his person, to discover, under the pretence of friendship, his secret purposes, to alienate the minds of his open adherents, and to ascertain who were privately attached to his cause. He said also, that those persons circulated vile reports among the common people, respecting his pedigree, and calumniated, in the most infamous manner, his aunt Margaret, and those English nobles who gave him their support: but that Margaret, notwithstanding the abuse which was poured upon her, persevered in maintaining the cause of her family, and though her estate was low, had contributed as much as she could to his assistance; till, at length, when he perceived that her means were contracted, and reflected that she was a widow, and in years, he had recourse to the neighbouring princes and states, imploring their sympathy in his vicissitudes, and intreating them not to suffer one of royal blood to be oppressed by tyrannical violence, or to pine away in grief, fear, and woe. He added, that though for the present he was afflicted with many evils, yet was he not so depressed in mind, as to be without hope of a restoration to his kingdom, by the help of his friends, of whom he had many among the English and Scots. In conclusion, he said, that should he be successful, his memory would retain a sense of the services he had received, and that he would be careful to remunerate them according to his ability. This he trusted to accomplish, if the Scots gave him their support, in which case, on his recovering the throne of his ancestors by their arms, he pledged for himself and his posterity, perpetual gratitude, and a constant acknowledgment, that for this change of fortune he was indebted to them alone."

Perkin said also many things in praise of the king, partly just, and partly accommodated to present circumstances. Having thus finished his speech, the monarch called him up to his seat, and cheered him, by saying that he would refer his request to the council, whose advice in all great affairs it was necessary for him to have; but that, let their determination be what it would, he should have no cause to regret having chosen his court for a sanctuary. Upon this royal assurance, Perkin withdrew, and the matter being brought under discussion, the wiser and most experienced part of the assembly, were



for rejecting the application altogether, either because they judged it to be an imposture; or else, foreseeing that there would be more danger in a war, than the most certain victory could compensate. But the majority, either through ignorance of true policy, want of caution, or from a wish to gratify the king, asserted that the cause of Perkin was perfectly just, and that he was highly deserving of commiseration. They added also, that as matters were now somewhat confused in England, where the minds of men were fluctuating after a civil war, it was good to lay hold of an opportunity when their neighbours are always ready to seize for their own advantage, whenever they had it in their power; and that, therefore, they ought themselves to try for once, to profit by the distractions of the enemy. Those were went yet farther, and even foretold a victory, from the preconception of their own minds, before they had put on their armour; grounding the expectation they had formed, upon the assurance that numbers of the English would co-operate with them in their enterprise. But they said, that, even if this should not happen, one or other of these two things must result, either the overthrow of Henry, and the settlement of the now king on the throne, who, as a recompense, would grant all they demanded; or the termination of the contest without a battle, in which case the reigning monarch, after quelling domestic troubles, would be obliged, from the unsteadiness of his seat, to comply with such terms as they pleased to impose; and that, if he refused, the continuance of hostilities would afford them many advantages.

Such was the opinion of the majority to which the king inclined, and his vote drew over the rest. After this, he treated Perkin more honourably than before, complimented him with the title of duke of York, and, as such, presented him to the people. Not content with this, he gave him Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a lady of as great beauty as nobility, for a wife; which affinity enlivened him with full confidence of success. James now, by the advice of his counsel, levied an army, and marched for England; but at first he conducted his operations cautiously, and kept his troops together, ready for an encounter, if any sudden assault should be made upon him. But when afterwards he understood by his scouts, that the enemy had no army in the field, he sent out parties to plunder, and, in a short time, pillaged almost the whole of Northumberland, and the adjoining counties. Notwithstanding this, and though he staid some days in those parts, not an Englishman stirred in behalf of Perkin; in consequence of which, and learning that an army was raising against him, the king thought it dangerous to oppose his soldiers, who were laden with booty, to these new and fresh forces. Accordingly, he resolved to return into Scotland, with the plunder already obtained; and, as soon as the time of the year would permit, to undertake another expedition. Neither did he fear that the English would follow him in his retreat; for he knew that now-raised soldiers could neither be long kept together, nor march after him through a country so lately harassed and made quite desolate by the wars, especially as they had no provisions in store. But besides this, Perkin was afraid, as none of the English came to him, that if he staid any longer in a hostile country, his deception would be discovered. He therefore seemed to approve of the king's resolution, and, coming to him with a prepared speech and countenance, expressing deep concern and compassion, humbly requested that he would not make such havoc in a nation endeared to him as his right; and that he would not so cruelly shed the blood of his subjects, which he valued more than all the kingdoms in the world, and would not, for the sake of such an acquisition, have his country wasted with fire and sword. The king began now to surmise and understand whither this unseasonable clemency tended, and therefore told him, that he feared he would preserve that country, in which not a man would see him as a subject, much less as a prince, not for himself, but for his capital enemy; and so, by common consent, they returned home, and the army was disbanded.

Henry being made acquainted with the invasion and retreat of the Scots, appointed an expedition against them for the following year, and in the mean time levied a great army. But that he might not be idle during the winter, he summoned a parliament, which approved of his design in making war upon

Scotland, and granted a small subsidy for its support. This tax kindled a greater flame of hostility at home, than that which he designed to quench abroad: for the common people complained, that their youth were exhausted by the number of wars and impressments, that had been within these few years; and that while their estates were impaired, and reduced to a very poor condition, the nobles and counsellors of the king, instead of being moved by their calamities, sought to create new disturbances in a time of peace, that so they might impose new taxes on them, who were already in great want and necessity; whereby those whom the sword had not consumed, would be destroyed by famine and poverty. These were the public complaints of the commons, but the people of Cornwall were more enraged than all the rest; though they, as inhabiting a country which is in great part barren, are wont to gain, instead of losing, by wars. This hardy race, having been accustomed rather to increase their estates by military spoils, than to lessen them by paying taxes and rates, first of all rose against the king's officers and collectors, and slew them; and then, being conscious that they had engaged themselves in an attempt so rash, that there was neither retreat nor hopes of mercy, they went on, and having multiplied their numbers, with arms in their hands, began their march towards London. But it is not my business to prosecute the story of this insurrection; it is enough for my purpose to tell you, that the king was so employed this whole year with the Cornish rebels, that he was forced to employ that army against them, which he had raised to invade Scotland.

In the mean time, James foreseeing that Henry would not let the injuries of the former year pass unrevenge, and being secretly informed that he was levying great forces against him, mustered an army, to the intent that if the English attacked him first, he might be in a posture to defend himself; and that if they did not, he himself might make an inroad into their country, and so waste and destroy the bordering provinces, that the soil, poor enough of itself, should not afford sufficient necessaries, even for the very husbandmen. On hearing of the Cornish insurrection, he presently began his march, and entered England with a great army, dividing his forces into two parts: one going towards Durham to ravage that country; while the king, with the rest, besieged Norham, a strong castle situated upon a very high hill, near the river Tweed. But by neither was any thing considerable done; for Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, a very prudent person, anticipating that the Scots would make an incursion during the civil broils in England, had fortified some castles with strong garrisons, and taken care that the cattle, and all kinds of provisions, should be conveyed into places either safe by nature, or else made so by being guarded on the sides with moors and rivers. Moreover, he sent for the earl of Surrey, who had a large force in Yorkshire, to assist him; and therefore the Scots only plundered the country, and not being able to take Norham, which was stoutly defended, raised the siege, and, without any considerable action, returned home. Not long afterwards, the English followed them, and demolished Ayton, a small castle, seated almost on the very borders, having done which, they also returned out of the enemy's country, without performing any thing else worthy of notice.

Amidst these contentions, foreign and domestic, Peter Hialas, a man of great wisdom, and, as the times went, not unlearned, arrived in England, being sent thither by Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. The purport of his embassy was, to conclude a marriage between Katharine, their daughter, and Arthur, the son of king Henry, that so the two kingdoms might be bound together in a new affinity and friendship. The English willingly embraced the proposed alliance, and, on that account, were desirous to bring the war with Scotland to a conclusion; but because Henry thought it beneath his dignity to court peace, he was willing to use Peter as a mediator. Peter willingly undertook the business, and came into Scotland; where he plied James with several arguments, and having at last made him inclinable to a reconciliation, he wrote to Henry, that he thought a good peace might be agreed upon without any great difficulty, if he would send down some eminent person of his council to settle the conditions. Henry, as one that had often tried the inconstancy of fortune, and knowing that the minds of his subjects

were grown fierce by these late tumults, so that they were rather irritated than humbled, commanded Richard Fox, who resided in his castle at Norham, to unite in counsel with Hialas. These two had many disputes about the business with the ambassadors of Scotland, at Jedburgh; but, after many propositions on both sides, they could agree in none. The chief impediment was the demand of Henry, that Perkin Warbeck should be given up to him, which requisition he judged to be the more reasonable, as he was but a counterfeiter, and had been already the occasion of so much mischief. James, however, peremptorily refused to comply; alleging, that it would be dishonourable in him to surrender up a man of the royal progeny, who came to him as a suppliant; and whom he had also made his kinsman by marriage; and that, in violating his faith, he should become the scorn and ridicule of his enemies. Thus the conference broke off; yet the hopes of an agreement were not altogether extinguished, as a truce was made for some months, till James could dismiss Warbeck upon honourable terms.

When, therefore, by a communication with the English, and other evident indications, it plainly appeared, that the tale concerning Perkin's state and kindred was a mere fabrication, the king sent for him, and told him what singular good-will he had borne him, and how many courtesies he had bestowed upon him, of which he was himself the best witness; as, first, that he had undertaken a war against a potent sovereign for his sake, and had now brought it to a second year, as much to the prejudice of his own subjects, as the inconvenience of his adversary; that he had refused an honourable peace, which was freely offered him, merely because he would not surrender him up to the English; whereby he had given great offence, both to his own people, and his enemy too; so that now he neither could nor would any longer withstand their desires. But that now, in regard to Perkin, whatever his fate might be, whether peace or war, he desired him to seek some other and fitter place for it, being himself resolved to conclude a treaty with the English, and that when it was once solemnly made, he should observe it religiously, and remove from him whatever might be an impediment to so great and good a work. He said also, that neither ought Perkin to complain of being forsaken, since the English had done so first, in confidence of whose assistance the Scots had begun the war. The king concluded with observing, that, notwithstanding all these circumstances, he was resolved to accommodate him with provisions, and other necessaries, for his embarkation.

Though Warbeck was mightily troubled at this unexpected dismission, yet he remitted nothing of his assumed lofty spirit, but in a few days sailed over to Ireland, with his wife and family, from whence, soon after, he passed into England, and there joined the Cornish rebels; but after many attempts, without being able to do any good, he was taken; and having confessed all the artifices and pageantry of his former life, ended his days in a halter.\*

The seeds of war between England and Scotland being almost suppressed, and a great prospect of peace appearing, on a sudden there arose violent animosities of spirit, upon a very light occasion, which had very near broken out into a most bloody contest. Some Scottish youths went over to the town of Norham, which was near the castle, as they had been often accustomed to do in times of peace, there to recreate themselves in sports, pastimes, and feasting with their neighbours, as if they had been at home, for there was but a small river which divided them. The garrison of the castle, out of that rancour which yet remained in their hearts since the former war, and being also provoked by some passionate expressions, accused these Scots as spies. Thus from words they came to blows; and many were wounded on both sides, but the Scots, being the fewest in number, were forced to return home with the loss of some of their company. This affair was often brought upon the carpet in the conferences between the lords of the marches; and at last, James,

\* Buchanan has evinced more prejudice than judgment throughout this part of his story. Had Warbeck been an impostor, James IV. would hardly have given him a prison of the blood. Nor is it likely that Margaret, the duchess of Burgundy, would have supported a low-born youth, to the injury of her own niece, Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward the Fourth. That Warbeck, as he is called, was what he pretended to be, admits now of little doubt.

in an angry mood, sent a herald to Henry, to complain of the breach of truce, and of the inconstancy of the English in observing contracts; adding, that unless satisfaction was given, according to the just laws which were made by general consent, about restitution betwixt the borderers, he had commanded his herald to declare war. Henry, who had been exercised by the violence of fortune, even from his cradle, and was therefore more inclined to peace, answered, that whatever had taken place, was against his will, and without his knowledge; but that if the soldiers of the garrison had offended in this case by their temerity, he would give proper orders for an inquiry, and that to keep the league inviolate, the guilty should be punished. But the promised reparation went on so slowly, that James looked upon the answer in the light of purposed delay, in order to allow the resentment time to cool, by putting off the punishment, which was therefore rather a provocation than a satisfaction. Upon this, Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, who was owner of the castle, being much troubled that any of his tenants should give occasion to an infraction of the league, to remedy it, sent several letters to James, full of great submission, modesty, and civility, which so mollified the mind of the king, that in his reply he earnestly solicited an interview with him, not only about the late trespasses, but other matters conducive to the advantage of both kingdoms.

Fox having acquainted his sovereign herewith, obtained his consent to wait upon James at Melrose, where he then resided. There James made a grievous complaint of the injury at Norham; but by the prudent and grave discourse of Fox, he was so pacified, that for the sake of peace, of which he showed himself very desirous, he remitted the offence. Other things were transacted privately betwixt them; but it appeared afterward that the sum of them was, that James not only desired a peace, but the formation of a nearer affinity with Henry, and a stricter bond of union. He said, that if Henry would bestow his daughter Margaret upon him in marriage, he hoped that the connexion would be for the benefit of both kingdoms; and that if Fox, whose authority he knew to be great at home, would endeavour to accomplish that object, he did not doubt but it would soon be effected. The bishop freely promised his assistance, and, going to the English court, acquainted the king with the proposition, after which he gave hopes to the Scottish ambassadors, that a peace would easily be settled betwixt the two nations. Accordingly, three years afterwards, that is, in 1500, Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry, was betrothed to James IV.; and Katharine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, to Arthur, Henry's eldest son, and their marriages were celebrated with great pomp the year following.

After this alliance, all things were quiet, and the court turned from the study of arms to sports and pastimes; so that there was nothing but masks, spectacles, feasting, dancing, and balls. It was, in short, a continued jubilee, and, upon that account, every day was a festival. There were also frequent tilts and tournaments, mostly according to the French mode, betwixt which, as tragical acts, some who were wont to live by spoil, came upon the stage, and challenged one another; which sport the king was pleased to behold, because he judged that their mutual slaughter was a gain to himself. When the noise of these tournaments reached foreign nations, many strangers, especially from France, came daily over to shew their prowess, who were all liberally entertained by the king, and as bountifully dismissed. Neither did he rest in these exercises, for he laid out considerable sums of money upon public buildings at Stirling, Falkland, and several other places, but especially in the erection of monasteries. But he expended most upon ships, of which he built three very stately ones, of uncommon size, and many also of a smaller rate. One of his great ships was, to admiration, the largest that ever any man had seen sail on the ocean; it was also furnished with every kind of costly accommodation; but as our writers have given a minute description of it, I shall omit the particulars. The measure of it is kept in some places, but its magnitude appeared in this, that the news thereof stimulated Francis, king of France, and Henry the Eighth, king of England, to build each of them a ship, in imitation of it, one endeavouring to outvie the other. When, however, these vessels were finished, fitted with all kinds of necessaries,

and sent out to sea, they were found so unwieldy, as to lie like immovable logs on the water, unfit for use.

These works, being very expensive, exhausted the treasury of James to such a degree, that he was forced to devise new ways and means to get money, one of which, originating, as it was thought, with William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, proved very displeasing to all the nobility. Amongst the tenures of land in Scotland, is one by which, if the owner of an estate that he has purchased or obtained in gift, dies, and leaves a son under age, the wardship of the heir shall rest in the king, or some superior lord, who, by virtue thereof, takes the whole income, till the party to whom it belongs, has attained his majority. There is also another badge of slavery annexed to this tenure, that if an owner sells above one-half of his estate, without the consent of the chief lord, the whole is forfeited. This law was introduced by parasites, to increase the king's exchequer, but as it was looked upon as unjust, it had lain dormant a long time; till the king, being informed that the money might be obtained from those who had broken a commanded the statute to be put in execution; by the process called recognition. This way of raising money by the king, though it deprived no man of his whole estate, yet was a greater grievance to the country than his father's covetousness had been; for the wrong injured very many, and chiefly the worthiest people; because, under the two last kings, owing to their foreign and civil wars, the memory of that law was almost quite abolished so that now, by reason of this new project, they were forced either to redeem their lands from the officers of the king's exchequer, or else to relinquish a part to secure the rest. Yet such was the love of his subjects towards their king, that, though they suffered great inconvenience by this measure, their reverence for his other virtues restrained them from venting their indignation in an insurrection.

But the king set no bounds to his expenses, and as there were not wanting flatterers, a perpetual mischief to courts, who covered this vicious excess under the plausible names of splendour and magnificence, he at last determined to undertake a voyage to Syria, that he might, by his absence, abridge his extravagance, which he could neither continue at home without ruin, nor retrench without shame. He made an honest pretence for his journey, what was, to expiate the fault he had committed in bearing arms against his father. And indeed he had given some evidence of his penitence, whether true or pretended, upon this account, from the very beginning of his reign, as I have already said, and he would often speak of it in his common discourse. He had fitted out a fleet for this voyage, nominated the chief of his retinue, and had acquainted the neighbouring courts by his ambassadors, of his intention. Many of his followers also, as if they had obliged themselves by the same vow, suffered the hair of their heads and beards to grow long, and it was thought that he would immediately have embarked, if some obstacles had not intervened, whilst he was most intent on his purposed pilgrimage. At this time there arose strong symptoms of an immediate war betwixt France and England; for Henry, besides being jealous at the successes of the French in Italy, was solicited by pope Julius II. and Ferdinand of Spain, his father-in-law, to join them; together with the Venetians, Swiss, and the emperor Maximilian. Henry commonly regulated his counsels according to events; and it was likely the junction of so many nations, in alliance against France would almost swallow it up.

The English monarch, being in the prime of life, sensible and proud of the power of his kingdom, and in his nature also very forward for action, had a vehement desire to enter into this alliance, but then he wanted a fair pretence to fall out with France. Both sovereigns soon ascertained the views of each other, by their respective agents; and when France could not be persuaded to desist from carrying on a war against the pope, who was the friend of Henry, a herald was sent over, to demand Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, as his ancient possessions of the English. But the French monarch, not being moved by these threats to suspend hostilities in Italy, Henry immediately declared war against him, and sent an army into Biscay, to join his father-in-law, Ferdinand; while he prepared to go himself on an expedition into France.

In the mean time, James of Scotland, though he resolved to take no open part with either side, yet as being more inclinable to the French, he offered the fleet already mentioned as a present to Anne, queen of France,\* that so it might seem rather a mark of his friendship, than any real assistance for military purposes. Besides this, the Scottish clergy, who had been accustomed to the handling of French gold, were willing to shew their regard to that monarch; but as they durst not do it openly, they sought for proper occasions to alienate the king's mind from the English.

In order to this, Andrew Forman, then bishop of Murray, one of their faction, and a friend to the French king, was sent into England, to demand a vast sum of gold and silver. The greatest part of it consisted of women's jewels and ornaments, which it was said had been bequeathed by the will of Arthur, the elder brother of Henry VIII. to his sister Margaret, the wife of James, as I have already related. Henry, probably looking upon this demand only as a pretence for a quarrel, answered James very mildly, that if any thing was due to him, he would not only pay it, but if he wanted a greater sum, or any other assistance, he would not fail to supply him. James, on receiving this reply, resolved to assist Lewis in any other way than by invading England; and, therefore, sent over the same Forman into France, to acquaint him with it. Meanwhile, because he had heard that great naval preparations were making on both sides, he resolved to send the fleet to Anne immediately, that so it might arrive there before the war actually broke out. He made James Hamilton, earl of Arran, admiral, and ordered him to sail the first opportunity. But Hamilton, though a man otherwise of good character, yet being more skilled in the arts of peace than war, either through fear of danger, or an habitual backwardness, instead of hastening to France, turned aside to attack Knockfergus, a town in Ireland, situated over against Galloway; which place he pillaged and burnt, and afterwards, as if he had been a mighty conqueror, hoisted sail for Ayr, in Scotland, a port-town in Kyle. When the king heard of his return, he was very much exasperated against him, and could not forbear to threaten and upbraid him; being the more enraged against him, because he had received a letter from queen Anne out of France, the tendency of which was, to draw him into a war with England. He had besides other letters from Andrew Forman, informing him that he was generally reproached, for having promised to send a fleet, which, as it never came, the French believed was never intended. The king, to justify himself, immediately suspended Hamilton, for deviating from his appointed course, and destroying a town belonging to a friendly power, by which the Scots were involved in a war against their will, and without a formal declaration. Hamilton, therefore, was not only cashiered, but ordered to appear, and answer for his conduct. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, was appointed to succeed him in the command, with whom Andrew Wood was sent to take the fleet into his care; but Hamilton, having notice by his friends, before their coming, of the king's displeasure against him, presently hoisted sail, and resolved rather to commit himself to the wide ocean, than an enraged king. He was a long time on his passage to France, his ship being tossed about with contrary winds and storms, so that he did not arrive there till all thoughts of naval preparations were laid aside, and then he landed in Little Britany, where the ship, which cost so much money and labour in building and equipping, had her tackle taken out, and she was laid up to rot in the harbour of Brest.

In the interim, other causes of discord arose at home, which wholly alienated the mind of James from the English king. In the reign of Henry VII. there was one Robert Ker, a worthy knight, so much in the favour of James, for his eminent virtues, that he made him chief cup-bearer, master of the ordnance, and lord warden of the middle borders or marches. He was a severe castigatour of all robbers, which, while it raised him still higher in the king's affection, increased the hatred of the borderers; so that both English and Scots, whose licentiousness he alike restrained, by putting the laws in

\* Anne of Bretagne, the second wife of Lewis XII. was the widow of Charles VIII. his predecessor. She died January 9, 1513.

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

action against them, jointly sought all occasions to take away his strength. In a solemn meeting of Scots and English, which used to be kept, just and recompense damages, a quarrel began, and three daring Englishmen named John Heron, Lilburn, and Starhed, set upon Kor; one came before, and ran him through the back with a lance, and when he was wounded, the other two despatched him.

It was business had like to have created a war; but Henry, as he was just in things, so at this foul deed he was as angry as James, and therefore ordered the brother of John Heron, who was lord of Ford, and governor of English borders, to be delivered up to the Scots, together with Lilburn, the other two having made their escape. They were shut up in Fast-castle, where Lilburn died; and, for the expiation of so glaring a crime, it was desired, that in future assemblies of that kind, the English should first crave the English faith for their security, and then enter Scotland, to hold their meetings: that the ambassadors of England, by many solemn protestations and a solemn ceremony of words, should declare, that the public was not concerned in the guilt of that particular murder. The other two murderers meanwhile remained in the inland parts of England, till the reign of Henry VIII. and yet did not go unpunished; for finding they had gained a young king, a more potent, and saw that he was willing to shew the greatness of his power, they ventured out of their retirements. Heron, by the interest of his family, was openly in his own house, and privately sent robbers into Scotland, to disturb the public peace, hoping, that if a war should once begin, he might obtain indemnity for his old offences, and even liberty to commit new ones with impunity. But Starhed got an habitation about ninety miles from the borders, thinking himself safe, by the remoteness of his abode. Andrew, however, the son of Robert, who saw that the seeds of hatred, which did soon break out into a war, were then sown, and fearing that if once entered into arms, he should lose the opportunity of avenging his father's death, persuaded two of his tenants, of the family of the Tates, to disguise themselves, and kill Starhed. They undertook to do this, and so entered his house securely in the night, for, living so far from the borders, he thought he had no need of a watch; where they killed him, cut off his head, and brought it to Andrew, who sent this trophy of his gratified revenge to Edinburgh, and set it up there, on a high and conspicuous place. Of Heron I speak in due time.

It was upon the footsteps of this old injury, succeeded a new one, which raised anger in the Scottish king, that had hitherto rather been asleep than awakened. At this time there was one Andrew Breton, a Scotch merchant, whose father was barbarously murdered and his ship plundered by the Portuguese. Andrew had the cause heard in Flanders, where the murder was committed, and the Portuguese were cast; but they not paying what was adjudged, and their king, though James sent a herald to him for that end, refusing to compel them to do so, Andrew obtained a letter of marque and reprisal from James, to satisfy himself for the injury he had sustained. It was then led to all princes and maritime cities, requiring them not to account him a pirate or robber, if, by open force, he revenged himself on the Portuguese, who were notorious violators of common right and equity. Thus fortified, he, in a few months, did much mischief to the Portuguese. Their ambassadors, at the time when there was every probability of a war between France and the English, on account of pope Julius II. came to Henry, and desired him to cut off this bold and desperate pirate Andrew, who, they said, would otherwise prove a bitter enemy to him and his subjects in the approaching contest. They told the king that Andrew was a common robber, and therefore the destruction of him would be a public benefit. Henry being easily induced by the Portuguese to entrap Andrew, sent his admiral, as Howard, with two strong ships of the royal navy, to waylay him in the Downs, as the heaps of sand are called, which appear dry when the tide is in. On his return from Flanders. It was not long before they espied him coming in a small vessel, with a lesser one in his company, and set upon him. Howard first attacked Andrew, and between them there was a sharp fight; but though the former had all the advantage imaginable against his antagonist, he

and much difficulty in taking the ship; neither could he do it, till Andrew and many of his men were slain. This is certain, that Andrew was a man of that courage, even when his case was desperate, that though he had several wounds, and one of his legs was broken by a cannon ball, yet he took a drum and beat an alarm, and a charge to his men, to encourage them to fight valiantly; and this he did, till his breath and life failed him together. The Essex ship, not being able to cope with the enemy, endeavoured to escape, but was overtaken, and captured without much resistance. They who were not killed in the fight, were thrown into prison in London; from whence they were brought to the king, and humbly begging their lives of him, as they were instructed to do by the English, he, in a proud ostentation of his great clemency, dismissed the poor creatures and sent them home. Upon this, ambassadors were despatched into England by James, to complain that the ships of his subjects were taken in a time of peace, and their crews slain. They were answered, that the killing of pirates was neither a violation of a truce, nor a justifiable cause for war. This answer, as it shewed the malignity of one, who was not only willing to excuse a plain murder, but desirous of an occasion for a war, so encouraged the English, who inhabited the borders, and guessed the mind of their king, that they began, according to custom, to plunder the neighbouring countries of the Scots.

At this period there was one Alexander Home, who had the sole command of all the Scottish borders, which formerly had been wont to be under the management of three persons. He was greatly beloved by James; but his disposition was more fierce than was expedient for the good of those times. The king being intent upon war, and solicitous how to wipe out the ignominy received by those incursions; Home promised him, that he, and some of his hundred and vassals, would, in a little time, make the English repent of the loss and damage they had done, and were resolved to turn their mirth into sadness. To make good his word, he gathered together about three thousand horse, entered England, and ravaged seven neighbouring villages, before they could obtain any relief; but in his return, the men, who were accustomed to pillaging, and were then laden with considerable booty, being unwilling to stay there any longer, divided the spoil, even in the enemy's country, and went their way severally home. Alexander with a few brought up the rear, to see that no assault might be made upon them in their retreat; but perceiving none to follow, he was the more careless, and so fell into an ambush of three hundred English, who, taking the opportunity, set upon them, and struck such a sudden terror into them, that they routed and put them to flight. In this skirmish many of the Scots were slain, and two hundred were taken prisoners; amongst whom was George Home, the brother of Alexander, who was exchanged afterwards for the lord Heron of Ford, that had been prisoner many years in Scotland, for the murder of Robert Ker; but all the booty came safe into Scotland, because they who drove it marched on before.

The king, whose mind had for some time been disquieted on account of what has been already related, being much irritated by this new offence, grew unruly and headstrong, and immediately called a convention, to consult concerning the war. The wiser party were against it; but La Motte, the French ambassador, earnestly pressed it by entreaties and promises; besides which, the letters of Andrew Forman urged it also; and the king himself shewing a good will to it, many, to gratify him, acceded to his opinion; while the rest, being the minority, fearing lest, by a fruitless opposition, they should incur the king's displeasure, gave at last their assent to the measure. A war therefore was voted against England, by land and sea, whether worse in resolution or event is hard to determine, and a set day was appointed for the army to be mustered. A herald was also sent into France to Henry, who was then besieging Tournay, to announce to him the commencement of hostilities, and the causes, which were these: that satisfaction for injuries had been required, but not given; that John Heron, the murderer of Robert Ker, appeared publicly; that Andrew Breton, in violation of the league betwixt the two crowns, had been pillaged and slain by the king's own command. James added, that setting aside any of those wrongs, he would never endure,



that the territories of the king of France, his ancient ally, nor of Charles duke of Guelderland, his kinsman, should be so miserably harassed with the calamities of war; and, therefore, unless Henry desisted from these hostilities, he bade him defiance. As Henry was young, in the possession of a flourishing and puissant kingdom, and there was a general combination almost all Europe against France alone; his mind, which was otherwise ambitious enough of glory, became more elated by this declaration, and therefore he gave the herald an answer too fierce for so young a prince. He said, "that he had heard nothing but what he had long before expected from such a violator of all divine and human laws, and therefore he might do as he thought fit; but that for his part, he was resolved not to be impeded by threats from proceeding in a war, wherein he had so well prospered hitherto; and that besides, he did not value the friendship of James, because he had already received sufficient proof of his levity."

This defiance, in answer to the declaration of war, was brought into Scotland as the king was going to the army at Linlithgow. Whilst at vespers in the church, as the manner was then, there entered an old man, his locks being red, and inclining to yellow, hanging down on his shoulders; his forehead was smooth through baldness; his head was bare, he was clad in a long coat, of a russet colour, girt with a linen girdle about his loins; and in the rest of his aspect he was altogether venerable. Having pressed through the crowd to approach the monarch, when he came up, he leaned upon the chair on which he sat, with a kind of rustic simplicity, and bespoke him thus: "O king! I am sent to warn thee not to proceed in thy intended design; and if thou neglectest this admonition, neither thou nor thy followers shall prosper. I am commanded also to tell thee, that thou shouldest not use the familiarity, intimacy, and counsel of women; which if thou dost, it will redound to thy ignominy and loss." Having thus spoken, he withdrew himself among the crowd; and when the king inquired for him, after prayers were over, he could not be found; which matter seemed the more strange, because none of those who stood next, and observed him, as being desirous to put some questions to him, were sensible how he disappeared. Amongst these persons, there was David Lindsay of the Mount, a man of approved worth and honesty, and of a liberal education, who, in the whole course of his life, abhorred lying; and if I had not received this story from him as a certain truth, I should have omitted it as a romance of the vulgar.

But the king, notwithstanding, proceeded in his march, and having mustered his army near Edinburgh, in a few days afterwards entered England, where he took the castles of Norham, Werk, Etal, Ford, and some others near the borders of Scotland, by storm, demolished them, and ravaged all the adjoining part of Northumberland. Meanwhile he fell in love with one of the ladies whom he had taken prisoner, namely, Heron's wife, of Ford which made him neglect his present business, insomuch, that provision beginning to grow scarce, in a country naturally not very plentiful, and it being very difficult to fetch it from a distance, the greatest part of the army deserted, and left their colours very weakly supported; only the nobles, with a few of their friends, clients, and vassals, and those too far from being displeased, remaining in the camp. The major part advised the king no longer to punish himself and his men by abiding in a country, which, even if it had not been wasted by war, was poor of itself; but rather to retreat, and make an attempt upon Berwick; the taking of which place would turn more to his account, than all the towns and castles in that quarter; neither, they said, would the capture be difficult, because the town and castle were unprovided for defence. The king, however, thought that nothing could withstand his arms, especially as the English were involved in the war with France; so that, some parasites of the court soothing him up in his vanity, he judged that he might easily reduce that town in his retreat.

Whilst he thus lay inactive at Ford, there came heralds from the English, desiring him to appoint a place and time for the battle. Upon this, he called a council of war; and the major part were of opinion, that it was best to return home, and not to hazard the state of the whole kingdom with so small a force, especially since he had abundantly saved his credit, gained

renew, and fulfilled the laws of friendship: neither was there any just cause, why he should venture his small army, which had been harassed by the taking of so many fortresses, against the more numerous forces of the English, who had lately received an addition of fresh men; for it was reported, that, at this very time, Thomas Howard had arrived in the camp with six thousand stout soldiers out of France. Besides, it was observed, if he retreated, the English army must of necessity disband; and could not easily be brought together again, from the distant places where they were levied, till the next year: but that if he would needs fight, it were better to do so in his own country, where place, time, and provision, were more at his command. But the French ambassador, and some courtiers whom the gold of that nation had bribed and brought over to his side, were of another mind, and easily persuaded James, who longed to fight, to make a stand where he now was against the enemy. In the mean time, as the English came not at the day appointed by the herald, the Scottish nobles again took the opportunity of waiting upon the king, to tell him, that it was the craft of the enemy to protract the time from day to day, by which means their own force was increased, and the Scots were diminished; and that therefore he should use the same art against them: that it was now no dishonour to the Scots to retreat, since the English had failed to keep the time appointed for fighting; or else would not fight, except when it suited themselves. The first advice they recommended in many respects as most safe; but, they said, if that did not please him, he had a fair opportunity to follow the latter. For seeing that the river Till had very high banks, and was hardly fordable any where, there was no passing an army over it within ten miles, but by one bridge, where a few men might keep back a great body: and that if some of the English should get over, he might so place his ordnance as to beat down the bridge, and so they who had passed over might be destroyed before they could be relieved by those on the contrary side. The king approved of neither advice, but answered resolutely, "that if the English were 100,000 strong he would fight them." All the nobility were offended at this rash answer; and Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, who was far superior to the rest in age and authority, endeavoured to appease the king's fury by a mild oration, and to open the nature and cases of the two former advices: "You have," said he, "sufficiently performed what you were bound to do by your alliance with France, in having allied off a great part of the force of the enemy from thence, by which means they cannot overrun all that country, as, by their numbers, they hoped to be; neither can they do any great damage to Scotland, because they cannot long keep their army together in a cold country, already wasted by war, and otherwise not very fruitful; and moreover, the winter is now approaching, which in the northern parts is wont to begin betimes.—As for the French ambassador," said he, "I do not wonder that he is so earnest to press us to a battle; for he being a stranger, studies not the common good of his master's allies, but the private advantage of his own nation; and therefore his urging us on to fight, and to be prodigal of other men's blood, cannot be considered as a novelty. Besides, his demand is shameless; for he requires that of us, which his own king, though highly wise and prudent, doth not think fit to do himself for the defence of his kingdom and dignity. Neither ought the loss of this army to be accounted trivial on account of the smallness of the number: for all that are any way eminent for valour, authority, or counsel, in the whole kingdom of Scotland, are here collected in a body; so that if these are lost, the rest of the commonwealth will be an easy prey to the conqueror. Besides, to lengthen out the war is at present more safe, and more conducive to the principal object; for if it be La Motte's opinion, that the English are to be exhausted by expenses, or wearied out by delays, what can be more advisable, in the present posture of affairs, than to compel the enemy to divide his forces? Part of them must be kept upon their guard, in continual fear of our attacking them; which apprehension must take off the great stress of the war from the French, though with no small toil on our part. Besides, we have sufficiently consulted the glory and splendour of our arms, which these men, who, I am afraid, are more forward in words than actions, assume as a disguise and veil of their temerity; for what can be more splendid in the

king, than to have demolished so many castles, to have destroyed the country with fire and sword; and, from such extensive devastations, to bring home a great quantity of booty, that the peace of many years will not restore to the country that has been thus desolated? and what greater advantage can we expect in a war, than that, to our own great honour and renown, but to the shame and disgrace of our enemies, we have given our soldiers leave to refresh themselves with estates and glory besides? And this kind of victory, which is obtained rather by wisdom than arms, is most proper for a man especially for a general, in regard the common soldiers can challenge no part of the fame belonging to it."

All that were present assented to what he spoke, as appeared by their countenances; but the king, who had taken a solemn oath that he would fight the English, heard his whole discourse with great impatience, and bade him "Get home again, if he was afraid." Douglas immediately burst into tears as foreseeing the ruin of our affairs, and of the king himself, by his rashness; but, as soon as he was able to speak, he uttered these few words: "If my former life has not sufficiently vindicated me from any suspicion of cowardice, I know not what will. As long as my body was able to undergo hardship, I never spared it for the public good, and to maintain the honour of my king; but since now I am useful only for advice, and the royal ears are shut against it, I will leave my two sons, who, next to the nation, are most dear to me, with my other kinsmen and friends, as sure pledges of my fidelity to you and my country; and I pray God that my fears may prove vain, and that I may be rather accounted a false prophet, than what I dread, and do, as it were foresee in my mind, should come to pass."

Having thus spoken, he took his convoy and retinue, and so departed. The rest of the nobles, finding they could not bring over the king to their opinion, endeavoured to make the best of their situation, and as they were inferior in number, for they had intelligence by their spies that the English were 26,000 men, they resolved to secure the most advantageous position of ground, and encamp upon a hill that was near them. This was where the hills gently decline into a plain, a small spot, with a narrow entrance and gradually sloping downwards. This passage they defended with brass guns. Behind them were the mountains; and at the foot of them lay a narrow piece of ground, which secured their left wing. On the right ran the river Tyne, whose banks were very high, over which there was a bridge for passage, but far from the camp. When the English had intelligence by their scouts, that they could not attack the Scots without great loss, or rather certain ruin, they marched off from the river, and made a show as if they intended to leave the enemy, and retire towards Berwick, and so directly into the neighbouring district of Scotland, which was the best part of the country; where they might injure the Scots more than these had done the English. And James was most inclinable to believe they would do so, because there was a rumour spread abroad, which either had an uncertain origin among the common people, or else the English pretended that their design lay that way, in order to draw the enemy down into the plain and champaign country. James would not endure this, and therefore set fire to the straw and huts, and removed his camp. The smoke occasioned by the fire, covered all the river, so that the Scots by means of it could not see the English. These marched farther from the river, through places more impassable; but the Scots had a level and open march near the side of it, till, hardly observing each other, they both came at last to Flodden or Flodden, a very high hill. There the ground became more level, stretching itself out into a large field; and the river, besides having a bridge at Twissel, had a fordable pass at a place called Melford. The English commanded their forlorn first to draw their brass pieces over the bridge; but the rest marched across by the ford, and taking the ground, set themselves in battle array, so as to cut off their enemy's retreat. Their numbers were so great, that they divided themselves, as it were, into two armies, distinct from one another, either of which was almost equal to the entire force of the Scots. In the first brigade, admiral Thomas Howard, who a little before had come to join his father, with some of his son-in-law, commanded the front; Edward Howard led the right wing, and Marmaduke

Constable the left. Behind them the rest were placed as reserves, being divided into three bodies: Dacres commanded the wing on the right; Edward Stanley that on the left; and the earl of Surrey, general of the whole army, the main body. The Scots had not men enough to divide their army into so many parties, without weakening their front extremely; and therefore they divided their forces into four bodies, at a moderate distance from one another; of which three were to charge first, and the fourth was a reserve. The king led on the main body; Alexander Gordon commanded the right wing, to whom Alexander Home and the men of March were joined. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Gillespy Campbell, earl of Argyll, led on the third body. Adam Hepburn, with his clans, and the rest of the nobility of Lothian, were in the reserves. The Gordons began a very sharp fight, and soon routed the left wing of the English; but, when they returned from the pursuit, they found almost all the rest of their brigades defeated; for one of them, in which were Lennox and Argyll, being encouraged by the success of their countrymen, regardless of their ranks, fell upon the enemy in a very disorderly manner, leaving their colours far behind; though La Motte, the French resident, cried out much against it, and told them, they would run headlong to their own destruction; for they were received, not only by the English standing in array before them, but were set upon by another party in the rear, and so were almost all cut off. The king's body guard, and Hepburn's brigade, with the men of Lothian, still fought stoutly; so that there was a great slaughter on both sides, and the dispute continued till night; by which time both armies were weary. There were many slain of the king's main body. They who reckoned the full number of the killed, as their names were taken according to the several parochial registers, from whence they came, say, that there fell above five thousand of the Scots. The chief loss was of the nobility, and those too of the most valiant of them; who chose rather to die upon the spot, than to survive the slaughter of their men. It is reported that the English loss is great a number, but that they were mostly common soldiers. This is the famous fight of Flodden, one of the most memorable of the few overthrows which the Scots have received from the English; not so much on account of the number of the slain, for they had lost more than twice as many in former battles, as for the quality of the persons, the king, and the prime of the nobility, falling there; so that few were left to govern the rabble, who, being free by nature, were now lawless, in expectation of acting as they pleased. Yet there were two sorts of men that profited by this calamity of others; in the richer class of churchmen grew so insolent upon it, that, not content with their own function, they sought to engross all the offices of the kingdom into their own hands; and the mendicant friars, which description of monks were then counted most superstitiously religious, had received large sums of money from those that were slain, to keep for them; but the same being discovered without witnesses, they were mightily enriched by this booty, and in consequence remitted the severity of their ancient discipline. Nay, some were amongst them, who counted that gain as a pious and holy fraud; alleging, that the money could never be better bestowed than upon devout monks, that they might pray for the redemption of the souls of the donors out of purgatory.

The fight was carried on so obstinately, that, towards night, both parties were exhausted, and withdrew almost ignorant of the condition of each other; so that Alexander Home, and his soldiers, who remained untouched, gathered up a great part of the spoil at their pleasure. But the next morning, Dacres was sent out with a party of horse to make a discovery, when he came to the place of fight, and saw the brass guns of the Scots without a guard, and a great part of the dead unstripped, he sent for Howard, and so collected the spoil at leisure, and celebrated the victory with great rejoicing.

Concerning the king of Scotland, there goes a double report. The English say he was slain in the fight; but the Scots affirm, that, in the day of battle, there were several others clothed in the like coat of armour, with the crest of the king; which was done for two reasons, partly, lest the enemy should principally aim at one man, as their chief opponent, on whose life the regard of the army, and the issue of the contest, depended; and partly, if

the king happened to be slain, the soldiers might not be discouraged, by being made acquainted with their loss, as long as they saw any man armed and clothed like him, riding up and down in the field to witness their cowardice or valour. One of these, they say, was Alexander Elphinston, who, in countenance and stature, was so very like the king, that many of the nobility, perceiving him armed in regal habiliments, followed him in a mistake, and died resolutely with him. The king, however, according to this account, repassed the Tweed, and was slain by some of Home's men, near the town of Kelso; though it is uncertain whether it was done by their master's command, or by the forwardness of his soldiers, who were willing to gratify their commander; for they, being desirous of a change, thought that they should escape punishment if the monarch was despatched; but that, if he survived, they should be punished for their cowardice in the fight. Some other conjectures are added; as, that the same night after this unhappy conflict, the monastery of Kelso was seized upon by Ker, an intimate of Home, and the abbot of it ejected; which it was not likely he would dare to have done, unless the king were slain. Moreover, David Galbraith, one of the family of the Homes, some years after, when John, the regent, questioned them, and was troublesome to their family, is said to have blamed the cowardice of his fellows, who would suffer that stranger to rule so arbitrarily and imperiously over them; when he had himself been one of the six private men that had put an end to the like insolence of the king at Kelso. But these things were so uncertain, that when Home was afterwards tried for his life by James earl of Murray, the king's natural son, they did not much prejudice his cause.

However the truth of this matter may be, yet I shall not conceal what I have heard Laurence Talifer, an honest and a learned man, report more than once, that, being then one of the king's servants, and a spectator of the fight, he saw the king, when the day was lost, set upon a horse, and pass the Tweed. Many others affirmed the same thing; so that the report went current for many years after, that the king was alive, and was gone to Jerusalem, to perform a religious vow which he had made, but that he would return again in due time. This rumour, however, was found to be as vain as another of the same broaching, which had formerly been spread abroad by the Britons, concerning their Arthur; and that which, but a few years since, was vented by the Burgundians, concerning their duke Charles. This is certain, that the English, having found the body of the king, or that of Alexander Elphinston, carried it into England, and out of an inexorable hatred against the Scots, left it unburied in a leaden coffin. I know not whether the reason assigned for their cruelty was more foolish or more barbarous, that he had borne scandalous arms against pope Julius II. whose cause the English zealously espoused; or else, as some say, because he was perjured, in having, contrary to the oath and league between them, taken up arms against Henry VIII. Neither of these reproaches ought to have been cast upon him; especially by such a king, who, during his life, was not constant or true to any one religion; nor by a people who had taken up arms so often against the bishops of Rome. Not to speak of many of the kings of England, whom their own writers accuse as guilty of perjury; as William Rufus, who is charged with that crime by Polydore and Grafton; Henry I. by Thomas Walsingham; in his description of Normandy; King Stephen hath the like brand of infamy cast upon him by Newbery, Grafton, and Polydore; Henry II. by the same; Richard I. by Walsingham, in his *Hypodigma Neustrim*; Henry III. by Newbery, Grafton, and Walsingham; and Edward I. by Walsingham. I mention these few as mere samples, not out of the first kings of the Saxon race of whom I might instance a great many; but out of those of the Norman family, whose posterity enjoy the kingdom to this day, and who lived in the most flourishing times of England's glory, to put them in mind not to be so bitter against foreigners, while with so much indulgence they bear the perjuries of their own kings; especially since the guilt of the crime objected is principally on those who were the first violators of the treaty. But to return to our narrative.

Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, would have acquired great renown for this victory over the Scots, if he had used his triumph with moderation, but

being a man almost intoxicated with his vast success, and little mindful of the instability of human affairs, he made his household servants, as the English custom is, wear a badge on their left arms, consisting of a white lion, his own crest, standing upon a red one, and rending him with his paws. God Almighty seemed to punish this insolent bravado of his; for there were scarcely any of his posterity, of either sex, that did not die in great disgrace or misfortune.

But king James, as he was dear to all whilst living, so he was mightily lamented in his and; and the remembrance of him took such fast hold in the minds of men, that the like was never known of any other king of whom we have heard or read. It is probable this was owing to a reflection on the evils that preceded his reign, and to the apprehension of those which seemed likely to follow speedily after it. But it is certain that he had many eminent accomplishments, and that his very vices were popular, and easily deceived vulgar minds, under a specious resemblance and affinity to virtue. He was of a strong constitution, perfect stature, a majestic countenance, and of a quick wit, which, however, through the fault of the times, was not cultivated by learning. He eagerly imbibed one ancient custom of the nation, and was very skilful in curing wounds; for, in old times, that kind of knowledge was common to all the nobility, as men continually accustomed to arms. The access to his presence was easy; his answers were mild; he was just in his decisions, and moderate in punishing; so that all men might see he was drawn to it against his will. He bore the malevolent speeches of his enemies, and the admonitions of his friends, with an even temper, which proceeded in him from the tranquillity of a good conscience, and the confidence of his own integrity, inasmuch that, so far from being angry, he never returned them a harsh word. There were, however, some vices which crept in among these virtues, chiefly through his too great love of popularity. For, in endeavouring to avoid the name of a covetous prince, which his father had incurred, he laboured to inanimate himself into the good-will of the vulgar, by sumptuous buildings and feasting, costly pageants, and immoderate grants, so that his exchequer was brought very low, and his want of money was such, that, if he had lived longer, the merits of the former part of his reign would have been obliterated, or at least outbalanced by the imposition of new taxes; and therefore his death seemed to have happened rather conveniently than unseasonably to him.

*JAMES V. the Hundred-and-sixth King, began his Reign, A. D. 1514.*

When James IV. was slain, he left his wife Margaret, and two sons, behind him; the eldest of whom was not yet quite two years old. The parliament having assembled at Stirling, proclaimed him king, according to the custom of the country, on the 24th day of February, and then they applied themselves to settle the public affairs. In endeavouring at this, they first perceived the greatness of their loss, for those of the nobility who were esteemed for their authority and wisdom, being cut off, the major part of those who survived, were, by reason of their youth or inexperience, unfit to meddle with matters of state, especially in that troublesome time; and those of the superior rank who were left alive, and possessed some ability, were so ambitious and covetous, as to reject all good and pacific counsels. Alexander Home, lord warden of the marches, had got a great name, and a large estate, in the lifetime of the king, but when he was dead, he obtained almost a regal authority in the counties bordering upon England. He, out of a wicked ambition, did not restrain robbers, in order that he might more effectually engage those bold and lewd persons to his service, and by that means pave a way to greater power; but as the design was pernicious, so in the end it proved unhappy. The command of the country on this side the Forth was committed to him; and the parts beyond to Alexander Gordon, to keep those seditious provinces within the bounds of their duty; but the title of regent was vested in the queen. For the king had left in his will, which he made before he went to battle, that in case of his failure and death, his widow should have the supreme power, as long as she remained single. This was contrary to the law of the land, and the first example of any woman ever having the supreme rule in Scotland; yet the want of men made it seem tolerable, especially to

those who were desirous of peace and quietness. But her office continued not long, for, before the end of the spring, she married Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, one of the finest young men of Scotland, for lineage, beauty, and accomplishments in all good arts. The year had not closed, before the seeds of discord were sown, which took their rise from the ecclesiastics: for, after the nobles were slain, the major part of all public assemblies consisted of that order; many of whom made their private fortunes amidst the public calamity, gaining such large estates, that nothing hastened their ruin more than the inordinate power which they afterwards so arrogantly abused.

Alexander Stuart, archbishop of St. Andrew's, having fallen at Flodden, there were three who strove for that preferment, but upon different interests. Gawin Douglas, on account of the splendour of his family, and his own personal worth and learning, was nominated to the place by the queen, and accordingly took possession of the castle of St. Andrew's. John Hepburn, abbot of St. Andrew's, before any archbishop was nominated, collected the revenues of the place as a sequestrator, and being a potent, factious, and subtle man, he was chosen by his monks to the vacancy, alleging, that the power of electing an archbishop, by ancient custom, was in them; so that he drove out the officers of Gawin, and placed a strong garrison in the castle. Andrew Forman had obtained great favour in the courts both of Rome and France, by his former services, so that, besides the bishopric of Murray, in Scotland, which was his first preferment, Louis XII. of France gave him the archbishopric of Bourges, and pope Julius also sent him home covered with dignities and benefices; for he bestowed on him the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, the two rich abbeys of Dunfermline and Aberbrothach, and made him besides what is called his legate *a latere*. But so great was the power of the Hepburns at this time, that the Homes being yet in amity with them, no man could at first be found hardy enough to publish the papal bull for the election of Forman to that dignity. At last, Alexander Home was induced, by great promises, and the donation of the abbey of Coldingham to David, his youngest brother, with other gifts, to undertake the cause, which seemed to be honourable, and especially because the Formans were in the clanship or protection of the Homes. So he caused the pope's bull to be published at Edinburgh, which was the original of many mischiefs that ensued; for Hepburn, being a man of lofty spirit, from that day forward studied day and night how to destroy the family of the Homes.

The queen, whilst she sat at the helm, did one thing worthy of remembrance, in writing to her brother, desiring him not to make war upon Scotland, in regard to her and her young children; adding also a request, that he would not invade with English arms his nephew's kingdom, which of itself was divided into so many domestic factions; but that he would rather defend him against the wrongs of others, in consideration of his age, and the affinity betwixt them. Henry answered very nobly, and much like a prince, that with peaceable Scots he would cultivate amity, and make war only upon such as came armed against him.

When the queen, on account of her marriage, lost the regency, the nobility were openly divided into two factions. The Douglas party desired that the crown power might still reside in her, and alleged that this was the way to have peace with England, which was not only advantageous, but even necessary for them. The other party, which was headed by Home, sheltered themselves under the pretext of the general good; saying, that it was against the old laws of the land, to choose a woman as regent; that with respect to the queen, they would be careful of her honour, as far as they legally might, and the public safety would permit; and that a sufficient proof had been given of it, in regard they had hitherto submitted to her government, though against the customs of their ancestors, not through compulsion, but out of mere good will; and that they were ready to endure it longer, if any honest and equitable plea could be advanced for it. But since she, by her marriage, had voluntarily descended from that dignity, she ought not to take it amiss, if they substituted another to enjoy the office which she had left, and which of right she could not hold; because the laws of Scotland do not permit women to have the supreme power, not even in times of peace, much less in such troublesome days.

as those, when the most powerful and prudent man alive could hardly find remedies for the numerous and increasing evils of the times.

Thus, whilst each faction strove earnestly about the choice of a regent, they passed over all who were present, either on account of ambition, private grudge, or envy, and inclined to choose John, duke of Albany, then living in good repute in France. William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, is reported to have burst into tears, in bewailing the public misfortune; and his speech affected many, especially when he came to reckon up what men were slain in the battle, how few like them were left behind, and that not one of them was thought fit to sit at the helm of government. He also set before them the empty state of the exchequer, which had been exhausted by the late monarch; how great a portion of it was the queen's jointure; how much must be necessarily expended on the education of the king, and how little of course would remain to maintain the charges of the public. He then said, that though none was more fit for the regency than the queen, yet, since concord could be had on no other terms, he yielded to that party who were for calling John, duke of Albany, out of France, to take the administration upon him, though he thought that the public misery would be rather deferred than entirely ended by it. Alexander Home was so violent for Albany, as to declare openly in the assembly, that if they all refused, he would himself go alone, and bring him over into Scotland, to take upon him the government. It is thought that he said this, not for any good, either public or private, but merely that, being an ambitious man, sensible that his interest in the people was more owing to his power than their love; and, therefore, despairing of obtaining the place himself, he was afraid, if the queen should have it, his neighbours of the Douglas family would grow too great, and his power be lessened. The men of Luddesdale and Annandale had already withdrawn themselves from him, and by degrees gone over to the clan of Douglas; besides which, he considered that the queen, when assisted from England, would easily be able to thwart all his designs. The majority of voices, therefore, carried it for John of Albany; and an embassy was appointed, the chief of whom was Andrew Wood of Largo, a famous cavalier in those days, to call him into Scotland for the administration of the government, both on account of his own virtues, and his near consanguinity with the king; for he was the son of Alexander, brother of James the Third. When he was thus called to the regency by the Scots, Francis, king of France, thinking that his advancement would be favourable to the French interest, furnished him with money and a retinue at his departure. In the mean time, before his arrival, as there was no person appointed to administer the public affairs, many murders and rapines were committed; and, whilst the higher orders were busy in strengthening their private clans and factions, the poor and neglected common people were afflicted with every kind of misery. The chief robber of those times was Macrobert Stran, laird of Struan, who perpetrated outrages all over Athol, and the neighbouring parts, at his pleasure, having eight hundred men, and sometimes more, under his command. At length, when he was at the house of his uncle, John Crichton, he was waylaid, apprehended, and put to death. But more mischief was apprehended from the feud between Andrew Forman and John Hepburn; yet the nature of the two, and the discord rather of their manners than minds, deferred the mischief for a season, when it was on the point of breaking out. John was inordinately covetous; while Andrew was a great despiser of money, and profuse in his bounties. The designs and purposes of Andrew were open, and manifest to the view of all; neither was there any need that he should much conceal them, because his very vices were accounted virtues by the vulgar; and the simplicity of his nature did him as much kindness among them, as the sly concealed craft of Hepburn, together with his malicious dissimulation, his implacable remembrance of injuries, and desire of revenge, did him. And therefore, Forman, as he had no certainty of the coming of the duke of Albany, and could not be put into possession of his ecclesiastical preferment by Home, seeing Hepburn had his castle and monastery, which were strongly garrisoned, and at a great distance from those places where the power of the Homes was formidable, he determined, through the medium of a friend, to try whether he could, with money, either satisfy,



er in some degree abate, the avarice of the man. So at last they came to an agreement on these terms, that Forman should remit and relinquish the revenues of some years past, which John had received as a sequestrator; that he should surrender up to him the bishopric of Murray; and that he should pay him yearly 3000 French crowns, out of the ecclesiastical income, to be divided amongst his friends. And thus the implacable hatred of this man was a little abated, and matters were settled on that side.

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#### BOOK XIV.

SUCH was the state of affairs in Scotland, when John, duke of Albany arrived at Dumharton, on the 20th of May, in the year 1515, to the exceeding joy of all good men; who, under his government, hoped for more quiet times and an equal distribution of justice. In a full assembly of the nobility, summoned in his name, a large revenue was settled upon him, and he was declared duke of Albany, earl of March, and created regent till the king should be of age.

Moreover, James, the natural son of the late king, was made earl of Murray, being a young man of such virtuous endowments, that he far exceeded all the hopes men had conceived of him. There was also one circumstance which contributed much to increase the esteem the people had for the new regent; particularly as it was done almost in the face of the assembly; and that was, the punishment of Peter Moffat. He was a notable thief, who, after many cruel and wicked practices, committed by him in the two preceding years of misrule, arrived at length to that pitch of impudence, as to appear openly at court. His unexpected punishment made such a sudden change of things, that criminals began to withdraw for shelter; honest minds were set at ease, and the face of things began soon to be changed, and a stormy tempest was smoothened into a sudden tranquillity.

In the mean time, John Hepburn had so insinuated himself with the regent, first by the help of his friends whom he had privately secured by bribery, and afterwards by his obsequiousness, under the pretence of knowing the old customs of the country, that he gained a complete ascendancy over one, who of himself, was ignorant of the Scottish affairs. None therefore was credited in matters of great moment but Hepburn, who was sent with a commission, by the regent, all over Scotland, to inquire into the offences of those that oppressed the common people, and treated them as their slaves. He obtained this office principally upon these grounds; first by acquainting the regent what new discords and old feuds there were in every country; and also what factions existed, and who were their respective heads; and indeed, so far his relations were true, for the things were known to all. But whenever any circumstance occurred to speak of Home, he stirred up some to complain of his exactions; so that by the imputation, partly of true, and partly of feigned crimes, the ears of the regent were shut against all the defence he could make. But when he had almost run over the entire kingdom in his discourse, and placed in a clear light the various alliances, affinities, and leagues of the several families, he persuaded the regent that no man of power, though a criminal, could be brought to justice without exciting the resentment of whole clans; and that therefore it was not the conspiracy of their kindred only that was so much to be dreaded, as the consequence of a punishment, by which, while a few were made examples, multitudes would be affected, whom the similitude of faults, and like fear of judgment, would unite, though they were at enmity before. Those great and wide-spreading factions he represented as too powerful to be curbed by the single force of Scotland; and therefore recommended the acquisition of an auxiliary strength from France, to break the bond of this strong and bold confederacy, which measure would be advantageous to both nations. In the mean time, the heads of the factions were to be kept under, and if possible taken off; but with such prudence, that they should not suspect the full extent of the design. The leaders of the parties who were the objects of this project were three. Archibald

Douglas, by far the most popular of them all, and the idol of the mob, was adored on account of the great merits of his ancestors; besides which, he was in the flower of his youth, and relied so much on his connexion with England, that he carried his spirit too lofty for a private man. With regard to Home, though formidable of himself, he was rendered more so, in consequence of the long retention of his power. But Hepburn did not stop here, for he made a most invidious statement of what the Homes had done against the father and uncle of the regent; of all which, though the Hepburns were partakers, yet he cast the odium upon the Homes alone. He often mentioned the cowardice of Alexander in the last battle against the English; and the reports that had been circulated about the king's death reflecting upon him, together with the repairing of Norham castle, which was done by his connivance. All these stories he dressed up in various turns of phrase, and repeated them zealously, over and over again, to the regent, that they might not fail to make the deeper impression on his mind. "As for Ferman," said he, "it is true, he is not very much to be dreaded on account of his kindred, or any nobleness of descent; yet even he would make a great accession of strength to what party soever he inclined, because the wealth of the whole kingdom was gathered, as it were, into one house, and he was singly able, from his treasures, to supply the present wants of the party with whom he was associated; or else, by his promises, all things being then in his power, he could draw many into the same councils, and thus form a general confederacy." Such was the discourse of Hepburn to the regent.

The notorious animosities between Hepburn and Ferman made that part of the tale which related to the latter less credited; and besides, his estate was not so much to be envied, for he rather loved to lay it out, than to hoard it up; neither was he so munificent to any as the French who waited on the regent. However, his desire was more to join all parties in a universal concord, than to fasten himself to any particular faction. But what was said of Home, the lord of the marches, sunk deeper into the regent's mind, as his reserved manner of treating him at all the public meetings, and forbidding looks, too openly betrayed. After a few months, therefore, Alexander perceiving that he was not entertained by the regent answerably to his expectation, began to have secret meetings with the queen and her husband. In these conferences, Home grievously lamented the state of the public; that the king, at an age when it was impossible for him to understand his own misery, should have fallen into the hands of a man born and bred in exile, and whose father, out of a wicked ambition, had endeavoured to dispossess his elder brother of the throne. It was obvious, he said, that the son, who was the next heir to the crown, directed all his designs to the same object, so that, after despatching the innocent youth to the other world, he might make the kingdom his own, and thus accomplish what his own father had projected. There was but one remedy, he said, in the case, and that was, for the queen to retire with her son into England, and there put herself and concerns under the protection of her brother.

These things were speedily brought to the ear of the regent, and as easily believed by him; but being a man of an active spirit, and of quick despatch in business, he presently frustrated the design with the forces which he had about him; for he took the castle of Stirling, and the queen in it. He next took an oath of allegiance to the king publicly; after which, the queen and the Douglas party were removed by a decree of the lords; and three of the nobility, of great estimation for their faithfulness and integrity, were joined with lord Eskine, governor of the castle, to preside over the education of the young monarch. They were to succeed one another by turns, and a guard was appointed for their security. Upon this, Alexander Home and his brother William fled into England; and Douglas and his wife staid no longer behind him, than to know the mind of Henry, who commanded them to stop at Harrogate, in Northumberland, there to wait his further pleasure.

John, the regent, being much concerned at their departure, immediately sent ambassadors into England, to justify himself to Henry, stating, that he had done nothing to make the queen fear him, or be in the least disaffected

towards him; neither had he acted any thing against those who accompanied her in her flight; but that they might still enjoy their country and freedom, as well as their estates. Thus he wrote publicly to the king; and at the same time he did not omit secretly to promote the return of the two Homes, and Douglas, by the mediation of their friends. He made them many large promises, till he had brought them over to his will. Whereupon the rest returned also; but the queen being pregnant, and near her delivery, was constrained to stay there, where she was brought to bed of a daughter, named Margaret; of whom in due place. As soon as she was able to travel, she obtained a royal accommodation and retinue from London to conduct her thither, where she was honourably and nobly received by her brother Henry, and also by her sister Mary, who, on the death of her husband, Lewis of France, had a little before returned to her own country.

And yet the suspicions before raised in Scotland were not much abated, either by the departure of the queen, or the return of some of her retinue, for Gawin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, Patrick Pantar, secretary of state to the former king, and John Drummond, chief of his family, were severally sent into banishment. Alexander Home was summoned to appear before the assembly of the states, on the 12th of July, 1516: but, as he did not appear, he was condemned, and his goods were confiscated. Enraged at what he considered a contumelious injury, and to drive out one fear by another, he either directly employed, or else encouraged, public robbers to commit great outrages in the neighbouring parts. Upon this, the states voted the regent ten thousand horse and foot, to repress the disorders; and to take Home, or drive him out of the country. But before hostilities commenced, Home, by the persuasion of his friends, surrendered himself to the regent, and so was carried to Edinburgh, there to remain a prisoner under James Hamilton, earl of Arran, who married his sister, and was now made responsible for his appearance, on penalty of being charged with treason if he suffered him to escape. But the event fell out otherwise than any one expected; for Home persuaded Hamilton to make a joint elopement with him, and by forming a party, to assume the government himself, as being the next heir after the children of the former king; for he was born of a sister of James III., and therefore it seemed more equitable that he should, in the line of succession, precede John, who, though the son of a brother, was born in banishment, and was besides in all things a perfect foreigner, not being able so much as to speak the language of the country.

When the regent heard of this, he went to take Hamilton's castle; and planting his brass guns against it, forced it to surrender in two days. In the mean time, Home made excursions out of March, pillaging the districts all round, and at length burning a great part of the country of Dunbar. There were the transactions of that year.

At the beginning of the spring, John Stuart, earl of Lennox, whose mother was the sister of Hamilton, assembled a number of his friends and vassals, and joined the rebels. These confederates seized the castle of Glasgow, and there, with Hamilton himself, waited the approach of the regent; but the latter called a council of the nobles of his party at Edinburgh, and having raised a sudden force, soon made his appearance, and entered the place. One gunner, a Frenchman, was punished as a deserter; but the rest were pardoned by the intercession of Andrew Forman, who was then a mediator for peace between the parties. The earl of Lennox, a few days afterwards, was received into favour, and, from that time, conducted himself with great fidelity and obsequiousness to the regent. Not long after this, Hamilton, followed by the Homes, returned to court, and had an amnesty for what was past. It was granted to Home, however, with greater difficulty than to the rest, on account of his frequent rebellions: and an express condition was added, that if he offended again, the record of his former crimes should be revived, and judgment executed. Peace being thus settled, the regent retired to Falkirk, where he staid some months; but hearing of great suspicions and reports of new intrigues on the part of Home, he returned to Edinburgh; and on the 24th of September, held a council of the nobility, where he endeavoured by his friends to draw him to court. Large promises were made to entice

Home thither; and when many of his party failed in dissuading him from going, they said, that, if he was resolved, he should at least leave his brother William, who, by his valour and munificence, had almost obtained as great, or greater authority than himself, behind. Their reason for this advice was, that the regent would be afraid to use any excessive severity against one brother, as long as the other was alive. But he being, as it were, hurried on by a fatal necessity, slighted the counsel of his friends; and with his brother William, and Andrew Ker, of Fernihurst, went to court, where immediately they were all put into separate prisons; and, by the advice of the council, a few days after were tried for their lives, after the custom of the country, though no new crime was laid to their charge. Prince James, earl of Murray, accused Alexander of the death of his father, who came alive out of the field, as many witnesses testified. This fact was strongly urged; but the proofs were weak, so that they gave it over, and insisted only on his private offences, and the many former rebellions were objected; of all which, if Alexander was not the author, he was at least a partaker in them; and moreover, it was alleged, that he did not do his duty in the battle of Flodden.

In consequence of this, the Homes were condemned. Alexander was decapitated on the 11th of October, and his brother the day after; both heads being set up in the most conspicuous places, as a terror to others, and their estates were confiscated. Such was the end of Alexander Home, who was the most powerful man in Scotland in his day. He in his lifetime had drawn upon himself the hatred and envy of many men; yet when those prejudices in time abated, his death was variously spoken of; and so much the more, because he did not suffer for the perpetration of any new crime, but merely through the calumnies, as it was thought, of John Hepburn, the abbot; who being a factious person, and vengeful, bore an implacable hatred against Home; because, by his means alone, he had been disappointed of the archbishopric of St. Andrew's. Though Hepburn concealed his old resentments for a while, yet it was believed he pushed on the regent, who, in his own nature, was sufficiently jealous of and disaffected to the Homes, to the greater severity against Alexander, by telling him "how dangerous it would be to the king and all Scotland, if, on his departure to France, he should leave so fierce an enemy alive behind him; for what would he not attempt in his absence, who had despised his authority when present? So that unless the contumacy of the man, who could not be mollified by rewards, honours, nor frequent pardons, was subdued by the axe, Scotland could not remain quiet." These and similar insinuations, on pretence of consulting the public safety, being repeated to a man already prejudiced against them, contributed more to the destruction of the Homes, in the judgment of many, than any of their real crimes. When they were executed, Andrew Ker obtained the respite of one night, to prepare for death; but his friends, as was supposed, having bribed the Frenchman who was his keeper, he effected his escape.

Alexander Home left three brothers, who all met with various misfortunes in those days; George, for a murder he committed, became an exile privately to England; John, abbot of Jedburgh, was banished beyond the Tay; David, the youngest, prior of Coldingham, about two years after the execution of his brothers, being called by James Hepburn his sister's husband, to a pretended conference, fell into an ambush laid purposely for him, and was slain, being generally pitied, that an innocent young man, of great hopes, should be betrayed so unworthily and without cause. When judgment had thus ranged over the family of the Homes, at last it fell to the lot of their enemies, especially to John Hepburn, who had been so severe in contriving the unjust punishment of others; but the destruction of one family, once so powerful, infused such a panic into all the rest, that matters remained more quiet for a long time afterwards. In December following, the regent having brought the king from Stirling to Edinburgh, desired leave of the nobility of Scotland to return into France. Every one almost was against the motion; so that he was forced to stay till late in the spring, and then took shipping, promising speedily to return, in case any commotion more than ordinary should arise to require his presence. The government of the kingdom was left to the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Huntley; with the archbishops

of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; to whom was added Anthony D'Arcy, a Frenchman, governor of Dunbar, who was enjoined to correspond with him, and inform him of all occurrences in his absence. To prevent any discord that was likely to arise out of an ambitious principle, between such great and noble personages, on account of their parity in the government, he allotted to each of them their several provinces. D'Arcy the foreigner, with the assent of the rest, had the chief place amongst them, March and Lothian being appointed for his government. The other provinces were distributed to the rest, according to each man's particular convenience. Meanwhile, the queen, after she had been in England about a year, returned to Scotland at the end of May, being attended by her husband from Berwick: but they did not live together with the same affection as formerly.

The regent, at his departure, to prevent the budding and growth of sedition in his absence, carried along with him, either the heads of the noblest families, or else their sons and kindred, under the pretence of doing them honour. but in reality to keep them as pledges, in France: while others of them he sent into different and remote parts of the kingdom, where they lived, as it were, only in a larger prison. He also placed French governors in the castles of Dunbar, Dumbarton, and Garvy; yet a commotion arose, upon a slight occasion, where it was least apprehended.

Anthony D'Arcy managed his government with great equity and prudence, especially in restraining robberies. The first tumult in his province, which had a warlike tendency, was made by William Cockburn, uncle to the lord of Langton. He had driven away the guardians of the young ward, and seized upon the castle of Langton, relying principally on the power of David Home of Wedderburn, the brother of his wife. Thither D'Arcy marched with a sufficient guard; but they within refused to surrender the castle: and moreover, David Home, with some few light horse, riding up to him, upbraided him with the cruel death of his kinsman Alexander. The Frenchman, partly distrusting his men, and partly confiding in the swiftness of the horse he rode upon, fled towards Dunbar; but his horse falling under him, his enemies overtook and slew him, and set up his head in a public place in the castle of Home. He was slain on the 20th of September, in the year 1617.

Upon this, the other governors had a meeting, and fearing a greater combustion, after this terrible beginning, they made the earl of Arran their president, and committed George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus, on suspicion of being privy to the murder, prisoner to Inchgarvy castle. They also sent to the regent in France, to call him back into Scotland as soon as ever he could. About the same time, some seeds of discord were sown between the earl of Angus and Andrew Ker of Fernhurst, owing to a contested right of jurisdiction over some lands which belonged to the former; but in which Andrew alleged he had power to hold courts. The rest of the family of Ker took part with the earl, and the Hamiltons with Andrew; which they did more out of hate to the Douglas clan, than for any justice Ker had in his pretensions: so that both parties provided themselves against the court-day, to run a greater hazard than the matter they strove about was worth. John Somerville, a noble and high-spirited young man, of the Douglas party, set upon James, the natural son of the earl of Arran, on the highway, killed five of his retinue put the rest to flight, and took above thirty of their horses.

An assembly having been summoned to be held at Edinburgh, April the 20th, 1590, the Hamiltons alleged that they could not be safe in that city, where Archibald Douglas was governor; upon which the latter, that he might not obstruct public business, about the end of March resigned the government of his own accord; and Robert Long, a citizen of Edinburgh, was substituted in his place. The nobility of the west part of Scotland, of whom there were very many, had frequent meetings in the house of James Beaton, the chancellor. Their design was to apprehend the earl of Angus; for they alleged that his power was too great and formidable to the public: and that, as long as he was at liberty, they should have no freedom for debate or resolutions. An opportunity seemed to favour their design; for as he now had but a few of his vassals about him, it was easy to surprise him before his hundred could come to his assistance. When he perceived what was in agitation

against him, he sent his uncle Gawin, bishop of Dunkeld, to pacify them, saying, that he had provoked none of them by any injury, and desiring them to terminate the dispute without force of arms; assuring them also, that if they could produce any just complaint against him, he was willing, in equity, to give them all satisfaction. But his speech availed him nothing, being made to men proud of their numbers, powerful, and greedy of revenge. Gawin, therefore, finding he could obtain no good terms from them, returned to Angus, and having acquainted him with the arrogance of his enemies, he caused the whole of his own family to follow the earl; while himself being a priest, and infirm through age, quietly retired to his lodging. Some think he did this by way of reproaching the unseasonable pride of the chancellor, who, instead of being a promoter of peace, ran armed up and down, like a firebrand of sedition. Douglas, seeing there was no hope of an agreement, exhorted his men rather to die valiantly, than, like dastardly cowards, to hide themselves in their lodgings, from whence, it was certain, they would soon be forced to an ignominious end; for their enemies had so stopped up all the avenues and passages, that not a man of them could get out of the city. All that were then present assented to what he had spoken; and immediately he and his party, having backed on their armour, sallied into the main street of the town. He had about fourscore in his train, who were all stout and resolute men, and of known valour. They divided, and posted themselves in the most convenient places, and so set upon their enemies as they came out of several narrow alleys at once; the first they slew, and drove the rest back headlong, tumbling them one upon another in great confusion. The earl of Arran, who commanded the opposite party, and his son James, got to a ford, and made their escape by the North Loch; the rest ran several ways for shelter, to the convent of the Dominicans. Whilst these things were in agitation, there was a great combustion all over the city; and, in the midst of the confusion, William, the brother of Angus, entered the place, with many of his clan. Douglas having gained this accession to his former strength, though his enemies were still numerous in the town, yet made proclamation by a trumpeter, that none should dare to appear in the streets with arms about them, but his friends and party. Those who desired passes to depart quietly, obtained them easily. There went out in one company about eight hundred horse, besides those who had taken their flight before, with greater ignominy than loss, for there fell not above seventy-two; but among them were some men of note, as the brother of the earl of Arran, and the son of Eglington. This happened on the 30th of April, 1520; and to revenge the disgrace, the Hamiltons besieged Kilmarnock, a castle in Cunningham. Robert Boyd, a friend of the Douglas family, commanded it, but the enemy soon left it, without effecting any thing. The next year, Douglas came to Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, bringing with him the Homes, who had been banished, and there he took down the heads of Alexander and William, which had been set upon poles. The whole five years, during which the regent was absent, were very full of tumults. There was no end of pillaging and killing, till his return, which was on the 30th of October, 1521. Upon his arrival, he resolved to reduce the power of the Douglas party, in order to prevent, for the future, such seditious movements as had occurred in his absence. He accordingly sent the earl of Angus, the head of that family, to France; he caused the pope to call his uncle, the bishop of Dunkeld, to Rome, to purge himself there from some crimes imputed to him; but the year following, in his journey thither, the prelate fell sick of the plague in London, and there died. His virtues were such, that he was very much lamented; for, besides the splendour of his ancestry, and the comeliness of his person, he was master of a great deal of learning, as times then went, and being also a man of considerable prudence, and singular moderation, in a troublesome age, he was much esteemed in point of faithfulness and authority, even by the contrary factions. He also left behind him some distinguished monuments of his ingenuity and learning, written in his native language. The year after the return of the regent, a parliament was held, and an army levied, which last was appointed to rendezvous at Edinburgh, on a fixed day; whither they came accordingly, and pitched their tents in the fields near Roslin, none knowing upon what service they were to be employed;

but at last a herald proclaimed that they were to march towards Annandale, and that a severe punishment would be inflicted upon such as refused to obey the orders. The rest of the army marched obediently enough to the river Solway, the boundary of Scotland; only Alexander Gordon and his part-staid behind three miles farther from England. When the regent heard of this, he came back to him the next day, and brought him up to the camp where he called the nobles and chief commanders together, and showed them many great and weighty reasons why he invaded England on that side. But a great part of the nobility, by the instigation of Gordon, who was their chief and of greater authority than all of them, wholly refused to set foot on English ground, either out of disaffection to the regent, or else, as they pretended, that it was not for the interest of Scotland so to do, which pleas, when circulated among the soldiers, gave them pleasure. It was observed, that if an army was levied in favour of France, to hinder the English from sending the whole strength against that power, it was sufficient for the purpose only to make a show of war: but that if the interest of Scotland was considered, matters not being well settled at home, and their king a mere child, it was most advisable for them, at that juncture, only to be on the defensive, and to maintain their ancient bounds, for should they march forward, the blame even of a fortuitous miscarriage might be laid to their charge, and an account of their misconduct be required at their hands in a short time. Lastly, though they had been ever so willing to advance against the enemy, and to slight the common danger, as well as to overlook their own concerns at home, yet they were afraid the Scots would not be obedient to their commanders when in an enemy's country; and therefore great heed was to be taken, lest through ambition, or emulation, or late disgust, they should come off with dishonour.

The regent, perceiving it in vain to oppose, was forced to yield; but, that it might not seem to have performed an idle piece of pageantry, after such vast preparations, in marching his army as far as the Solway, he secretly procured a fit and proper agent, who had frequent negotiations in England, to acquaint Dacres, then lord warden of the English marches, that some good might be done, by treating with John, the regent of Scotland. He willingly hearkened to the proposal, because he was unprovided for defence, never conceiving that the Scots would have made an irruption into England, at least on that side. Accordingly he sent a herald, and obtained a passport to come with safety into the Scottish camp. The next day, accompanied by Thomas Dacres and Thomas Musgrave, with about eighteen more cavaliers, he came to the regent's tent, where they had private discourse together, each having his interpreter. Dacres being taken unprepared, was glad to be quiet, and the regent, not being able to effect any thing without the consent of the army, concluded a truce, as a promising introduction to peace, and so they parted. Those Scots who were the greatest opposers of the action, to throw off the blame from themselves, spread abroad reports, that Dacres had bought an armistice of the regent for a sum of money, of which part was advanced immediately, and the rest engaged for, but never paid. Thus they endeavoured to disparage the conference amongst the common people.

The regent, on the 26th of October, went again into France, but promised to return before the first of August, in the ensuing year; yet he kept not the time, being informed that the English had a fleet ready to intercept his passage. However, he sent five hundred French foot, in the month of June, to encourage the Scots with the hope of his speedy arrival. These troops never saw the face of an enemy in all their voyage, till they came near the isle of May, which lies in the Frith of Forth, where they fell among the English ships, then lying in the channel to interrupt their passage. They had a sharp fight, and the French boarded the ships of the enemy, but with the loss of their admiral. When he was slain, the seamen refused to obey the military officers, and the soldiers being ignorant of naval affairs, could not command the mariners, so that, after a great slaughter of the English, the French were scarcely able to regain their own ships.

In the absence of the regent, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was sent from England with ten thousand regulars, and a great number of recruits,

into Scotland. His advantage arose from the discord that prevailed amongst the Scots themselves, whose chief governor was absent, and they under no certain command; so that the English overran March and Teviotdale, and took the castles of both countries, to the great loss of the nobility, and of the commons too, who were wont, upon sudden invasions, to secure themselves and their goods in those fortresses. But Scotland then laboured under such intestine disorders, that no man thought he had any concern in his neighbour's calamity. The English roved about at pleasure for several months, without any opposition; but when, at length, they retreated, the bordering Scots endeavoured, in some sort, to revenge themselves for their losses; and accordingly daily incursions were made by them into Northumberland, and great plunder was carried out of that country. Upon this, Howard was sent against them a second time, and took Jedburgh; but though the town was unfortified, as the Scottish custom is, the capture cost him great pains and loss of men. Whilst these things were taking place in Teviotdale, the horses of the English army were so terrified in the night, by some unknown cause, that about five hundred of them broke their bridles, ran up and down the camp, and overturned all that were in their way; some of the soldiers were trampled down and trod upon, and then the animals broke into the open field, as if they had been mad, and so became a prey to such of the Scottish peasantry as could catch them. This caused a great consternation through the whole camp, all crying out, "Arm, arm;" neither could the tumult be appeased till the next morning. Three days after this, the English, without making any further attempt, disbanded their army, and returned home.

The duke of Albany, finding that all the ports on the French coast were blockaded by the English, to intercept him in his return, and that he was inferior in strength, resolved to effect his escape by stratagem. Accordingly, instead of collecting his fleet together in one harbour, he dispersed it, in very small numbers, at different places, so that there was no appearance at all of any warlike preparation. Besides this, he quartered his soldiers in the interior, that no one could imagine he designed to embark them, so that the English admiral, who waited to impede his passage till the 13th of August, became tired of cruising any longer to no purpose, and, understanding by his spies, that there was neither fleet nor army on all the French coast, he withdrew his fleet, thinking that John would not stir till the next spring. The duke of Albany, being informed of the departure of the English, lost no time in collecting his ships, to the number of fifty, on board of which were three thousand foot, and one hundred cuirassiers, with whom, after the autumnal equinox, he set sail from France, and arrived safe at the Isle of Arran, in Scotland, on the 24th of September, being the same day on which the English burned Jedburgh.

I have already stated how miserable the state of affairs in Scotland was during the preceding summer. The nobles were at variance one with another; the English not only wasted all the countries near them, but were masters of the sea; and consequently all hopes of foreign aid were cut off. The design of the enemy in this, was, to humble the pride of the Scots, and make them, by suffering, incline to a pacification. Neither were those Scots who were averse to the French interest, less ardent for a perpetual peace with England; of whom the queen was the chief. For, when Home was removed by death, Douglas by banishment, and the other nobles were judged rather fit to follow than lead, in the management of affairs; all those who were not favourers of the French party, applied themselves to the queen. She, to gratify her brother, and also to draw the power into her own hands, dissembled her private ambition, and exhorted them by saying, "That now was the time to free their young king, who was almost of age, from the bondage of a stranger; and also to deliver themselves from the same yoke." The queen likewise laboured to strengthen her party against her husband, to whom she had long before conceived a great dislike; besides all this, the king of England sent frequent letters, filled with large promises, to the nobles of Scotland, desiring them to promote his sister's designs. He told them, "It was not his fault that there was not a perpetual amity between the two kingdoms;



which, as always, so especially at this time, he very much desired, not for any private ends of his own, but to make it appear that he bore a true respect to his sister's son, whom he resolved to support and gratify as much as he was able; and that, if the Scots would be persuaded to break their league with France, and join with England, they should quickly find his aim was neither ambition nor power, but love and concord; that Mary, his only daughter, being married to James, the Scots would not, by that affinity, come over to the government of the English, but the English to that of the Scots; that enmities as great as their's had intervened betwixt nations, which yet, by alliances, mutual commerce, and interchangeable kindnesses, had been wholly abolished and extinguished." Others reckoned up the advantages or inconveniences which might accrue to either kingdom, by this union with each other, rather than with the French; as, that "they were one people, born in the same island; brought up under the same climate; agreeable one to another in their language, manners, laws, customs, countenance, colour, and in the very make of their persons; so that they seemed rather to be one nation than two: but that, as for the French, they differed from them, not only in climate and soil, but in the whole manner of life. Besides, they said that if France was an enemy, she could do no great damage to Scotland; and that, as a friend, she could not be very advantageous; that the assistance of England was near at hand, while French aid was more remote; that, as there was no passage for it but by sea, therefore it might be prevented by enemies, or else hindered by storms. They were therefore desired to consider, how inconvenient it was for the management of affairs, and how unsafe for the public, to place their hopes of their individual safety, and that of the kingdom, upon so inconstant and changeable a thing as a blast of wind. What was to be expected from absent friends against present dangers, might easily be perceived by the actions of the last summer, where the Scots not only felt, but even saw with their eyes, how the English ravaged them, when forsaken by their allies, and fell upon them with all their strength, ready to devour them. While the French aid, so long looked for, was blocked up by the hostile fleet in their own harbours."

These were the arguments for an alliance with England; and not a few, being convinced by them, were inclined to it; but others were no less strenuous on the other side; for the greatest part of the assembly were misled by the French, and some who had been considerable gainers by the public losses, abhorred the very thoughts of peace. There were yet others again, who suspected the readiness and facility of the English, in making such promises; especially since matters in that kingdom were managed, for the most part, at the will and pleasure of Thomas Wolsey, a cardinal, and a man both wicked and ambitious, who laid all his designs for his own private advantage, and for the enlargement of his power and authority; and therefore he accommodated them to every turn of the wheel of fortune. All these persons equally favoured the alliance with France, though induced to the same end by different motives. They alleged, that the sudden liberality of the English was not free and gratuitous, but the effect of design; and that this was not the first time they had used such arts to entrap the wary Scots; for the first Edward, said they, when he had sworn, and obliged himself by all the bonds of law and equity, to decide a matter in dispute, and therefore was chosen arbitrator by the Scots, had most injuriously made himself their monarch; and that, of late, Edward the Fourth had betrothed his daughter Cleely to the son of James III.; but when the young princess grew up to be marriageable, and the day of consummation was on the point of being fixed, he took the opportunity of a war, which arose upon the account of the private discords in Scotland, to break off the match; and that the English king aimed at nothing else now, but to cast the tempting bait of dominion before them, that so he might make them really slaves; and, when they were destitute of foreign aid, surprise them at his pleasure with all his force. Neither was the position true, wherein the contrary party prided themselves, "that an alliance near at hand was better than one farther off;" for causes of dissension would never be wanting among those who were neighbours; which were oftentimes produced even by sudden chances, and sometimes great men would prove to

them upon every light occasion ; and then the laws of concord would be prescribed by him who should have the longest sword. That there was never such a firm and sacred bond of friendship between neighbouring kingdoms, which, when occasions offered, or were sought for, was not often violated ; neither could we hope that the English would refrain from violating us more now than they did formerly, towards so many kings of their own blood. " It is true," said they, the " sanctity of leagues, and the religion of an oath, for the faithful performance of pactions and agreements, are firm bonds to good men ; but among those who are bad, they are only so many snares and traps, calculated for an opportunity to deceive ; which fraudulency is most visible where the parties are related, and their habitations border on each other, where the language is common, and the manners are similar. But," added they, " if all these things were otherwise, yet there were two things to be regarded and provided for ; first, that they ought not to cast off old friends without a hearing, who had so often merited their good-will. The other, that they should not spend their time in quarrels and disputes, especially about a business which could be determined only in an assembly of all the estates of the kingdom." Such were the inclinations and reasonings of the French faction ; and they succeeded so far, that no determination should be made till certain news arrived of the French reinforcement.

When the return of the regent was made known, it greatly rejoiced his friends, strengthened the wavering, and kept back many who favoured the league with England, from complying with it. He sent his warlike provisions up the river Clyde to Glasgow, and there mustered his army. He also published a proclamation, that the nobility should attend him at Edinburgh, where he made an elegant speech to them, commending their constancy in maintaining their ancient league, and their prudence in rejecting the perfidious promises of the English : he highly extolled the good-will, love, and liberality of Francis, the French king, towards the Scots ; and exhorted them to lay aside their private animosities and feuds ; and, seeing foreign aid was now come, to revenge their wrongs, and to repress the insolence of their enemy by a signal enterprise. Accordingly, after his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and the Scotch forces had joined them, he marched towards the borders, whither he came on the 22d of October. But when on the borders, and part of the forces had passed over a wooden bridge at Melross, the Scots made the same excuses as in the former expedition at Solway, and refused to enter England ; so that the regent was forced to recall the advanced party, and to pitch his tents a little below, on the left side of the Tweed, where he resolved to storm the castle of Werk, situated over-against him on the right side of the river. In the mean time, a party of horse that had been sent across, intercepted all the passages, so that no relief could come to the beleagued ; and they likewise carried fire and sword round all the adjacent country. This is the description of Werk castle. In the inner court is a very high tower, well fortified ; encompassed with a double wall ; the outward one encloses a large space of ground, whither the country people were wont to fly in time of war, and to bring their corn and cattle with them for security ; the inner wall is much narrower, but entrenched all round, and better fortified with towers than the other. The French took the outward court by storm, but the English set fire to the barns, and the straw therein made such a smoke, that they soon drove them out again. During the two following days, they battered the inner wall with their great guns ; and, after making a breach wide enough for entrance, the French attempted an escalade ; but there in the inner castle, which was yet entire, cast down all sorts of weapons upon them, so that, being completely exposed, and having lost some of their men, they were driven back to their army, and retreated across the river. The regent, perceiving that the minds of the Scots were averse to action, and being also assured that the English were coming against him with a numerous army, which, according to their own writers, amounted to not less than 40,000 fighting men ; and that 6000 more were left to defend the neighbouring town of Berwick, he, on the 11th of November, removed to a nunnery called Eccles, about six miles distant from his former encampment ; whence, at the third watch, he marched by night to Lauder ; both horses and men being much

incommoded in their route, by the sudden fall of a great storm of snow, which occasioned the English also to disband and return home, without effecting any thing. The remainder of the winter passed away quietly.

In spring, the regent held an assembly of the nobles, when he laid before them the causes which compelled him to go again to France, but promised to return before the 1st of September following. He further desired them that, during his absence, the king might remain at Stirling; and that they would neither make a peace nor truce with the English, or introduce any negotiations in the government, before his return. They promised him faith to obey his commands; and thus, on the 20th of May, he and his retinue set sail for France. In his absence, however, the reins were again let loose, every man's will was his law, and a great deal of havoc was made, and mischief done, without the least punishment. Upon this, the king, though a mere child, by the advice of his mother, and the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and several others of the principal nobility, came from Stirling to Edinburgh; where, on the 20th of July, by the counsel of the chiefs, whom he had convened at his palace of Holyrood-house, he took upon him the government of the kingdom, and the next day caused them all to swear fealty to him a second time; and, to shew that he had actually assumed the administration of matters into his own hand, he discharged all public officers; but, within a few days, he restored them to their places again.

In a great assembly of the nobles, held on the 20th day of August, that the king might abrogate the power of the regent, and exercise it wholly by himself, he went in great pomp, according to ancient custom, into the parish hall of the town; only the bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen dissented, alleging, that they ought to stay till the 1st of September, when the regent had promised to return; for which they were imprisoned. But they reaped themselves with their own ecclesiastical weapons, and laid their dioceses under interdict. However, in about a month or two they were reconciled to the king, and restored to the same degree of favour which they had before enjoyed.

About this time, Archibald Douglas, who, as I have already said, was banished into France, sent Simon Penning, an acute man, and much trusted by him, to the king of England, to obtain from him the liberty of returning home through his dominions, which was granted; for Henry was pleased at the diminution of the authority of so active a person as the duke of Albany; and at the change which had been made in Scotland; so that he entertained the earl courteously, and dismissed him honourably. His return made very different impressions on the minds of the Scots; for, seeing all public business was transacted under the direction of the queen and the earl of Arran, a great part of the nobility, at the head of whom were John Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, taking great distaste that they were not admitted to any part of the administration, received Douglas with strong expressions of joy, as hoping, by his aid, either to gain over the power of the adverse faction to themselves, or at least to abate their pride. On the other side, the queen, who, as I said before, hated her husband, was much troubled at his coming, and sought by all means to undermine him. Moreover, Hamilton, feeling some remains of his old resentment, was none of his fast friends, for he feared lest Douglas, who he knew would not be content with a second place, would supplant him, and become pre-eminent; so that he strove to maintain his own dignity, and opposed him with all his might. They kept themselves within the castle of Edinburgh; and though they knew very well that many of the nobility affected alterations, yet, trusting in the strength of the place, and the authority of the royal name, though it was but a sorry defence in those circumstances, they thought themselves secure from violence. The adverse party had a great meeting of the nobles, where they chose three of their number to be the guardians of the king and kingdom; namely, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, John Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle. Then, in great haste, they proceeded to business; first, they passed the Forth, and caused James Beton, a prudent man, to join with them, who, perceiving the strength of the party, durst not resist: from thence they went to Stirling, and there conferred all offices and employments on the men of their own party.

tion only; and next they came to Edinburgh, which they entered without force, for it was wholly defenceless. They then cast up a small trench against the castle, and invested it; but as those within had made no provision for a siege, they soon surrendered up both it and themselves. All but the king being sent away, the whole weight of the government lay upon the three associates, who agreed among themselves that they would manage it by turns, each attending four months on the royal person. But as this conjunction was not sincere, it did not last long. Douglas, who attended the first four months, brought the king to the palace of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and made use of all the prelate's household furniture, and other accommodations, as if they had been his own, for he had a little before revolted from their faction. To bind the king to him the more, Douglas let him take his fill of all unwarrantable pleasures; and yet he was far from obtaining his end, for the domestics were all corrupted by the adverse party, at the head of whom were the queen and Hamilton.

The first animosities at court were occasioned by the distribution of ecclesiastical preferments, for the Douglas party engrossed all to themselves; George Crichton was translated to the bishopric of Dunkeld; and the abbey of Holyrood, in the suburbs, which he thereby vacated, Douglas gave to his brother William, who had for five years forcibly held that of Coldingham, about six miles from Berwick, from the time of the murder of Robert Blackader, the former abbot, whose cousin-german, Patrick Blackader, obtained a grant of the same preferment from the pope, with the consent of John the regent. Douglas also commenced a suit against John Home, an intimate friend of the earl of Angus, and husband to his sister's daughter, about the whole ancient estate of the Blackaders. Patrick, therefore, being unable to cope with the Douglas family, suffered his estate to be made a prey to his enemies, and reserved himself for better times, amongst his mother's kindred, at a considerable distance from those countries which were exposed to the dominant faction. They, on the other side, though they did not much value Patrick, yet, having the supreme power in their hands, and being unwilling to lie under the stigma of having invaded other men's rights by mere force, employed friends to proffer him some kind of amends and satisfaction. He, shewing himself inclinable to an agreement, even though he remitted much of his right, had a pass granted him, and the public faith given him by Douglas, to come to Edinburgh, which he did with a small retinue, and unarmed; but when a little way from the gates of the city, he was set upon by John Home, who lay in ambush for that purpose, and so was murdered. As soon as the noise of the fact was spread over the city, many mounted their horses, and pursued the murderers some miles, in order to apprehend them; but perceiving that George Douglas, brother to the earl, had joined their company, with many more of the same faction, and some of the kindred of Home, they desisted from the pursuit, not knowing with what intent those persons went out, whether to catch or to defend the murderers, which occasioned strange reports to be divulged abroad, concerning the Douglas family.

With regard to Colin Campbell, he had already withdrawn himself from the triumvirate, as we may call it; and the earl of Lennox, though he followed the king, yet because the Douglas faction had secured all public offices of importance into their own hands, he gave many testimonies of his dislike, and substantial proofs that his mind was quite alienated from them. But being confident of their power, they slighted alike the reports, envy, and ill-will of others. Meanwhile, the king, though used more indulgently than was proper, that so his weak spirit might be kept longer in subjection to them; yet notwithstanding by little and little he grew weary of their government, being also weaned from them by his domestics, who accused them of actions, some of which were true, and others false, while those which were doubtful, they construed in the worst sense. Upon this, he secretly communicated with such as he could trust, about the attainment of his freedom and liberty. The only man among his nobles, to whom he opened his mind without reserve was John earl of Lennox, who, besides his other virtues of mind and body, was an honest and well-spoken man, and admirably qualified to reconcile and win the good opinion of men, by a natural sweetness of manners and deport-

ment. Having made him privy to his design; whilst they were considering about the time, place, and manner of its accomplishment, Douglas was engaged in many expeditions against the bands of robbers, but with little success. At length, he resolved to carry the king into Teviotdale, as supposing that his presence would be advantageous there, by striking a terror into the licentious people. Here an assembly being held at Jedburgh, the king called together all the heads of the chief families in that district, and commanded them to apprehend those criminals, every one within his own precinct, of whom he then gave them a list. They set themselves very actively to obey his command; so that many of the thieves paid with their heads for the robberies they had committed, but others were spared, in hopes of amendment. Thus, whilst the minds of all were cheerful, they who had a design to free the king from the guardianship of the Douglas party, thought this a good opportunity to effect it; because one Walter Scott, living not far from Jedburgh, had great clanships in the neighbouring counties. To accomplish their project, they laid the following plan:—Walter was to invite the king to his house, and there he was to remain with him during his own royal pleasure, till the report spreading abroad, greater forces should come in. But the design being discovered, either by chance, or upon some private intimation, the king was carried back to Melrose. Walter, instead of being discouraged, proceeded on straight in his journey to the king. When he was a little way off, an alarm was brought to the people of Douglas, that Walter was at hand, armed, and a great troop of others as well appointed, accompanying him; so that there could be no doubt, but that he, being a factious man, and withal good at his weapon, intended some mischief, inasmuch that they all presently put themselves in a posture of defence. Douglas, though inferior in number, yet knowing that his own men about him were to be relied on, and besides, that he had several valiant persons of the family of the Kers and Homes in his train, with George Home and Andrew Ker, their principals, resolved to venture a battle. At this crisis, George Home had like to have spoiled all, for when Douglas commanded him to alight from his horse, and manage his part in the fight, he answered, that he would only alight at the command of the king. They fought eagerly and courageously on both sides, as men who had their king for the price of their combat, as well as their spectator. But John Stuart all the while stood near the king, without striking a blow, and contenting himself with beholding the battle.

After a sharp encounter, Walter was wounded, and then his men gave ground; but the joy of the victors was much allayed by the loss of Andrew Ker, who, for his singular virtues, was much lamented by both parties. His death produced a long feud between the families of the Kers and the Scotts, which was not terminated without blood. From that time forward, John Stuart, who had acted a neutral part in the late fray, and had been before suspected by the Douglas faction, was now accounted their open enemy: so that he departed from the court. These things occurred on the 23d of July, in the year 1521.

The Douglas party, perceiving that they were now the objects of envy to whole multitudes, endeavoured to strengthen their interest by new recruits and converts; and therefore they made up the old breach between them and the Hamiltons, a family great in wealth, power, and numbers. Those persons, after having been removed from court, Douglas not only admitted, but invited to a share in the government. On the other side, John Stuart had the advantage of being highly favoured by most people: and, having privately obtained the king's letters to the chief of the nobility, who, he thought, would have kept his counsel, he thereby greatly strengthened his party. Therefore, in a convention of his associates at Stirling, where also were present James Beaton, some other bishops, and many heads of the noblest families, he propounded to them the design of asserting the king's liberty. This was unanimously agreed to; and though the day for mustering their forces was not come, yet, on hearing that the Hamiltons were assembled at Linlithgow to intercept their march, Stuart judged it most advisable to attack them before they should be joined by the Douglas party, and accordingly, with the present force which he had, he marched directly towards them. But the Hamiltons, having intelligence that

John intended to leave Stirling on that day, and that very early in the morning, took care beforehand to call the people of Douglas from Edinburgh to their assistance. But the king, besides other obstacles, retarded them in some measure, by pretending that he was not well; so that he rose later from his bed that day than ordinary; besides which, he travelled very slowly; and by the way, would often turn aside on frivolous excuses. When George Douglas, in vain, by fair speeches and batteries, tried to persuade him to make more haste, at last he broke forth into this menacing expression: "Sir," said he, "rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold on your body; and, if it be rent in pieces, we will be sure to take one part of it." These words struck a deeper impression into the king's mind, than might have been expected in one of his age; insomuch that many years after, when he had some inclination to recall the rest of the family of Douglas from exile, he could not endure that any one should speak of a reconciliation with George. The Hamiltons, betwixt the fear of the enemy, who were on the advance, and the hope of approaching aid, took up a position near the bridge of the river Avon, which is above a mile from Linlithgow. Here they placed a small guard at the bridge, while the rest of their forces occupied the brow of the hills, by which they knew the enemy must come. Lennox, finding that the passage over the bridge was stopped, ordered his men to cross a small stream a little above, by a nunnery, called Manuel, and so to beat the Hamiltons from the hills, before the forces of Douglas should arrive and join them. The forces of Lennox accordingly made towards the enemy, but were much annoyed by stones, which were rolled down in abundance from the heights upon them; and, when they came hand to hand, the word was given, that the troops of Douglas were very near, and indeed they ran hastily from their march into the fight, and soon gained the day, so that Lennox's men suffered severely, and were put to flight. The Hamiltons, especially James the bastard, used their victory with great cruelty; and, among the rest, William Cunningham, son to the earl of Glencairn, received many wounds, but his life was saved by his relationship to the Douglas family. John Stuart was killed, and his death was much lamented by the earl of Arran, his uncle, as also by Douglas himself, but most of all by the king; who, as soon as he heard of the fight, by the clashing of the weapons, sent on his favourite, Andrew Wood, of the Largs, to save the life of Lennox, if possible; but unluckily he came too late, for the business was done, and the battle over.

After this exploit, the victors, to keep down the faction of their enemies, and make them submissive to their will, proceeded in a form of law against those who had taken up arms against their king, as they termed it; so that, for fear of a trial, many were forced to compound with them for money; while some joined themselves to the clanship of the Hamiltons, and others to that of Douglas. The most obstinate, however, were called to the bar, amongst whom was Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, who, when pressed by James Hamilton the bastard, to shield himself under the protection of his clan, answered in the boldness of his spirit, "That there was an old league of friendship made between both their grandfathers; in which his own was always named first, as the more honourable of the two, and that he would not now so far degrade the dignity of his family, or the glory of his ancestors, as to put himself under the patronage, which would be but one degree from plain slavery, of that haec, whose chief, in an equal alliance, was always content with the second place." So when Gilbert was called to his answer on the day appointed, Hugh Kennedy, his kinsman, made answer for him, that he had not taken up arms against the king, but for him, having been commanded to be at the fight; and if necessary, he offered to produce the royal letters to that purpose. The Hamiltons were much troubled at his boldness; for it was true that the king had written to Gilbert, when he came from court, as well as to others, saying, that he should take part with John Stuart; but, as the battle was at hand, insomuch that he could have no time to call together his clanship and kindred, while he was upon the way, he turned aside, with those of his family that were with him, to Stirling.

The violence of the Hamiltons was somewhat abated by this trial; but James the bastard, fired with a mortal hatred against Kennedy, caused him,

a few days afterwards, as he was returning home, to be murdered on the road, by the means of Hugh Campbell, laird of Ayr. This Hugh, on the same day the murder was committed, which he had commanded his vassals to execute, that so he might avert all suspicion of the horrid fact from himself, went to the house of John Erskine, whose wife was sister to Gilbert Kennedy's wife. She, as soon as she heard of this cruel murder, ceased not to upbraid him with it to his face, and that in a most grievous manner. Thus the whole family of the Kennedys was almost extinguished. The son of the earl, after his father was slain, being but a child, fled to his kinsman Archibald Douglas, who was then lord treasurer, and put himself and his family under his protection. He received him very lovingly; and such was the great ingenuity of his promising years, that he designed him for his son-in-law. Hugh Campbell was summoned to appear, but his crime being too plain, he made his escape out of the kingdom. Neither did the Douglas faction exercise their revenge and hatred less fiercely upon James Beton; for leading their forces to St. Andrew's, they seized, pillaged, and ruined his castle, deeming him to have been the author of all the projects the earl of Lennox had undertaken; but by assuming frequent disguises, because no man durst entertain him openly, he effected his escape. The queen herself also retired alone with the like artifice of dissimulation, that she might not fall into the hands of her husband, whom she detested and abhorred.

At the beginning of the spring following, Douglas made an expedition into Liddesdale, where he destroyed many of the thieves, by falling upon them unawares in their huts, before they could put themselves in order for a defence; twelve of them he executed, and twelve more he kept as hostages; but as their relations did not forbear the old trade of robbery, in a few months afterwards he put them to death also. At his entrance on this expedition, there happened a matter very remarkable, which, for its novelty, I shall here relate. There was an under-groom, or helper, belonging to the stables of John Stuart, a man of mean descent, and therefore used in the servile employment of dressing horses. When his lord and master was killed by the Hamiltons, he wandered up and down for a time, not knowing what course to pursue, till at last he became desperate, and resolved to attempt a deed, far superior to the rank and condition in which he had been born and brought up. This was, to take a journey to Edinburgh, with the intention of revenging the death of his lord, and there he casually lighted upon a man of the same family and fortune as himself. He demanded of him whether he had seen James Hamilton, the bastard, in the city, who answered him, he had. "What," said he, "thou most ungrateful of men, hast thou seen him, and wouldst thou not kill him, who slew so good a master as we both had? Go, get thee gone, and may misery be thy companion." Thus said, he presently hastened on his designed journey, and went directly to court. There were then in a large square before the palace in the suburbs, about two thousand armed men of Douglas's and Hamilton's dependants, ready prepared for the expedition I have already mentioned. On seeing them, he passed by all the rest, and fixed his eye and mind on Hamilton only, who was then coming out of the court-yard in his cloak, but without his armour. As soon as he perceived him in a pretty long gallery, which was over the gate, and somewhat dark, he flew at him, and gave him six wounds, one of which was almost in the vitals, but the others were less dangerous, owing to the sudden shitting of his body, and his warding off the weapons with his cloak, which he held before him. This done, the groom presently mixed himself among the crowd. Immediately a great clamour arose, and some of the Hamiltons suspected that the people of Douglas had committed the horrid deed, on account of some old grudges, in consequence of which the two parties had nearly come to blows. At last, when their fear and surprise subsided, they were all commanded to stand in single ranks, by the walls which were round about the court-yard; and there the murderer was discovered, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. Being demanded what he was, and whence, and for what he came thither; he made no ready answer: upon which he was dragged to prison, and put to the rack; when he confessed immediately, that he had undertaken the fact to revenge his

ood lord and master; and that his only sorrow was, that so famous an attempt did not take effect. He was tortured a long time, to discover his accomplices; but in vain, for he declared that no person was privy to his escape. At last he was condemned, and while conveyed round the city, every part of his naked body was pinched with red-hot irons; and yet, neither in his speech nor in his countenance, did he discover the least sense of pain; for when his right hand was cut off, he said, that it was punished less than it deserved, because it had not obeyed the dictates of his heart, which was so eager to have executed its bloody purpose.

Moreover, the same year, Patrick Hamilton, son of a sister of John duke of Albany, and of a brother of the earl of Arran, a young man of great judgment and singular learning, was by a conspiracy of the priests burnt at St. Andrew's. Not long after his suffering, men were much terrified at the death of Alexander Campbell. He was of the order of the Dominicans, a man of considerable talent, and accounted one of the most learned of all those who followed the opinions of Thomas Aquinas. Patrick had frequent conferences with Alexander concerning the meaning of the holy scripture, and at last he brought the man to confess and acknowledge, that almost all the articles which were then counted heterodox, were divine truths. Notwithstanding this, Alexander, being more desirous to save his life than to hazard it for the sake of the gospel, was persuaded by his friends to prefer a public accusation and charge against Hamilton as a heretic. Patrick, being a man of a zealous spirit, and indignant at the worldly mind and vain glory of his accuser, broke forth into this expression openly: "O thou vilest of men," says he, "who art convinced that the tenets which thou now condemnest, are most certainly true, and didst confess to me that they are so: I cite thee to the tribunal of the living God." Alexander was so astonished at this challenge, that he never recovered the shock from that day forward; and not long after died in a fit of madness.\*

All this time, and for a great part of the year ensuing, the party of Douglas, being severally intent upon other matters, were secure as to the king's departure from them; because they believed that now his mind was fully reconciled to them, on account of the immoderate pleasures in which they indulged him: and besides, they thought if he had a mind to remove, there was no faction strong enough to oppose them; neither had he any strong garrison whither to retire, except Stirling castle, which was allotted to the queen for her residence, but was deserted by her officers, when she hid herself from Douglas; and though on the abatement of the tumult it had been somewhat fortified, it was rather for show than defence. The king, however, having obtained a little relaxation, saw that this must be his only refuge; and therefore agreed privately with his mother to exchange that castle and the land adjoining, for other estates equally convenient to her; and then having provided all other requisites as secretly as he could, the Douglas party not being so intent as formerly in their watch over him, he retired by night, with a small company, from Falkland to Stirling; where, on his arrival, he sent for many of the nobles to come to him, while others hearing the news, resorted thither of their own accord; so that now he seemed sufficiently secured against all force. There, by the advice of his nobles, he published a proclamation, that the Douglas family should abstain from all administration of public affairs; and moreover, that none of their kin by blood or marriage, or any of their dependants,

\* Patrick Hamilton was abbot of Fern. He imbibed the protestant doctrine, while travelling in Germany, where he contracted an acquaintance with Luther, Melancthon, and other distinguished reformers. On his return home he propagated the principles which he had learned abroad, with such zeal and success, that the clergy became alarmed; and, under the pretence of a conference, drew him to St. Andrew's, where Alexander Campbell was appointed to keep him company. Whether, however, this man was a real or only a pretended convert, cannot be determined. That he affected to yield to Hamilton's arguments is certain; and when the latter was condemned shortly after, Campbell was so busy in persuading him to recant, that the martyr reproached him as an apostate, and summoned him to the tribunal of Christ. His death, which happened, as Buchanan has related, within the year, contributed much to shake the minds of the people; and even some of the friars themselves began to turn against the superstitious of popery.—*Spotswood's Church History*, p. 63.



should come within twelve miles of the court, on forfeiture of his life. When the decree was served upon them, as they were coming to Stirling, many were of opinion that they should go on in their journey; but the earl and his brother George thought it best to obey. Accordingly, they went back to Lathgow, resolving to stay there till they should obtain some more favourable intelligence from court. In the mean time, the king sent messengers with great diligence, to the remotest parts of the kingdom, summoning all the nobles, who had a privilege of voting, to the assembly, which was to be held at Edinburgh, on the third of September next ensuing. Till that time, the king at Stirling, and the Douglasses at Edinburgh, gathered forces about them; though rather for defence than hostility. At length, on the second of July, the latter departed out of the city; and the king, with his forces and banners displayed, entered into it; but by the intercession of friends, conditions were offered to the Douglasses, which were, that the earl of Angus should be banished beyond the Spey; and that George his brother, and Archibald his uncle, should be kept in custody in the castle of Edinburgh. On submitting to these terms, and on no other, hopes of the royal clemency were held out. These conditions being rejected by them, they were commanded by a herald to attend the parliament, appointed to meet at Edinburgh, on the third of September. In the mean time, their public offices were taken from them; and Gavin Dunbar, lately the king's tutor, was made chamberlain instead of the earl. He was a good and learned man, though some thought him a little defective in politics. Robert Cairncross, at the same time, was made treasurer in the place of Archibald, a man more known for his wealth than his virtue. The Douglasses being now driven to their last shifts, endeavoured to seize upon Edinburgh, which was left unprotected at the king's departure; and accordingly they sent Archibald thither with some troops of horse. Their design was to keep out the king, and so to dissolve the parliament. But, on the 26th of August, Robert Maxwell, with his vassals, and a great number of all sorts of people, by the royal command, prevented them, and kept them from entering the city: besides which, the guards and sentries were so carefully mounted and disposed in all convenient places, that things were kept there in great tranquillity, till the meeting of the great national assembly. Douglas being thus disappointed in his views, retired to his castle of Tantallon, about fourteen miles distant from the city. On the day that the king came out of Stirling, there fell such mighty showers of rain from the heavens, and the brooks and rivers overflowed their banks to such a degree, that the royal train was scattered into many parties, so that they came much harassed, and late in the night, to Edinburgh. They were so much beaten with the violence of the storm, that had a very few horses charged them, they might have done them a great deal of mischief. In that parliament, the earl of Angus, George his brother, Archibald his uncle, and Alexander Drummond of Carnock, who was their intimate friend, were outlawed, and their goods confiscated. This edict or clause was also added to their sentence of condemnation, that whoever harboured them in their houses, or gave them any other assistance, should incur the same punishment. What principally moved the court to condemn them was, it appears, the declaration of the king upon oath, that as long as he was in their power he was afraid of his life. He also professed that this apprehension became mightily increased, and sunk with a deeper impression into his mind, after the menaces which George had expressed to him, and of which I have already given an account. There was only one man found in this assembly, named John Bannatyne, a vassal of Douglas, bold enough to make a public protestation against all that was acted in opposition to the earl, whose non-appearance at the time appeared to be justified on the plea that he was kept away by a well-grounded cause of fear.

A few days after this, William, another brother of the earl, abbot of the monastery of Holyrood, died of sickness, aggravated by grief, on account of the troubled state of affairs. Robert Cairncross, a man of mean descent, but wealthy, bought this preferment of the king, who then wanted money, and eluded the law against simony by a new kind of fraud. The law then was, that ecclesiastical preferments should not be sold; but Cairncross hid a

great wager with the king, that he would not bestow upon him the next preferment of that kind which should become vacant; and by that means lost his wager and gained the abbey. The Douglas family now seeing that all hope of pardon was cut off, betook themselves to open force, and the only satisfaction they had left, was revenge, which they indulged to excess; for they committed all sorts of outrages upon the lands of their enemies; burned Cosland and Cranston, and rode every day up to the very gates of Edinburgh, so that the city was almost besieged, and the innocent poor were made to suffer for the offences of the great.

During these commotions, on the 21st of November, a ship, called the *Martina*, a brave vessel in those days, and richly laden, was driven by stress of weather upon the shore of Inverwick; where part of the lading was pillaged by Douglas's horse, who ranged up and down in those districts, and the rest was carried away by the country people, who were so ignorant of its value, that they took the cinnamon in it to be only a thin bark, and so sold it to make fire with. The whole blame of this outrage, however, fell upon the Douglas party. In consequence of this change of affairs, the robbers, who for a long time had been restrained from their predatory practices through the fear of punishment, came out of the places in which they had lain concealed, and grievously infested all the circumjacent countries. But though many disorders were committed also by others in various parts, yet all these murders and robberies, wherever perpetrated, were attributed to the Douglases by those courtiers, who not only thought to please the king in so doing, but likewise to make the name of that family, which was otherwise popular, odious to the common people. At the beginning of winter, the king marched to Tantallon, a castle belonging to Douglas, on the sea-coast, in order that, by taking it, no refuge might be left for the exiles. To reduce his place with little labour and cost, he was supplied with brass guns and powder from Dunbar, the castle being distant from thence only six miles. The fortress was garrisoned by the soldiers of John the regent, because it was part of his patrimony. The siege lasted some days, during which some of the assailants were slain, others wounded, and some were blown up with gunpowder; but none of the garrison suffered; so that the king thought it necessary to break up and retreat. In his return, David Falconer, who was left behind with some soldiers, to carry back the brass ordnance, was set upon and slain by Douglas's horse, who were sent out to surprise the stragglers in the rear. His death so enraged the young king, who was incensed enough before, that he solemnly swore in his passion, never, as long as he lived, to revoke the sentence of banishment which had been passed on the proscribed family. And as soon as he came to Edinburgh, to straiten them the more, by advice of his council, he ordered that a flying party of soldiers should be continually kept up at Coldingham, for the purpose of clearing the country from pillage. Bothwell, one of the greatest persons of authority and influence in Lothian, was appointed by the king to take this post upon him; but he refused the employment, either dreading the power of the clan of Douglas, which, not long since, all the rest of Scotland was not able to cope with; or because he wished to repress the violent disposition of the young monarch, and prevent him from totally destroying so noble a family. As the king had no great confidence in the Hamiltons, on account of their friendship with his enemies, and the part they had taken in the slaughter of John Stuart, earl of Lennox; and as there were none of the nobility of the adjacent country, that had power or interest enough for the service; he resolved to send Colin Campbell, with an army, against the rebels; a person living in the farther parts of the realm, but prudent, valiant, and, on account of his strictness, very popular. The Douglases, on being forsaken by the Hamiltons and the rest of their friends, were reduced to great straits; so that they were compelled by Colin, and George, the chief of the Homes, to become exiles in England.

In the month of October, two eminent knights came on an embassy from the king of England, to negotiate a peace; which, though earnestly desired by both sovereigns, yet they could scarcely find the means of accomplishing it. Henry, being upon the point of making war against Charles the emperor,

was willing to leave all safe nearer home; and with the same labour to procure the restoration of the Douglas family. As for James, he greatly desired to have Tantallon castle in his power, but his mind was very averse to restore the owners of it to favour; for which reason the matter was warmly discussed on both sides for some days, and no mode of accommodation could be found out. At last they came to this resolution, that Tantallon castle should be surrendered by Douglas, and a truce concluded for five years; the king promising, under his signet, to grant the other demands separately. The castle was given up accordingly, but the other articles were not so punctually performed, save only Alexander Drummond had leave given him to return home, for the sake of Robert Brittain. Some months before this, James Colvud and Robert Cairncross, on suspicion of taking part with Douglas, were removed from court, and their offices bestowed on Robert Brittain, who then was in high favour there, and had great command. After this, though matters were not perfectly settled abroad, the English having burnt Arne, a town in Teviotdale, before their ambassadors returned, yet the rest of the year was more quiet; but the insolence of the banditti was not quite suppressed. The king therefore caused William Cockburn, of Henderland, and Adam Scott, two notorious robbers, to be apprehended at Edinburgh, and, by way of terror to the rest, they were put to death. The next year, in the month of March, the king sent James, earl of Murray, whom he had made deputy-governor of the whole kingdom, to the borders, there to have a meeting with the earl of Northumberland, in order to conclude a peace, and to treat about a mutual compensation for losses; but a contention arose betwixt them, which broke off the conference, the one pleading, that, according to the laws made on account of the murder of Robert Ker, the congress ought to be in Scotland; while the other would have it in England. In the mean time, each party sent messengers to their respective monarchs, for instruction how to act in the case.

On the 15th of April, there was held a council of the nobility; where, after a long debate, which lasted till night, the king ordered, that the earl of Bothwell, Robert Maxwell, Walter Scott, and Mark Ker, should be committed prisoners to Edinburgh castle. He also banished the chief men of March and Teviotdale to other places, on suspicion that they were privately disseminating the seeds of war against England. In July, the king having levied about eight thousand men, marched against the robbers, and quickly pitched his tents by the river Euse. Not far from thence lived one John Armstrong, the chief of a faction of thieves; who had struck such fear into all the neighbouring parts, that the English themselves, for many miles round, purchased their security by paying him a regular tribute; and even Maxwell was so afraid of his power that he attempted his destruction by all possible ways. The John Armstrong was enticed by the king's officers to have recourse to the king; which he did, unarmed, with about fifty horse in his company; but, neglecting to obtain the royal passport and safe-conduct for his protection, he fell into an ambuscade, and was brought to the king, as one that had been taken prisoner, so that he and most of his followers were hanged. They who were the cause of his death, gave out, that he had promised to bring that part of Scotland, for some miles, under the obedience of the English, on condition of being well rewarded for the service. In opposition to this, however, it appeared that the English were very glad of his death, as it freed them from a dangerous enemy. Six of his surviving associates the king kept as hostages; but their companions at large being not at all deterred by this, from committing the like insolencies, they also were in a few months sent to the gallows. The king then took new hostages of those who staid at home; for the Liddesdale men left their habitations, and passed over in troops to England, making daily incursions, and taking a great deal of plunder in the neighbouring parts.

Not long after this, the king restored the noblemen to their liberty, having first taken hostages from them; of these was Walter Scott, who, to gratify the king, slew Robert Johnston, a robber of notorious cruelty amongst them; which bred a deadly feud between the two families, to the great loss and injury of both.

The next year, which was 1561, there happened a very remarkable circum-

tance, that excited a curiosity which was rather increased than abated by inquiry, notwithstanding the obscurity of the author. One John Scott, a man of no learning, nor of any great experience in business, neither had he a subtle wit of his own, to impose tricks upon others, being cast in a lawsuit, without having the ability to pay damages, hid himself some days in the sanctuary of the monastery of Holyrood house, without eating or drinking any thing. When this became known, and was related to the king, he commanded that his apparel should be changed, and diligently searched; and so caused him to be kept close from all company, in the castle of Edinburgh, where every day bread and water was set before him; but he voluntarily abstained from all human food for thirty-two days. After that time, as if he had been sufficiently tried, he was brought forth naked into public view, where the people looking about him, he made them a long incoherent speech, in which there was nothing memorable, except the affirmation, that he was assisted by the virgin Mary to fast as long as he pleased. As this answer savoured of simplicity, rather than craft, he was released from his imprisonment, on which he went to Rome, where he was also imprisoned by pope Clement, until he had fasted long enough to convince him of the miracle. Then they clothed him with the habit in which priests say mass, and gave him a testimonial under the papal seal, which is of great authority among the Romanists. Thus sanctioned, he went to Venice, where he gained general credence by his miraculous fasting; and on alleging that he was obliged, by a vow which he had made, to visit Jerusalem, he received fifty ducats of gold to bear his charges. On his return, he brought back some leaves of palm-trees, and a bag full of stones, which he said were taken from the pillar to which Christ was fastened when he was scourged. In his way home to Scotland, he passed through London, where he mounted the pulpit in Paul's churchyard, and, in a large audience of people, preached, at great length, about the divorce of king Henry from his queen, and of his defection from the see of Rome. His words were so bitter, that if he had not been looked upon as a simpleton, he would have been forced to eat them up again; but after being imprisoned, and having abstained from food for almost fifty days, he was dismissed without farther hurt. On his return to Scotland, he would have joined one Thomas Doughty, who, about this time, had come from Italy, and built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, out of the alms given him by the people, having obtained great gain by his feigned miracles. Though the life of this Thomas was sufficiently known to be very wicked, and the cheats of his pretended miracles were discovered; yet no man durst openly oppose him, for fear of the bishops, who, by this their new Atlas, sought to prop up the tottering pile of their purgatory; and he, to requite them for their courtesy, when any of the richer sort of priests came to the place where he was to say mass, had still a beggar ready at hand, to counterfeit himself mad, or diseased in body, that so, by saying his masses, he might be recovered and healed. Thomas having rejected John Scott, because he was not willing to admit any other into the partnership of his gain, the latter hired an obscure garret in the suburbs of Edinburgh; where he erected an altar, and furnished it according to his ability, after which he set up his own daughter, a young and beautiful girl, with wax tapers lighted about her, to be adored as the Virgin Mary. But this way of trade not answering his expectation, he returned to his old course of life, having gained nothing by his dissimulation of sanctity, except to let all men know, that he wanted not the will, but the ability, of an impostor.

At the beginning of the following year, January the 16th, 1532, the earl of Bothwell was committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle, for having taken a private journey into England, and there held a secret conference with the earl of Northumberland. Then also, sir James Sandeland, for the great prudence, integrity, and authority, which he had amongst all good men, even beyond his state and degree, was sent to the Hermitage, a castle of Liddesdale, to restrain the incursions of thieves and robbers.

In ancient times, there had been no fixed days, nor any set place appointed for trying causes respecting property, before the judges in Scotland, until John, duke of Albany, obtained from the pope an order that a yearly sum of money, as much as was sufficient to pay a salary to a few magistrates, should

be charged on the ecclesiastical body; and levied on every one, according to the value of his benefice. Upon this, Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, made his appeal to the pope, in behalf of himself and other priests. The controversy continued from the 11th of March to the 24th of April, and then there was a college of judges settled at Edinburgh. At their first sittings, they devised many advantageous plans for the equal distribution of justice; yet the desired object did not follow. For, seeing in Scotland there are almost no laws, but decrees of the estates, many of which, instead of being made for perpetuity, are temporary; and the judges hinder the enacting of statutes, as far as they can; the property of all the subjects was committed to the determination of fifteen men, who had a perpetual power, and even a tyrannical government; their will being the only rule of conduct which they acknowledged.

Much severity was now used against the Lutherans, in favour of the pope, who, on the other hand, to gratify a king so well deserving his favour, gave him the tithes of all parsonages for the three following years.

In the present year, the English, perceiving that the state of affairs in Scotland grew every day more settled than they had been; but thinking still that their neighbours were destitute of foreign aid, because they had themselves joined with the French against the emperor Charles, sought new occasions for a war. Accordingly, in April, making an incursion from Berwick, they burnt and plundered Coldingham, Douglas, and many other neighbouring towns, where they procured a great booty. They had no apparent provocation, neither did they previously issue a declaration of war. Their eagerness for it, however, appeared in their king's proclamation, which was soon after published, and wherein it was said, "That the garrison of Berwick had been insulted by some licentious and contumelious words which the Scots had uttered." But the words mentioned in the proclamation have no degrading sense at all; therefore, as this cause did not seem just enough for a war, they next demanded Cannochy, a small village on the borders, with a poor monastery in it, alleging that it belonged to them, though they had never before pretended to it; and they likewise insisted on the recall of the Douglas family. For the king of England, perceiving that his aid was so absolutely necessary to the French king, that he could by no means do without it; and also knowing, that he had him fast in a league, wherein the interest of Scotland was not considered, thought it no hard matter to bring that nation to whatever conditions he pleased. Moreover, because the emperor was alienated from him, on account of his peace with France, and the divorce of his aunt; and that the pope of Rome stirred up wars among all Christian princes, he thought, if he sat still now, he should lose a great opportunity at home for bringing about his desired innovations. The king of the Scots, that he might not be unprovided against this storm, by a public proclamation made all over the kingdom appointed his brother, the earl of Murray, his viceroy; and, because the borderers of themselves were not able to cope with the English, who had a great number of hired troops with them, he divided the kingdom into four parts, and commanded each of them to send out the ablest men amongst them, with their arms, and provision for forty days. These forces, thus succeeding one another by turns, made great havoc in the towns and castles of those parts, so that the king of England, who had now other concerns to demand his care, being frustrated in his expectation of the Scottish war, which he had reason to believe would extend to a great length, became inclinable to a peace; but had a mind to be sued for it; deeming it beneath his dignity either to offer, or seek it of himself. Therefore it seemed most convenient to negotiate the matter through the king of France, who was the common friend to both nations. Accordingly, that prince sent his ambassador, Stephen d'Aix, into Scotland, to inquire which of the two neighbouring potentates was the aggressor in the present contest. The king of the Scots, having clearly acquitted himself from being the cause of the war, complained of the long detention of his ambassadors in France, without receiving an answer. He also, at the French envoy's departure, sent letters by him to his master, desiring him to observe the ancient contract that had been renewed by John the regent, at Rouen. He likewise sent David Beton into France, to

refute the calumnies of the English, and to treat about the better maintenance of the future of the old league, and to contract a new affinity between France and Scotland. He also sent letters by him to the parliament of Paris, full of bitter complaints, concerning those matters which had been transacted and agreed upon between Francis, their king, and John, the regent of Scotland; stating, how that the ancient friendships, covenants, and agreements, between the two nations, were slighted, to favour those who were once their common enemies. His ambassador, Beton, was commanded, if he saw that the things which he had in commission should not succeed well in France, to deliver those letters to the council of the judges, and presently to withdraw himself into Flanders, with an intent, as it might be conjectured, to make a league, agreement, and affinity with the emperor.

At the same time, war was waged in Britain, and debates were carried on at Newcastle, concerning the lawfulness of it; but when the ambassadors of both nations could not agree on terms of pacification, Guy Flory was sent over by the king of France, to compose their differences. The Scottish king told him, that he would gratify his master as far as he was able, and he had also some communication with him, as much as was seasonable at that time, concerning the matrimonial alliance, about which he had sent over his ambassadors, and who were still in France. Flory, being thus acknowledged as an empire, the garrisons were withdrawn on both sides from the borders, and a truce was made, which was afterwards followed by a peace. The king, who had for some time been engaged in negotiations, both with the French monarch and the emperor, by his ambassadors, about a matrimonial contract, being now, on the restoration of peace, freed from other cares, bent his mind more that way than ever. For, besides the common causes that naturally inclined him to form a potent alliance, his thoughts were turned to the perpetuation of his family by a lineal issue, he being the last male of the stock alive; a circumstance that inspired the next heirs with the flattering hope of possessing the throne; which did not a little trouble him, who was otherwise of his own nature suspicious enough. There were, indeed, many things that very much concurred to nourish such hopes on their part; as, for instance, their own domestic power; the king's single life; his adventurous and enterprising disposition, which slighted all danger, to such a degree, that he would not only stoutly undergo any hazards, but often court and invite them; for, with a small party he would march against the fiercest thieves; and though they were superior in number, yet he would either overtake them by his speed, or terrify and restrain them by the power of his name, and force them to a surrender. He would sit night and day on horseback, while engaged in this employment; and if he took any refreshment or food, it was but little, and only that which he met with by chance.

These circumstances made the Hamiltons almost confident of the succession; but as it seemed to them a long way about to wait for either the fortuitous or natural causes of mortality, they studied to hasten his death by treachery. A fair opportunity to effect this was offered them, by the nocturnal visits of the king to his mistresses, for, on such occasions, he had but one or two attendants. But, being disappointed herein, they resolved to cut off his hope of a regular succession, by hindering his marriage what they could; although John, duke of Albany, when he was regent, seemed to have made sufficient provision against that inconvenience; for when he renewed the ancient league between the French and Scots, at Rouen, he took care to insert the article, that James should marry the eldest daughter of Francis. At present, however, there were two impediments in the way, that almost cut this league asunder. For Francis, being delivered out of the hands of the Spaniards, principally through the activity of Henry VIII. had entered into so strict an alliance with the English, that the Scottish league was much weakened by it. Besides this, the eldest daughter of Francis was just dead, notwithstanding which, James being desirous of the alliance, demanded her next sister for his wife, and sent ambassadors over for the purpose; but her father made an excuse, alleging, that his daughter was of so weak a constitution, that there were little hopes of children by her, and hardly any likelihood that she would herself live long.

About the same time, a similar negotiation was carried on with the emperor Charles, by ambassadors; and at length, on the 24th of April, 1534, the monarch sent over from Toledo, in Spain, Godescale Eric, who, for the greater secrecy, passed through Ireland to the court of James. After declining the commands which he had in charge from the emperor, concerning the wrongs offered to his aunt Katharine, and her daughter, by king Henry; the calling of a general council; the rooting out the sect of the Lutherans; and the confirmation of an alliance—the emperor, by his letters, gave the king his choice of three Marys, who were all of his blood. These were, Mary, sister to Charles, and who had been a widow ever since the death of her husband, Lewis, of Hungary, who was slain in battle by the Turks;\* Mary of Portugal, the daughter of his sister Leonora;† and Mary of England, his niece, by his aunt Katharine. And because Charles knew that James was more inclinable to this last match than the others, he also shewed a greater desire for it; that so he might draw the king off from his partiality to the league with Francis; and, at the same time, set him at variance with Henry. James made answer, that the marriage with England was, indeed, in many respects most advantageous, but that it was a business of such uncertain hope, as well as of great danger and toil, and would besides be encumbered with so many obstacles, that his single life, he being the last of his family, could hardly endure the delay; wherefore, of all the nieces of the emperor, he told him, that the daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark, by Isabel, the sister of Charles, would be the most suitable and convenient match. Some time afterwards, Charles wrote from Madrid, in reply to this demand, saying, that she was already promised to another; and though the emperor, by offering conditions, seemed rather to prolong the matter, than really to intend the accomplishment of it, yet the treaty was not wholly laid aside. Matters being settled and tranquil at home, James resolved to take a voyage round all his dominions, in order to curb the stubborn spirits of the islanders, and make them more obedient. Accordingly, he first sailed to the Orkneys, where he corrected all disorders, by apprehending and imprisoning a few of the chiefs. He also garrisoned two castles there, his own, and that of the bishop. Afterwards he visited the rest of the islands, and sent for the chief men to him, seizing such as refused, by force. He laid a tax on them, took hostages, and carried away with him those who were most likely to prove incendiaries; and putting some of his own people into their fortresses, he sent their leading men, some to Edinburgh, and others to Dunbar, as prisoners; for, about that time, John, duke of Albany, had surrendered the latter place to the king, which, as then, had been held by a French garrison. In the month of August, great severity was used against the Lutherans; some were compelled to make a public recantation; and others, for refusing to appear upon summons, were banished. Two were burned, of which one, named David Straiton, was free enough from Lutheranism; but he was accused of it, only because he was a little refractory in paying tithes to the collectors, and so was put to death only for a supposed crime. In an assembly which the king caused to be convened at Jedburgh, for the suppression of the robbers in that vicinity, Walter Scott was condemned on a charge of high treason, and sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained during the whole of this reign. In the same month, when Francis, as I said before, had excused his daughter's marriage, on account of her health, but withal had offered the king any other of the royal blood, James sent, as his ambassadors into France, James earl of Murray, viceroy of the realm, and William Stuart, bishop of Aberdeen.

\* Leonora, or rather Eleanor, sister of Charles V. married, in 1519, Emanuel, king of Portugal, who left her a widow, with one daughter, in 1521. In 1536, she married Francis I. king of France; and in 1547, became a widow the second time. She died at Badajoz in Spain, 1568. Her daughter, Mary, here mentioned, remained single till her death, in 1573.

† Mary, of Austria, the second sister of Charles, born in 1503, married, in 1521, Louis Jagellon, king of Hungary, who was killed at the battle of Mohatz, in 1526. She made a vow of perpetual widowhood, and kept it to her death, in 1558. She was a learned woman, and the friend of Erasmus, who complimented her in his elegant tract entitled "Vidua Christiana."

both of whom went by sea; and John Erskine by land, because he had some commands to deliver to Henry of England by the way. To them was added a fourth, namely, Robert Reid, who was a good man, and of consummate wisdom. There Mary of Bourbon, the daughter of Charles, duke of Vendôme, a lady of the blood, was offered to them as a fit wife for their king. Other points were easily agreed upon; but the ambassadors, fearing that this marriage would not please their master, declined a formal espousal, till they had acquainted him with it. In the mean time, Henry of England, to embarrass a concern which was upon the point of being concluded, sent, in November, the bishop of St. David's\* into Scotland, who brought the king some English books, containing several points of the Christian religion, desiring him to read them, and diligently to weigh the contents; but James, instead of perusing them himself, gave them to some of his courtiers, who were most favourable to the ecclesiastical order, to inspect. They had scarcely looked upon them, before they condemned them as heretical; and moreover, highly congratulated the king, that he had not polluted his eye, as they phrased it, with such pestiferous books. This was the cause of the mission, according to report; but some aver, that these ambassadors brought certain secret communications to James. Afterwards, the same bishop, together with William Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk, came so unexpectedly to Stirling, that they almost surprised the king, before he heard any news of their approach. The purport of their errand was, that Henry desired James to appoint a day of interview, when they might confer together; for he had things of high moment and importance, and of great advantage to both nations, to propound to him personally. In this message, he held out great hopes, that if other matters could be well settled, he would bestow his daughter in marriage upon James, and leave him king of all Britain after his demise; and, to give more credit to these promises, he offered to make him, for the present, duke of York, and viceroy of England. James, allured by these large and flattering promises, gave his consent, and fixed a day for the meeting. But there were two factions that resolved to oppose his journey into England; the first were the Hamiltons, who, being next heirs to the crown, laboured privily to keep the king from marrying, that he might have no children to exclude them from the succession. In the next place, the priests were mightily against it, and their pretences were seemingly just and honest: first, they alleged the danger he would run, if, with a small retinue, he should put himself into the power of his old enemy; who would oblige him to comply with his will, though it should prove ever so much against his own inclination and interest. They enumerated the examples of his ancestors, who, either through their own credulity, or the perfidiousness of the enemy, had been drawn into a snare; and by giving way to flattering promises of friendship, had brought home nothing but a sense of their ignominy and loss. They also urged the unhappy mistake of James the First, who, in a time of truce, landed, as he thought, in a friendly country, and was there kept a prisoner eighteen years; and when, at last, he obtained his liberty, it was upon such conditions, as he neither lawfully could, nor ought to, have accepted; besides which, said they, he was most sordidly sold to his own subjects. Moreover, first Malcolm, and after him his brother William, kings of Scotland, were brought on the stage, who were enticed to London by Henry II. and then carried over into France, to make a show of assisting in a war there against the sovereign of that country, who was their old ally. But, added they, if it be objected that Henry VIII. will do none of these things: the answer is, "How shall we be assured of that? Next, is it not a great point of imprudence to venture fortune, life, and dignity, which are now in our own power, into the hands of another?" Farther, the priests, thinking that all their concerns were at stake, and that they must, now or never, stand up for them, obliged James

\* This was William Barlow, D.D. who had been prior of the order of St. Augustine, at Bebam Abbey, near Maidenhead. He was, at this time, bishop of Asaph, and in 1536 was translated to St David's, from whence he was removed, in 1547, to Bath and Wells. In the reign of Mary he went abroad, and, on the accession of Elizabeth, was made bishop of Chester. He died in 1568.



Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, two old infirm men, to go to court, and there proclaim, "That religion would be betrayed by this interview, even that faith which had been kept for so many ages by their ancestors, and which had all along preserved its defence till that very day; but the ruin of which would be attended with the total destruction of the kingdom." They added, "that to forsake their religion upon every slight occasion, especially at such a time, when the whole world united with arms in their hands for its defence, could not be done without great danger to the present times, and infamy to the future; and, moreover, that it would be a thing of the greatest wickedness and impiety." With these engines did they assail the mind of James, who of himself was inclined enough to superstition; and they also corrupted those courtiers, who could the most prevail with him, desiring them, in their names, to promise him a great sum of money; so that, by these artifices, they completely alienated his thoughts from the promised meeting. Henry took this disappointment as a great disdain, as indeed he had reason to do, and thus the seeds of discord were again sown between the two monarchs.

In the mean time, the Scottish king was weary of a single life; and by reason of foreign embassies, and the distraction caused by court factions at home, was variously agitated in his mind. All parties made the public good their pretence, but some aimed at their own private advantage under that specious plea: and though most men persuaded the king to an alliance with Charles, on account of the flourishing state of the empire at that time, yet he rather inclined to an alliance with France. And therefore, seeing the matter could not be settled by ambassadors, he himself resolved to sail over to that country; and accordingly, fitting out a small fleet, the best he could equip in so short a time, he on the 20th of July departed from Leith, none knowing his destination. Many were of opinion, that his design was for England, to visit his uncle, and make an apology for breaking off the appointed interview in the preceding year. But when, during the violence of a storm, the pilot asked him what course he should steer, he said, "If there be a necessity, land me anywhere but in England," his mind was understood. He might have returned home, but was willing rather to sail round Scotland, and so venture into the western ocean. There, too, very bad weather was experienced, so that by the advice of a few of his domestics, while the king was asleep, he was carried back again. When he awoke, he resented this conduct so indignantly, that for ever after he bore an implacable hatred against James Hamilton, with whom he was highly offended before on account of the death of the earl of Lennox. Neither was he ever after well pleased with the rest of the authors of this counsel; and there were some who, in compliance with the king's angry humour, were continually insinuating, that Hamilton, under the pretence of private attendance and care, accompanied him on purpose to defeat his object. Notwithstanding this, he put to sea again with a great train of nobles on the first of September, and in ten days arrived at Dieppe in Normandy. From thence, that he might prevent the news of his arrival, he went in disguise, with great speed to the town of Vendosme, where the duke then was, and saw his daughter, who, happening not to please his fancy, he hastened on to court. Though he came unexpectedly upon Francis, as well as upon the whole court, yet he was honourably received by him; and on the twenty-sixth of November, almost against his will, he bestowed in marriage his daughter Magdalene upon him; for her father, as I related before, judging the eldest of the two sisters, by reason of her sickly nature, unfit to bear children, offered him his youngest, or any other woman of the French nobility, for a wife; but James and Magdalene having conceived an affection for each other by correspondence, which was now confirmed by approaching, seeing, and discoursing together, neither of them could be diverted from their purpose.

The marriage was celebrated on the first of January, in the year 1567, to the great joy of all; and they both arrived in Scotland on the 20th of May, being escorted by a French fleet. She, however, lived not long after, but died of an hectic fever on the seventh of July following, to the great grief of all except the priests; for they feared that her life would put an end to their

luxury and licentiousness, because they knew she was educated under the discipline of her aunt the queen of Navarre. As for others, they grieved so much for her death, that then it was, as I think, mourning-apparel was first used in Scotland, though it is not much worn at present, although fashions commonly grow to an excess in such a space of time, which is now about forty years. Ambassadors were soon after sent into France, being cardinal David Beton and Robert Maxwell, to bring over Mary of the house of Guise, widow to the duke of Longueville; upon whom, the king foreseeing that he should soon be a widower, had fixed his mind, in expectation of that event. The same year, the earl of Bothwell having gone secretly into England, and held private cabals there with the people, was banished both out of that kingdom, Scotland, and France. Moreover, about the same time, many persons were accused of high treason, amongst whom, John Forbes, an active young man, and the head of a great family and action, was brought to an unfortunate end, as was thought through the calousy of the Huntleys. One Strahan, a man fit for any wicked enterprise, who had been long very familiar with Forbes, and was either privy to, or else partaker or author of, all his bad actions, conceiving that he was not so much respected by him as he thought he deserved, applied to his enemy Huntley, and to him accused Forbes of treason, or, as many think, he there plotted the accusation with Huntley himself, that Forbes, many years before, had formed a design to kill the king. The crime was not sufficiently proved, nor were the witnesses unexceptionable; neither was he plot of his adversaries, the Huntleys, against his life, stated in the process; yet on the 13th of July, the judges, who were most of them bribed by Huntley, condemned him, and he was beheaded. His punishment was less lamented, because, though men believed him guiltless of the crime or which he suffered, yet they counted him worthy of death, on account of his dishonesty of his former life. Strahan, the discoverer, because he had concealed for a long time this heinous offence, was banished Scotland, and lived many years after at Paris, but in so lewd and debauched a manner, that men thought him a fit instrument to bring about any wicked purpose. The king, not long after, as if he had repented of his severity against Forbes, took a brother of his into his family; and not only advanced another to a wealthy marriage, but restored to him the estate which had been confiscated.

A few days after this there was another trial, which was indeed very uneatable, on account of the accused parties, the new kind of wickedness charged on them, and the dreadfulness of the punishment. Joan Douglas, sister of the earl of Angus, and widow of John Lyons, lord of Glamis, with her son, and also her second husband, Gillespie Campbell, John Lyons, kinsman to her former husband, and an old priest, were accused of endeavouring to poison the king. All these, though they lived continually in the country, far from court, and their friends and servants declared nothing upon their examination against them which could hurt them, yet were they put upon the rack to make them confess, and so were shut up in Edinburgh castle. The fifth day after the execution of Forbes, Joan Douglas was burnt alive, amidst the great commiseration of all the spectators, who were much struck by the nobleness of herself and her husband; besides, she was in the prime of her youth, much commended for her rare beauty, and in her very punishment displayed an heroic fortitude. But that which most moved the feelings of the people, was the persuasion that the enmity against her banished brother, did her more prejudice than the crime of which she was suspected. Her husband endeavoured to escape out of the castle of Edinburgh, but the rope being too short to let him down to the foot of the rock, he broke almost all the bones of his body in the fall, and so ended his days. Their son, a youth of more innocent simplicity, than to have the suspicion of such a wickedness justly charged upon him, was shut up a close prisoner in the same castle: but after the king's death he was released, and recovered the estate which had been taken away from his parents. Their accuser was William Lyons, who was nearly related to the family. He afterwards receiving that so eminent a race was likely to be ruined by his false infor-

mation, repented when it was too late, and confessed his offences to the king: notwithstanding which he could not prevail to respite the punishment of the condemned, or to hinder their estates from being confiscated.

The next year, on the 19th of June, Mary of the house of Guise arrived at Balcomie, a castle belonging to James laird of Lermont; from whence she was conveyed by land to St. Andrew's; and there, in a great assembly of the nobility, was married to the king. At the beginning of the following year, which was 1559, many persons were apprehended on suspicion of Lutheranism; and, about the end of February, five were burned, and some recanted, but many more were banished; amongst which last class of sufferers was George Buchanan, who, when his keepers were asleep, made his escape out of the window of the prison in which he was confined. This year the queen was delivered of a son at St. Andrew's; and the next year another, at the same place. Both this year and the former, matters were rather hushed a little, than entirely composed; some men wanting a leader more than an occasion to rebel: for though many desired it, yet no man could openly avow himself as the head of an insurrection. And now, because the king had children of his own to succeed him, he became more confident in his settled establishment, which made him despise the nobility as an inactive and unwarlike race, who were not likely to attempt any thing against him and his family, that was thus riveted and confirmed by male issue. He therefore applied his mind to extravagant buildings; in consequence of which he stood in so much need of money for his works, that, being as covetous as he was indigent, both factions of nobles and priests were equally afraid, and each endeavoured to divert the tempest from one to the other. Accordingly, whenever the king complained of the lowness of his exchequer amongst his friends, one party would extol the riches of the other, as if the same were a prey ready for seizure; and the king, by hearkening sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, kept both in suspense between hope and fear. At this time, ambassadors came out of England to court, desiring the king to send his uncle at York, promising him great advantages by the interview, and making a long harangue concerning the love and good-will of their master towards him. Upon this, the faction that opposed the priests, persuaded him, by all means, to resort thither at the time appointed; which, when the ecclesiastical body heard, they thought their order would be ruined, if they did not, by hindering the proposed meeting, disturb the union of the king, and sow the seeds of discord betwixt their own sovereign and his nobles. On considering the various ways for effecting their object, they seemed more expedient for the prevention of the threatened evil, than to avail themselves of the king's desire of money, and to make him offer large subsidies. Accordingly, they placed before his eyes the greatness of the danger, and the doubtful and uncertain credit of the promises of an enemy; adding, that he might obtain a greater sum of money at home, and in an easier manner. In the first place, they promised to give him of their own thirty thousand pieces of gold yearly, and that all the rest of their estate should be at his service, in case of future emergencies. They observed also that out of the goods of those who rebelled against the authority of the pope, and the majesty of the king; and who, by troubling the peace of the church by new and wicked errors, would subvert all piety, overthrow the rights of magistracy, and abrogate ancient institutions; he might bring above one hundred thousand pieces more yearly into his exchequer, if he would permit them to nominate a chief justice, to determine in cases of delinquency; they could not themselves, by law, sit in capital cases, to condemn any man. They stated, that, in the management of the process, there would be no danger, nor any want of proof against offenders, since thousands of men were in the habit of reading the books of the Old and New Testament; of discourse concerning the power of the pope; of condemning the ancient rites of the church; and of detracting from the reverence and observance due to religious persons who were consecrated to the service of God. This they urged upon him with such energy, that he appointed them a judge according to their own hearts: who was James Hamilton, natural brother to the earl of Arran. He was a man who already lay under great obligations to the priesthood, for the gratitude

which he had received from them ; and as he had incurred the royal displeasure, he was now desirous of recommending himself to favour, by the perpetration of some act, however cruel, as an atonement.

About the same time, his cousin-german, James Hamilton, sheriff of Linlithgow, who had been long in exile, obtained permission to return into Scotland, where he had commenced a suit against James the bastard ; but, on learning what danger the favourers of the reformed doctrine ran, he sent his son with a message to the king, just as he was going over into Fife. The young man having very opportunely met him before he went on board, filled his mind, which was naturally suspicious, with fearful pressages, that the commissions granted to Hamilton would be of serious consequences, and pernicious to the whole kingdom, unless he prevented the sophistry by another stratagem. The king, who was then on his passage into Fife, sent young Hamilton back to Edinburgh, with orders to the exchequer court, for the immediate assembling of James Lermont, James Kirkaldy, and Thomas Erskine, of whom the first was master of the household, the second lord-high treasurer, and neither of them averse to the reformed religion ; but the third, who was firmly attached to the popish faction, was the king's secretary. These were all ordered to meet ; and the king commanded them to give the same credit to the messenger as they would do to himself, if he were present ; and so took the ring off his finger, and sent it them as a known token between them. Having consulted together, they caused James to be apprehended, while he was preparing himself for his journey, after dinner, and committed him prisoner to the castle. But, understanding by their spies at court, that the king was pacified, and that Hamilton would in consequence be released, they became alarmed on account of the public danger, as well as their own ; fearing that a man equally factious and powerful, would be provoked to exercise a bitter and cruel revenge, for the ignominy and affront which he had received. To avert this, they repaired immediately to the king, and laid before him the perilous consequences of suffering so crafty and fierce a person to be set at liberty, without a legal inquiry. The king, upon this, came to Edinburgh, and from thence removed to Seaton, where he caused James to be brought to his trial, and in a court duly constituted, according to the custom of the country, he was condemned, and had his head struck off ; while his body was dismembered after execution, and the quarters were hung up in the public places of the city. The crimes objected against him, in the name of the king, were, that, on a certain day, he had broken open the royal bedchamber, with a design to kill him ; and that he had carried on secret designs with the Douglas faction, who were declared public enemies. Few grieved for his death, because of the wickedness of his former life, save only his own kindred, and the ecclesiastics, who, in a manner, had placed all the hopes of their fortunes upon him alone.

From this time forward, the king increased in his suspicions of the nobility ; and, besides, his mind was so distracted with cares, that he could not enjoy any quiet sleep, being continually tormented with dreams ; of which one, more remarkable than the rest, made a great noise. It was reported, that, in his sleep, he saw James Hamilton running at him with his drawn sword ; and that he first cut off his right arm, then his left, and threatened him shortly to come and take away his life, and then disappeared. When he awoke in the night, and was much perplexed about the event of his dream, word was brought him, that both his sons died, almost at the same moment, one at St. Andrews, and the other at Stirling.

Meanwhile, there was neither a certain peace, nor yet an open war, with the king of England, who had been long since offended ; insomuch, that, without any formal declaration of hostilities, ravages were committed, for the sake of plunder, on the borders of Scotland. When restitution was demanded for these aggressions, the English refused to return any favourable answer ; which all men see, that Henry resented, with great indignation, the refusal to submit to him at York. James, though assured that war was certain, for which he made the necessary preparations, by raising recruits, appointing his brother, the earl of Murray, general-in-chief, and putting the country into a complete state of defence ; yet he sent an ambassador to the English, for the

purpose of composing matters, if possible, without blows. In the mean time, George Gordon was sent to the borders, with a small force, to prevent the pillaging incursions of the enemy. The English, despising the inconsiderable number of their opponents, under Gordon, hastened to burn Jedburgh; but George Home, with four hundred horse, encountered, and charged them so briskly, that, after a short fight, on seeing the Gordons approach, they were dismayed, and sought their safety in flight. There were not many slain, but several were taken prisoners. James Lermont, who had been sent to negotiate about a peace, at Newcastle, could obtain no answer; and, in order that the war might be carried on more covertly, he was commanded to return with the English army. Moreover, John Erskine and another, who were sent ambassadors from Scotland, met that army at York, where they were detained by Howard, the general, and never dismissed till they came to Berwick. James, being assured by his spies, before the return of his ambassadors, that the English forces were approaching, formed his camp at Falkirk, about fourteen miles from the borders. Here he rested, and sent George Gordon before, with ten thousand men, to keep the enemy in check, and prevent their plundering; yet he did nothing very considerable, and had not so much as a slight skirmish with the English. The king of Scotland was mighty earnest to give battle, but the nobility resisted it with such vehemence, that he was full of wrath, and burst out in a rage against them, calling them cowards, and unworthy of their ancestors, every now and then telling them, that, since they betrayed him, he and his own family would do that which they had basely refused to perform. Neither could he be appeased, though they came about him, and told him that he had done enough for his honour; that he had not only kept the English army, which was long in raising, and had invaded Scotland with great boasting, from roving about for plunder, but that also, for the space of eight days, during which it had remained in the country, it was so pent up as never to be able to march above a mile from the borders. For, after the English came out of Berwick, they went as far as Kelso, up against the stream, and there being informed of the march of the Scottish army, they passed over the ford, being so fearful of engaging, that they rushed into the river with the utmost precipitation and disorder; every one, on crossing over, leaving his colours, and making the best of his way home. Gordon, in the mean time, who saw all this at a distance, neither stirred, nor made any attempt upon their rear, for which the king conceived an implacable hatred against him. Maxwell, to appease his anger as much as he could, promised, if allowed ten thousand men, to march into England by the Solway, and perform some considerable service. And he would have been as good as his word, if the king, who was exceedingly angry with the nobility, had not given secret letters and a commission to Oliver Sinclair, brother to the laird of Roseneath, but which he was on no account to open till a certain time. The purport of the commission was, that the whole army should acknowledge Sinclair as their commander-in-chief; and the motive of James in granting the authority was, that in the event of his troops gaining the day, the glory of the victory might not redound to the nobles. When they came into the hostile country, where about five hundred English cavalry appeared on the hills, Sinclair caused himself to be lifted up on high by those of his party, and the royal mandate to be read aloud; upon which, the whole army was so offended, and especially Maxwell, that the soldiers broke their ranks, and fell into confusion, intermingling promiscuously with each other.

The English, on the elevated ground, perceiving the advantage which this confusion afforded them, and which was so contrary to their experienced military affairs, immediately seized the opportunity, and rushed down, according to their wonted manner, with a great shout, upon their opponents, who were taken by surprise, and knew not whether to fight or fly. In consequence of this sudden attack and disorder, horse, foot, and baggage, were indiscriminately driven into the adjoining marshes, where numbers were made prisoners, and many afterwards fell into the hands of the Scottish men-at-arms, who sold them to the English.

When the fatal intelligence of the loss of his army was brought to the king, who was at no great distance, his mind became much agitated by the con-

leading passions of indignation, anger, and grief; so that he was distracted between the desire of punishing what he termed the perfidiousness of his own people, and the necessary consideration of retrieving the public affairs. But so desperate was the state of things, that it seemed most advisable to conclude a truce with the English; and to recall, on the best terms that could be adopted, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, from exile. Amidst this perplexity, the king, being exhausted with watching, fasting, and anxiety, died a few days after, on the 13th of December, leaving a daughter as heiress to the throne, though a child only eight days old.

He was buried on the 14th of January, in the monastery of Holyrood, near his first wife Magdalene. In his lifetime, his countenance and personal form were very comely; his stature indifferently tall, but his strength exceeded the proportion of his body; his wit was sharp, but not sufficiently cultivated with learning, which, however, was the fault of the times. In his diet he was pithy; he seldom drank wine; and he was most patient of labour, cold, heat, and danger, for he would often sit on horseback, night and day, in the coldest winter, that so he might catch the thieves in their retreats, unawares; and his activity struck such a terror into them, that they abstained from their vile practices, as if he had always been present among them. He was so well acquainted with the customs of his country, that he would give just answers concerning weighty matters, while travelling on the road, with great readiness and exactness; and he was also easy of access, even to the poorest. But his virtues were almost equalled by as many vices; yet they had this alleviation, that they seemed rather to be imputed to the times in which he lived, than to his own natural disposition. For such an universal licentiousness had overrun all, that public discipline could not be retrieved, but with excessive strictness and severity. What made him so covetous of money, was the circumstance, that when he was under the guardianship of others, he was treated with great parsimony; and when he came of age, he entered into a empty palace, where he found all the moveables embesmeled; so that every room was to be new-furnished at once, while his trustees had expended the royal revenue on uses which he wholly disapproved. Those who had the instruction of his youth, instead of teaching him virtue, indulged his inclination to women, because, by that means, they hoped to have him longer under their management. A great part of the nobility did not much lament his death, because he had banished some of them, and kept others in prison; while many again, being disgusted with his conduct and severity, chose rather to surrender themselves to the king of England, though an enemy, than commit themselves to the anger of their own sovereign.

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## BOOK XV.

MARY STUART, succeeded her Father, A. D. 1544.

THE king dying in the flower of his age, rather of grief than disease, and the melts of former times being rather hushed asleep than composed, wise men saw a great tempest impending over Scotland, the like of which they had themselves never beheld, nor ever read of in ancient records. The king, who had not so much as ordered his domestic affairs, left a daughter, born but eight days before his death, heiress to the crown. With respect to those of the nobility who had borne the chief sway, they were either slain in battle, or else were exiles and prisoners in an enemy's country. But even they had been at home, their private animosities and dissensions on account of religion, which were stifled through fear during the king's life, would, on the removal of that restraint, in all likelihood have broken forth afresh into new quarrels among themselves; so that there was little probability of their acting with sobriety and discretion.

And besides, they were engaged in a war against a most powerful monarch; of whom, every one, according to his hopes or fears, expressed his opinion as

to the use that he would make of his late victory. He that was the presumptive heir, and next to the crown, as he was not commonly reported to have much virtue, even for the conduct of his private life, so he had as little reputation for the counsel or valour necessary to the government of a kingdom. As to the cardinal, he thinking that these public calamities afforded him a fit opportunity to aggrandize himself, and make a display of his greatness to the men of his own order, and also to the French party, attempted an exploit equally bold and imprudent. For with the purchased aid of Henry Balfour a mercenary priest, he fabricated a false will in the name of the king, wherein he nominated himself to the supreme authority, with three of the principal nobility to be his coadjutors. He was in great hopes that this project would succeed, from the disposition of the earl of Arran, one of his assessors, and partners in the administration, and who, instead of being turbulent, was rather inclinable to be easy and quiet. And besides this, the earl was nearly related to him, being the son of the cardinal's aunt. Moreover, the opportunity to seize the supreme power seemed urgent, and to require haste, that he might gain possession of it before the return of the exiles and captives out of England, to prevent them from having any share in the settlement of the honour upon him. For he was not only afraid of their influence and popularity, but apprehensive that their minds were alienated from him on account of their religious differences. For this cause, presently after the demise of the king, he issued an edict concerning the appointment of the four governors of the kingdom. He also gained some of the nobles, by promises and presents to engage in his interest; but especially the queen-dowager, who was somewhat disaffected to the adverse party. Hamilton, the head of this faction, was a man far from ambitious views, and rather willing to live in quietness, if his relations would have suffered him; but they studying their own honour and interest more than his inclination or advantage, flattered his youthful mind night and day with hopes, and advised him by no means to let slip the fair opportunity that was now put into his hands; for they would rather have things in a combustion, than live in a settled and private continuation of life. And besides, a general hatred to the cardinal gained them many friends, who were indignant of the bondage they endured under a mercenary priest. They had also some appearance of hope, which, though uncertain in itself, yet was not inefficacious to stir up men's endeavours, that since Hamilton was the next heir, and a female, only a few days old, alone stood between him and the crown, she might meet with many mischances, either casually or by the fraud of her guardians, before she became marriageable. Thus, since they were laying the foundations of their future power, it seemed most advisable, not to neglect the advantage which the present state of things offered, and to augur well for the exaltation of the Hamiltons; but if that expectation deceived them, they flattered themselves it would not be difficult for them to obtain the pardon of a young princess, who, in the beginning of her reign, would study to secure the respect of all men.

Whilst things were in this state in Scotland, the king of England, desirous with extraordinary joy for the victory at Solway, sent for the chief of the prisoners up to London; where, after they had been imprisoned in the Tower two days, on the festival of St. Thomas, which was the 21st of December, they were brought all through the longest part of the city, as if they were to be shewn as a public spectacle to the people. On coming to Whitehall, which was the royal court, they were sharply reproved by the chancellor as violators of the league; and, after he had made a long discourse concerning the goodness and clemency of his king, who had remitted much of the rigour of justice which he might have used towards them, they were distributed about into several families, with whom they lodged as prisoners at large. There were seven of the nobility, and twenty-four of the gentry, among these captives. But when the news came, which was less than three days after that that their king was dead, and had left one only daughter as his heir, Henry thought it a fit opportunity to conciliate and unite the minds both of the Scots and English in a bond of union, by espousing his son to the infant queen. He therefore had the prisoners recalled to court, where he employed some fit persons to sound their inclination in this case; and when, after brief

kindly entertained, they promised to contribute their assistance towards the match, as far as they might without detriment to their own or the public honour, on the first of January, at the beginning of the year 1543, they were all released, and sent back towards Scotland. On their arrival at Newcastle, and giving hostages to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, in regard to other matters, they were set free, and so returned home. There came also with them the two brothers of the Douglas family, being just then restored to their country, after fifteen years of banishment. They were all received with the gratulation of the major part of the people; but the cardinal, who saw his storm gathering against him, and made no doubt that the prisoners and exiles would both oppose him in the parliament, had taken care to be chosen regent before their arrival. This honour, however, he did not enjoy long, for, within a few days, his fraud in counterfeiting the king's will and testament being discovered, he was turned out of his place, and James Hamilton, earl of Arran, was made regent, through a desire which some had to ingratiate themselves with him, as being the next heir to the crown. Others foresaw, long before, the cruelty of the cardinal in matters of religion, and therefore provided against it by lessening his power. Their fear was increased by a schedule found among the king's papers after his death, wherein the names of above three hundred of the nobility were mentioned as criminals; and amongst them, he who was now chosen regent stood the first on the list that was to have been questioned. This made his election very grateful to be majority, because it seemed the most probable means to release many from danger, and to curb the pride of the priests. Besides, he did himself willingly read the books which treated of the controversies about religion; and the quietness and retirement of his former life, far remote from the ambition of a court, made many hope that he would be sober and moderate in his government; in addition to which, while out of the magistracy, he had not as yet discovered any inactivity or sluggishness of mind.

In the parliament which was held in March, Sir Ralph Sadler came ambassador from England, for the purpose of negotiating a marriage and settling a peace. He put some of the nobility in mind of their promise; while others, as report goes, he tempted with money. The queen-mother, the cardinal, and the whole faction of priests, were not only against this peace, but laboured to obviate it by disturbing some members and counsellors, and corrupting others. In consequence of this, to prevent their scheme from being put to the vote by the general consent of almost the whole parliament, the cardinal, while the numbers were taking, was confined to his chamber. In his absence, they easily agreed upon the marriage of the young queen, and other matters; and articles were promised to be sent to England for the performance of them. The cardinal was kept, at the intercession of the queen-mother, in a loose kind of custody by Seton, who was persuaded, for a sum of money, shortly after, to let him go at large. The peace which seemed thus to be settled, to the great advantage of both kingdoms, after the great dread of an impending war, every one thought would be lasting; and therefore, the merchants, who for some years had been hindered from trading, went to sea, and laden a number of ships with the best commodities they could procure for the time allotted them. Edinburgh sent out twelve vessels; and other places of that circuit, which is the wheat part of Scotland, fitted out ships, each according to their respective abilities. This fleet, in confidence of the peace with England, drew nearer the coast than they needed to have done, and when the wind was calm, some of them lay there at anchor; and others entered into the ports, by which means they exposed themselves to the depredation of the English, had there been any alarm of war.

About the same time, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, and David Painter, returned from France. These men instantly threw off the mask with which they had disguised themselves before for so many years, and soon began to play the old tricks that were natural to them. They, as persons educated in the school of profaneness, and not in that of piety, became the instructors at court, in prompting men to all manner of immorality. The cardinal, as he was restored to his liberty unexpectedly, being of a proud and haughty disposition, which was aggravated by the repulse he had received,



and by the ignominy attending the detection of his fraud, sought out all occasions whatsoever to disturb the public concord. First of all, he communicated with the queen-dowager; and they both took it in great indignation, that the Douglasses, who, for the many benefits they had received from the English, must needs be their fast friends, should immediately, after an exile of so many years, be admitted into the parliament-house, to debate the weightiest affairs of the kingdom. Besides, they feared a change of the established religion, the consequences of which must needs be a breach of the league with France. Upon this, the cardinal, with the consent of the queen, summoned a convocation of priests, and extorted from them a great sum of money, under the plea, that it was necessary to prevent the ruin of the papal church. Part of this money was paid to some of the nobles of the adverse faction, and many large promises were made to them besides, to induce them not to give the promised hostages to the English. And, with regard to those who were lately returned from captivity, and had left their children or kindred as sureties for their return, he obliged them not to prefer those pledges, however dear, to the laws, the public safety, and the ancient religion, the preservation of which, he said, turned upon this single hinge, whether they would run willingly into perpetual bondage. Moreover, he caused the ecclesiastics to conduct themselves proudly and disrespectfully towards the English ambassador, insomuch, that the very rabble reproached and abused his retinue, and there was nothing that he could say or do, but what was taken in the worst sense. But the ambassador was resolved to bear all affronts, and weather out the tide of inconveniences, till the day for delivering the hostages should arrive, that so he might give no occasion for a rupture on his part. But when that day came, he went to the regent, and complained of the affronts which had been offered, not so much to himself, as to his sovereign, whom he represented, and insisted that it was a violation of the law of nations; and he desired him to give hostages, according to the tenor of the league lately made, that so the renewed amity might be kept sacred and inviolate, to the mutual advantage of both kingdoms. The regent, in regard to the affronts that had been offered, excused himself by saying, that he was sorry for them, that he would speedily search into the matter, and that the punishment of such petulant offenders should be a sufficient testimony of the love and veneration which he had for the English nation. But, as to hostages, he answered, that he could not obtain them with the good-will of the states, neither was he able to compel them without the public consent; for the government which he bore was such, that he received as much law as he administered. All his measures, he said, were disturbed by the great sedition which he saw the cardinal had raised, and that he was, as it were, carried down the stream of popular fury, so as scarcely to be able to maintain his own station and dignity. The new hostages being thus denied, another thing equally weighty came under debate; and that was, concerning the nobles who, when lately taken prisoners in war, upon their release left pledges, and made solemn promises, that if a peace should not be concluded, as the English desired, upon just and fair terms, they would again return to captivity. As for those persons, the cardinal's faction, and the rest of the ecclesiastical order, had persuaded them, partly by reasons, and partly by examples, "not to prefer their estates, kindred, children, or any other thing which might be dear to them before the love of their country; in addition to which considerations, they held out an assurance of obtaining auxiliaries from France, and a confederation of all Europe for the defence of their ancient rites and ceremonies: inducing the nobles, that, if they acted contrary, they would betray their country and bring on the immediate ruin of their ancient families. They also desired them, in this dangerous time, not to desert their country; in the safety of which they might hope for more kindred and children: but if that were overthrown, then all would perish. Besides, they discouraged much concerning the irreconcilable enmity betwixt the two nations, and of the cruelty of the king into whose power they would come; thus mixing together truth and falsehood. Moreover, they alleged the decree of the council of Constance, that all oaths, contracts, promises and oaths, made with heretics, were to be void." The greatest part of those who were immediately concerned in the

matter, readily hearkened to any colourable excuse for their breach of faith; but there was one, who, for no pecuniary consideration whatever, could be taken off, nor by any threats deterred from keeping his word. This was Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, who had left his two brothers hostages in England; and he openly professed, that neither for fear nor danger would he redeem his own life at the expense of their liberty; and so saying, he went straight to London, in opposition to the earnest entreaty of his numerous friends. The king of England highly praised the resolute fidelity of the young man; and, to the intent that all might know how much he esteemed such virtue, he richly rewarded him, and sent him home with his two brothers.

But the mind of Henry was not more delighted with the conduct of Gilbert, than his anger was implacable against the rest of the Scots, and he accordingly laid an embargo upon all their ships in the English ports and harbours, of which there was a great number, as I said before, and presently caused a declaration of war to be issued. His menaces on this occasion were great, as being against the violators, not only of leagues, but even of the law of nations. But, though Scotland stood tottering in this dangerous condition, the memory of alliances, the common love to their country, and the respect of the public safety, were so far laid aside, that the flames of sedition were blown up with more fierceness than ever. For the faction of the cardinal and of the queen dowager, who were all for the French, sent over ambassadors thither to say, that unless subsidies were immediately despatched, matters had now come to such a crisis, that England and Scotland would be united into one government; the consequence of which coalition to France, might be ascertained from the experience of former ages. But they made it their chief request to the French, to send home Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, as one who was not only the rival of the family of the Hamiltons, but their deadly enemy, on account of their having slain his father at Linlithgow. This young man was greatly beloved, not only for his extraordinary beauty and stately mien, being in the very flower of his youth, but chiefly in regard to the memory of his father, who had been extremely popular; besides which, there was great danger that so noble a family, now reduced to a few, would be utterly extinguished. He had also many clanships of his own, and was allied to many other great houses. What was still more, the last king had designed him for his heir and successor, in case of his dying without male issue; and he would have confirmed that intention by a decree of the estates, to whom the chief power belongs to order such affairs, if his life had been prolonged. Nor were there wanting flatterers, who endeavoured to inflame his generous mind, which was of itself already elevated with the expectation of great things, but was not so well guarded against fraudulent sycophants, to more extensive hopes. Besides the supreme rule for above twenty years of the young queen's minority, and the dominion over his old enemies, they promised that he should marry the royal widow, so that if the child, who had the name only of sovereign, happened to die, then beyond doubt he would be the next king; and not only so, but likewise the lawful heir of James Hamilton, lately deceased; for as the regent was illegitimate, so far from having any just expectation of the kingdom, he could not lawfully claim the inheritance of his own family. But further, they laid a great stress on the encouragement which he would receive from the French king, who gave hopes of great assistance in due time. The plain-hearted and credulous young man being thus persuaded, made preparations for his voyage into Scotland. But Hamilton was not ignorant of any of these things; and, to the end that he might gain an accession of strength to his own party, by the advice of those friends in whom he reposed the greatest trust, he resolved to take away the young queen from Linlithgow, where she yet was under the care of her mother; for it was thought if he once got her into his hands, then not only the shadow of the royal name, which is an attractive thing among the vulgar, would be his protection, but that he would likewise have the power of bestowing her in marriage, and so make himself arbiter of the kingdom, to transfer it just as he pleased; which if he could obtain, then the king of England might be managed by fair words, or persuaded to join with him in case of need.

This design was much approved: but, as is usual in civil discords, spies

both sides getting hold of proper information, some persons acquainted with what was in contemplation. Upon this, he, gathering together some of the nobility, whom he had made his friends with money, came to Lennox, and, to the great oppression of the inhabitants, staid there some days, in guard to the queen. In the mean time, Lennox arrived out of France, was kindly received in appearance by the regent, both of them dissembling their hatred, after which he proceeded to Linlithgow. Here he advised the cardinal, and then went to his own house, where, in a meeting of friends, he communicated at length the reason why he came over, at what invitation, by whom sent for, and upon what hopes; that he was promised, as the chief magistracy, but also that the heads of the faction, with the queen-dowager's consent, had assured him he should marry her; and that, in order to the effecting of it, the king of France had encouraged him to expect aid and assistance from thence. This speech met with the approbation of all present, and they advised him not to be wanting to his good fortune, which so freely offered itself. And thus, with about four thousand men, he came to the queen. Hamilton, who had drawn all the friends and forces he could presently raise to Edinburgh, resolved to break through to the queen, upon perceiving that his strength was too weak for the purpose, by the advice of his associates, and out of his own disposition to peace, he began to treat of an accommodation. Accordingly, some prudent persons were chosen from both sides, who met at the town of Kirkliston, about half way between Edinburgh and Linlithgow; and an agreement was made betwixt them on the following terms, that the queen should be removed to Stirling, and that four of the principal nobility, who had engaged themselves in neither faction, should be chosen to superintend her education; namely, William Graham, John Erskine, John Lindsay, and William Livingston, all persons of eminence, and of illustrious families. They, with the consent of both parties, accompanied the queen, and entered upon the road leading to Stirling, whilst Lennox remained in arms with his men, till they had travelled far enough to be out of danger from the contrary faction: and, not long after, with the accustomed pomp, and ensigns of majesty, she began her reign at Stirling, on the 1st of August.

The regent perceiving that the favour of the instant people was alienated from him, and that his force was inferior to that of the contrary faction, began to hold private conferences with them; while the cardinal, who was attached to him by the mother's side, sought to bring him over to his party, either by the influence of terror than by the force of arms. Having therefore weakened him at home, by drawing off part of the nobility with presents, and by compelling him to make a disadvantageous league, reduced his influence and reputation among the English, he now, by the intervention of his familiar friends, who had more regard to money than love of honour, persuaded him to come to Stirling, where he caused him to recant and change opinion concerning all the controverted points of religion; not indeed openly, that the infamy of the fact might be lessened among the people, but in the convent of the Franciscans, in the presence of the queen-dowager and chief nobles of the court. And for fear of a suit, which the cardinal intended to commence against him for his whole estate, he was so degraded as to put himself wholly under his authority, inasmuch that he assumed the shadowy name of a ruler. Thus, by the regent's cowardice, the avarice of his relations, the cardinal obtained that which he sought for, in the forgery of a will, as already stated; for now he enjoyed the advantages of the government without opposition. There seemed now one thing wanting to the full establishment of his power, and that was the removal of Lennox, who was a great bar in the way of his designs. At length, the queen-dowager and cardinal fixed upon this project, that, in answer arrived from France, she should hold the young man's mind in suspense, by giving him some hopes of marrying her. For they had written favourably of Lennox to the French king, as indeed they could do no other, next to God, as they said, they were indebted to him for restoring liberty to the liberty they enjoyed; but withal they desired his majesty, that matters were not quieted in Scotland, by his royal liberality and assistance.

ance, he would be pleased to maintain the good work he had done them, and to confirm the peace he had been the cause of, by recalling Lennox, for, without that, things would never long continue in tranquillity, and one or other of the factions must be destroyed. Thus they undermined Lennox privately; but in public he was entertained with a variety of diversions by the queen and cardinal; the court being dissolved in luxury and lasciviousness, and wholly given up to plays and feasting. The day rang with tilts and tournaments, and the night with balls and masquerades. Lennox, who was both inclinable by nature to these recreations, and had been much accustomed to them in the French court, was now opposed by James Hopburn earl of Bothwell, a rival formidable enough to sharpen even a palled appetite. This young nobleman had been banished by king James V. but presently after his death he returned home, and aspired to the hand of the queen, by the same arts as Lennox did; and indeed the endowments of nature and fortune were very eminent in both of them, inasmuch that they might be said to be rather alike than equal. Bothwell, though he matched Lennox in other things, was, in these sportive combats and feats of arms, inferior to him; on which he left the court, and departed to his own house. Lennox, thinking that when his rival was removed, all was easy and secure on his part, earnestly pressed for the performance of the promises that had been made him by the queen and cardinal. But perceiving at last that he was deceived, and that Hamilton, his enemy, was advanced by them to honour, authority, and the supreme power over all men's lives and fortunes; his youthful mind, which was not accustomed to ill arts, and judged others as he himself, was so inflamed with anger, that he broke out into bitter expressions, and solemnly swore, that he would suffer want, banishment, death, and any thing whatever, rather than let such an affront pass without satisfaction. Accordingly he returned to Dumbarton, wholly bent on revenge, but as yet uncertain what course to take for its accomplishment. Then he received thirty thousand crowns from the king of France, who had not as yet been informed how affairs stood in Scotland, to enable him to strengthen his party. This money gave some relief to his distempered mind, because it encouraged him in the hope that he was not forsaken by the French king. But being commanded by the donor to distribute the money according to the advice of the dowager and the cardinal, he gave one part of it to his own friends, and sent another portion to the queen. The cardinal, who had already devoured the whole of the booty in his mercenary thoughts, being grievously troubled, not only at his disappointment and loss, but also at his disgrace in the transaction, persuaded the regent presently to levy an army, and march to Glasgow, not doubting but that he should there surprise Lennox and the money together. Their design being made known to Lennox, he speedily levied about ten thousand of his own friends and vassals; the raising of which great multitude was much facilitated by the indignation of some of the nobles, who, at the beginning, out of love to religion, and hatred to the cardinal, had been the instruments to advance the regent to that high honour; but now they had changed their former good-will into hatred; because, without consulting them, he had delivered up, and, as much as in him lay, betrayed his nearest and best friends, together with himself, into the servitude of their most cruel enemy.

This frame of spirit made a new and almost an incredible change in the Scottish affairs; for the strength of the factions seemed almost entire, only they were headed by different commanders. Hamilton and his kindred joined themselves to the queen-dowager and the cardinal; while the former friends of the regent took part with Lennox. With his forces, bled on a sudden, Lennox came to Leith, and sent some into Edinburgh, to tell the cardinal that it was unnecessary for him to march to Glasgow to fight him, as he was ready to give him an opportunity to do it any day he pleased, in the fields between Leith and Edinburgh. The cardinal, who had drawn the regent over to his side, and imagined that the power of the adverse party was so weakened by it, that he hoped none durst look him in the face, now unexpectedly seeing himself challenged by a greater force than he had for his defence, though he did not expressly decline the combat in words, deferred

the day of battle upon several pretences, well knowing that Lennox could not keep an army together, consisting of volunteers, without pay, or provisions made for any length of time. Meanwhile, he endeavoured, by entreaties and promises, to gain over the minds of those who were most for his turn. Lennox, on the other hand, seeing that the design of his adversaries was to lengthen out the war, and by no means to hazard a fight; being also unprovided with necessaries to carry on a siege, and perceiving that some of his men had private conferences by night with the enemy; sought to deliver himself out of these straits, and his friends, who had made secret provisions for themselves, urging him likewise so to do, he was forced to capitulate with the regent; and so he went to Edinburgh to him, and they transacted matters some days together, as if they had quite buried in oblivion their old hatred and animosity.

At length, when they came to Linlithgow, Lennox receiving advices from his friends, that some hidden mischiefs were plotting against him, went, under the cover of the night, privately to Glasgow, and having fortified there the bishop's castle with a garrison, and sufficient provisions, he proceeded to Dumbarton; where he received more certain information that the Douglases and the Hamiltons were reconciled. But because some jealousies and old grudges yet existed betwixt the two factions, George Douglas and Alexander Cunningham were given as hostages, the one for the father, the other for the brother. Though this was done for a pretence and colour of a firm concord, and though a promise was made that they should speedily be released; yet, notwithstanding, they were detained till the irruption of the English army for the Hamiltons never thought themselves secure, till those who had any interest or courage were removed; that so, by the terror of their punishment, others might be restrained from insurrection. Besides, about the same time, Lennox was informed that the king of France had been wrought into disgust against him, by the malicious practices of his enemies.

In the meantime, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, and Robert Maxwell, the chief of a noble family, came to Glasgow, to accommodate matters, if it could be done, between the regent and Lennox; but the regent's council persuaded him to apprehend the very mediators for peace; and thus, by a back way, to avoid the tumult of the people, they were carried out, and sent prisoners to Hamiton castle.

In this posture of affairs, when not only the English, but the chief of the Scots also, were angry with the regent, Henry, king of England, thought it a fit opportunity for him to punish the violators of the league, and of the law of nations. Previous, however, to his attack of the Scots by force, he sent letters full of just complaints and threats to Edinburgh, blaming them for rejecting, in so arrogant a manner, his alliance, which they could not do well without, when he had so freely and generously offered it; nay, that they had not only refused the proposed amity, but repaid his favours, by sowing the seeds of war; and so had freed him to take up arms against his will. These letters producing no effect, he caused those great naval forces, which he had already prepared to set on the first opportunity against France, to set sail for Scotland, and attack Edinburgh and Leith, both which towns had most affronted his ambassadors, and the country round about them, with all the plagues and misery of war. The ships arriving there, landed ten thousand foot, on the fourth of May, a little above Leith, which place they entered without any resistance; for most of the townsmen were absent, and intent upon their merchandising abroad. The regent and cardinal being then at Edinburgh, and totally unprovided for a defense, knew not what to do, but were so surprised, that they presently set at liberty the four eminent persons whom they had in durance, as already noticed. This they did, not out of any regard to the public safety, but partly for fear lest otherwise their kinsmen and tenants should refuse to fight, or actually join the common enemy; and partly also that they might recover the good-will of the people, who they knew had a general distaste against them upon many accounts; but, at length, not daring to trust to the hatred of the citizens, and of their enemies also, they fled to Linlithgow. The English staid three days at Leith, to land their ordnance and baggage, and so prepared themselves for the assault. Having settled

other matters, they marched to Edinburgh, pillaged and burnt the city, and dispersed themselves to spoil the adjacent parts, where they ruined many villages, with some castles and seats of noblemen. From Edinburgh they retreated to Leith, and having a fair wind, set fire to the houses, hoisted sail, and departed.

About the same time, Lennox was certainly informed that Francis, king of France, was wholly displeased with him; for the adverse faction, by their frequent letters and messages, had persuaded him, that it was he alone, who, by reason of his old hatred to the enemies of his father, disturbed the public tranquillity, and hindered the concord of all Scotland. They said also, that he was not only the head of the faction against the regent, but a favourite of the English, and one who rather indulged in his own private animosities, than promoted the common interest; and that, if the king would recall him into France, peace might be easily made up amongst the rest. When Lennox understood from his friends, what his enemies had alleged against him, he also wrote to Francis, informing him of the state in which he found the affairs of Scotland; how that he and his friends had, with great pains, restored both the queen and her child to liberty; and had put them into a posture and capacity to rule, by breaking the power of the adverse party; and that out of a most turbulent tempest, he had brought things to a great tranquillity. He further stated, that, though nothing would be more acceptable to him, than to return to France, where he had lived rather longer of the two than in Scotland, and so to enjoy the sweet society of the friends whom he most loved; yet, that his coming back to his own country was not of his own accord, but that he was sent thither by the king; and that he had done nothing there, of which his majesty or himself need to be ashamed: so that if he would not abridge him of his former favour, he would shortly answer, nay, perhaps exceed the hope he had conceived of him; but, if he should call him away in the midst of the career of his designs, then he must not only leave the things he had so well begun, unfinished, but also expose his friends, kindred, and vassals, whom he had engaged in the public cause, and who had been almost worn out with cost and labour, to servitude and torment, under an impious and cruel tyrant, who, as much as in him lay, had sold both the queen and kingdom to the enemy; and who observed the treaties and promises he made to men, no more religiously than he did the duties of piety towards God; for within a few years he had changed his religion three times: neither was it to be wondered at in him, who looked upon oaths and promises, not as bonds obliging to fidelity and truth, but the specious covers of perfidiousness and treachery. And therefore he moved earnestly, that the king, and those of his council, would consider, whether, in so great an affair, they would believe him, all whose ancestors had devoted themselves, their lives, honours, and fortunes, for the increase of his grandeur; and who indeed had been honoured and rewarded by him with many benefits, which yet were rather testimonies of their good acceptance, than just rewards and compensations of their labours; or else a man, who would change his friends and foes at the blast of every wind, and who depended on the arbitrement of fortune alone.

Though many were not ignorant that these allegations were true, yet the French king was so influenced by the Guises, the queen dowager's father and uncle, and who in all things endeavoured to promote her concerns, that his heart and ear were both shut against the request of Lennox; insomuch that he would neither grant an audience to John Campbell, a man of approved virtue, who had been sent over by him, nor so much as permit him to come into his presence, but kept him in the nature of a prisoner, and had spies set upon him to watch him, that so he might not write back any thing of the designs in agitation at the French court. Notwithstanding all this rigorous caution, however, there were some who told him every thing. When Lennox heard this by the despatches which were sent him, his troubled mind was variously agitated betwixt anger and mortification. He was ashamed to leave the enterprise in which he had embarked, unfinished; and the rather, because he thought that he could not requite the love of his friends and kindred, whom he had drawn with him into the same danger, any way but by the

sacrifice of his life. As for the rest, his anger was highly inflamed, especially against the queen-dowager and the cardinal, by whose perfidious representations he was cast into these straits; but he was chiefly offended with the king of France, complaining, that he had brought him upon the stage, and now in the midst of his favourable prospect had forsaken him, and joined himself with his enemies. Whilst his thoughts thus fluctuated, not knowing where to fix, news was brought him, that all the inhabitants on this side of Mount Grantsbain, capable of bearing arms, were commanded by proclamation, against such a day to appear at Stirling, and to bring provisions for ten days along with them, that they might be ready to march wherever the regent should command them. Accordingly they came at the day appointed, and the regent ordered them to Glasgow; where he besieged the castle ten days, and battered it with brass guns. At last a suspension of hostilities being granted for a day, the guards were tampered with; so that the castle was surrendered, upon a promise of quarter and indemnity to the soldiers of the garrison, notwithstanding which, all of them, but one or two, were put to death.

In the mean time, Lennox, being forsaken by the king of France, and cut off from all hope of other aid, made trial, by his friends, how the English monarch stood affected towards him; and finding a favourable appearance there, he resolved to go thither; but, before he went, he had a great desire to perform some notable exploit against the Hamiltons. On communicating his design to William Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, they two, at a day appointed, with their tenants and adherents, resolved to meet at Glasgow, and from thence to make an inroad into Clydesdale, the whole of which country belonged to the Hamiltons. When the regent heard of this, he resolved to anticipate them, by seizing Glasgow, and preventing the meeting; but Cunningham, with a great party of his men, entered the town before him, and there waited the coming of Lennox: till hearing of Hamilton's approach, and his design, he drew out his men into the adjoining fields, and according to the number of those he had, set them in order of battle. There were about eight hundred in all, partly of his own clanship, and partly of the citizens of Glasgow, who favoured his cause; and thus, with greater courage than force, he joined battle, and fought so valiantly, that he beat the first rank of the enemy back upon the second, and took the brass pieces which they had brought with them. But whilst the fight was hot about the regent's quarter, and things appeared to be in great hazard there; on a sudden, Robert Boyd, a brave and valiant man, came with a small party of horse, and penetrated into the midst of the fight, where the service was hottest and the battle raged with the greatest fury. This mistake, which occasioned an unnecessary confusion, quite changed the fortune of the day, whilst one thought the assistance had come to his party, and the other to his enemies. There were slain in the battle about three hundred on both sides; the greatest part being on that of the Cunninghams, amongst whom were two sons of the earl, and both gallant men. Neither was the victory unbloody to the Hamiltons, for they also lost some considerable persons on their side. But the greatest mischief fell on the inhabitants of Glasgow; for the victors, not satisfied with the blood of the townsmen whom they killed, nor with the miseries of those who survived, were yet with the plunder of their property, took away the very doors of their houses, the shutters of their windows, and the iron bars; besides which, they inflicted upon them every kind of calamity, even to the firing of their habitations, which were sadly torn and deformed with these ravages. The event of this battle wrought a great change in the minds of men, so that the friends and kinsmen of Lennox refused to hazard a second encounter; not so much on account of the increase of the enemy's force and the lessening of their own, nor through any doubt of being able speedily to supply the loss of so many valiant men from distant places; as from an unwillingness to give any new provocation to Hamilton, and by too much obstinacy to offend him farther, under whose government they knew they must shortly come.

Lennox, being thus deserted not only by the French, but by the greater part of the Scots too, made George Stirling governor of the castle of Dumbarton; while he himself, with a few of his company, sailed for England.

against the advice of his best friends, who were desirous that he should have staid some months in that impregnable castle, and so wait for a new turn of affairs, which they doubted not would shortly come to pass. But he was resolved to go to England, where he was honourably received by the king, who, besides his other favours, gave him Margaret Douglas in marriage. She was sister to James the last king of Scotland, whom the earl of Angus had by the sister of Henry, king of England; a lady in the flower of her age, and of great comeliness and beauty. In the mean time, the queen-dowager received into her protection the Scottish faction, which had been, by the departure of Lennox, left without a head, and which resolutely refused to come under the power of Hamilton, whose levity they too well knew, and whose cruelty they now as much feared. She did this the more readily, because she apprehended that they might be enraged in such a state of confusion, and so desperately engage in some new disturbance.

The Hamiltons rejoiced at the departure of so potent an enemy; but not being satisfied with the punishments already inflicted, they used their prosperity very intemperately; for, in the next convention, held at Linlithgow, they condemned Lennox and his friends, confiscated their goods, and banished them from Scotland. A great sum of money was also raised out of the fines of those who redeemed their estates out of the exchequer, but not without creating great disgust, and giving high offence to all good men. In the midst of these domestic seditions, the English entered Scotland, and committed great ravages and destruction in Jedburgh, Kelso, and the neighbouring parts. From thence they went to Coldingham, where they fortified the church and tower, as well as they could for the time, by raising works and leaving a garrison, and so departed. The soldiers who remained made great havoc in all the country round, partly out of greediness for plunder, and partly to prevent the enemy from being supplied with provisions, in the event of a siege. They who were at the head of the government in Scotland, namely, the queen-dowager, cardinal, and regent, by the advice of the council, now issued a proclamation, that the noblemen, and the most discreet and able of the commons, should come in, with a stock of provisions for eight days, to march wherever the regent should lead them. In a short time, about eight thousand assembled, and that too in the midst of a very sharp winter. These troops, having battered the tower of the church of Coldingham with their great guns, stood to their arms all day and night, to the very great fatigue both of horse and man. The day after, the regent, either out of tenderness and inability to endure military toil, or fearing the arrival of the English, who, as he was informed, were on the march from the neighbouring town of Berwick, unknown to the nobles, and with but a few in company, mounted his horse, and with full speed rode back to Dunbar. They who endeavour to excuse the baseness of this flight, say, that he was afraid lest his army, out of hatred preconceived on many former accounts, would have delivered him up to the English. Whatever it was, his departure occasioned a great disturbance in the whole army, and the more so, because the cause of his flight was unknown; and therefore many thought the danger more considerable, and that they had greater reason for fear. This made some obstinately resolve to hasten home the nearest way they could, and to leave their guns behind them; others, who would seem a little more cunning and bold, were for overloading them, that so they might burst in pieces upon being discharged, and thereby become useless to the enemy; but Archibald, earl of Angus, withstood them all, telling them that they should not add so foul an offence to their base flight; and when he could not restrain them, either by his authority or entreaty, he burst out into these words, with a loud voice, so that many might hear him: "As for me," said he, "I had rather choose any honourable death, than to enjoy my life, though in plenty and security, with the guilt of so foul an action. You, my friends and fellow-soldiers, consider what you will do: for, as to myself, I am resolved either to bring back these guns, or never to return home alive. My honour and my life shall go together." This speech affected only a few, whose honour was dearer to them than their lives; but as to the rest, they were so disheartened by the shameful flight of the regent, that they broke their ranks, and went every one his own way, in a



scattered and confused manner. Douglas sent on the guns before, while he, with his party, followed in good order; and though pressed upon by the English horse, whom the tumult had drawn out, yet he brought the ordnance safe to Dunbar.

This expedition, no less rashly undertaken, than basely performed, discouraged the majority of the Scots, and raised up the spirit of the English to an intolerable height, as turning the cowardice of the regent to their own praise. Accordingly, Ralph Evers and Brian Layton, two brave English cavaliers, overran all Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, without any resistance, compelling the inhabitants of those countries to submit: and, when any were refractory, they wasted their lands, and made their habitations desolate. This undisturbed course of victory made them at last so resolute and insolent, that they determined to constitute the bay of Forth the boundary of their conquests; for which purpose they went to London, and craved a reward from Henry for their good services. Their petition being referred to the council, a debate was held upon it; in which, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who had made many expeditions against the Scots, and done them much mischief, particularly distinguished himself. Understanding that, in the present troublesome posture of affairs in Scotland, it was no hard matter to overrun naked and unguarded countries, and to compel the commonalty, who were destitute of defence and refuge, to take an oath of fealty, and, withal, knowing the constancy of the natives in maintaining their country, and their resolution in recovering it when lost; upon these considerations, it is reported, that he advised the king to give them all the land which they could win by the sword; and also to allow them a small force to defend it, till the Scots in that quarter should be injured to the English government. This gift they willingly received, and the king as willingly gave; upon which, their vain boasting being as vainly requited, they returned joyfully to the frontiers, having obtained three thousand soldiers in pay, besides the English borderers, who are wont to serve without any military stipend. Their return mightily disturbed all the Scottish borderers; and the more, because they had no hope of any help from the regent, who was wholly influenced in his counsels by priests, especially the cardinal. Hereupon, Archibald, earl of Angus, being much affected with the public disgrace, and also concerned on account of his own private losses, having large and fruitful possessions in Merse and Teviotdale, sent to the regent, to lay plainly before him the greatness of their danger, and to request his assistance to avert it. The regent deplored his own insulated state, and complained that he was deserted by the nobility. Douglas, in answer, told him, that it was his own fault, and not that of the nobility, who were willing to devote their lives and fortunes to the public benefit; but that he had slighted their advice, and was entirely governed by the priests, who were unwearied abroad, and seditious at home: for they, being exempted from danger themselves, abusively spent the fruits of other men's labours upon their own pleasures. "This," said he, "is the source of all the jealousies between you and the nobility, which, because you cannot trust one another, is a great hindrance to the public service; but, if you will freely hold communications with, and follow the counsels of, those who are ready to lay down their lives in executing what shall be resolved upon, I do not despair but that we may yet perform as noble exploits as any of our ancestors did, in times equally, or at least not much less troublesome, than the days in which we now live. But if, by our own slothfulness, we suffer the enemy to conquer us gradually, he will quickly force us to a total surrender or banishment; and which of the two is more miserable and flagitious, can hardly be determined. As for us two, I know that I am accused by my enemies of treachery, and you of cowardice; but if you would do that speedily, which you are not able to avoid doing in the end, it is not an eloquent oration, but the field of battle, and the edge of the sword, that must clear us of these imputations." The regent told him, he would be wholly guided by him and the nobles; upon which, the council was summoned about an expedition; and, by their advice, a proclamation was published in all the neighbouring countries, that the whole nobility there should, with all the speed they could, repair to the regent, whosoever he should be; and accordingly, on the day after, with their present forces, which were

not above three hundred horse, they marched for Hagland. There came in to them some of the men of Lothian, and those of Merse, but not very many; so that when they reached Melrose-upon-Tweed, they resolved to stay there till more forces should come up to them. But the English, who were already got as far as Jedburgh, being informed by their spies of the inconsiderable strength of the enemy, marched with about five thousand men out of Jedburgh, directly towards Melrose, not doubting but that they should surprise the regent and his party unawares, as they were so very few, and those also tired with their march.

But the Scots, having advice from their scouts of the approach of the English, withdrew to the next hills, from thence in safety to behold what course the enemy would take. The English, being thus disappointed of their hope, wandered up and down in the town and the monastery of monks, both of which had been pillaged a little before, being intent upon what prey they could find, and there they staid till break of day. As soon as it was dawn, they set out on their return to Jedburgh; while the Scots, having received a supply of almost three hundred of the men of Fife, under the command of Norman Leslie, son of the earl of Rothes, a young man of such accomplishments, that he had not his match in all Scotland, grew from hence more encouraged; and so, with a slow march, retired to the hills, which lie about the town of Ancrum. There Walter Scott, of whom mention was made before, an active and prudent person, joined them, though only with a few in his company. Seeing the shortness of the time, and telling them that his whole party would be speedily with them. His advice was, that they should send their horses to the next hill, and so all of them run equal hazard on foot, and wait for the enemy on the low lands. For he did not doubt but that when the English saw their servants leading the horses up to the higher grounds, it then would make them believe that they were running away, and so occasion them to quicken their march. Accordingly, lest the Scots should get away without fighting, and thereby harass their pursuers in the endeavour to come up with them before the night came, the English advanced towards them in three battalions, hoping to end the business with one light skirmish. In this impulse, each man exhorted his fellow to make haste, though they had continued their route night and day before, under their heavy arms, that so by a short rest they might get long rest, renown, and glory.

These exhortations added to their courage as much as the toil of the march abated their strength; so that their two first battalions fell in amongst the Scots, who were prepared for the onset, as into an ambush; yet trusting to their number, they stood to their arms, and fought stoutly. But two things, wisely foreseen, were a great help to the Scots; for while the sun, being almost at the west, darted his full beams in the faces of the enemy; the wind, which was somewhat high, blew the smoke of the gunpowder back upon the battalions in the rear behind, insomuch that they could not see their way; besides which, as they were panting through the fatigue of their march, it mightily troubled them with its noisome smell. The first battalion of the English falling upon the second, and the second on the third, produced such a confusion, that when the Scots pressed upon them, they all broke their ranks, and were driven back with an increase of fear and terror, so that none knew his own colours or his captain. Thus, whilst every one provided for his own safety, no man remembered the public danger or disgrace. The Scots followed thick and close after them, so that now there was no more fighting, but slaying. At night the Scots were recalled to their colours, and on taking review of the slain, it was found that they had lost only two of their own; while of the English, besides commanders, there fell about two hundred, most of them persons of quality. There were about one thousand prisoners taken, among whom were more than eighty gentlemen. This victory happening beyond all men's expectation, was so much the more acceptable; and though the fruit and profit of it redounded to the regent, almost all the honour devolved upon the Douglas party.

About this time, by the fraud, as it is thought, of George Gordon earl of Huntley, a quarrel arose, in which almost all the family of the Frasers was distinguished. There was betwixt them and the Macdonalds an old grudge,

which had been often expressed, to the injury of both parties; while Hunt was inwardly filled with indignation, that they alone, of all the neighbouring families, refused to come under his clanship. For when the neighbouring islanders gathered together what forces they could against the earl of Argyll, there was hardly any man in that part of the country but took up arms on the one side or the other. But the matter being composed without blood, on their return they separated from each other, and went different ways, in which, when the Macdonalds had notice, they got their clanships together, and set upon the Frasers most furiously; and they, being fewer in number, were overcome, and all slain to a man. Thus that numerous family, which had so oft deserved well of their country, would have been wholly extinguished, had it not been through providence, as we have reason to believe, that every one of the chiefs of the clan left their wives pregnant at home, who, in due time, brought forth male children, and they all lived to man's estate.

At the same time the English monarch heard, that his army was beaten and wasted in Scotland, and that an ambassador was sent by the regent to the king of France, to acquaint him with the victory, and to desire aid of him against the demands and threats of Henry; and likewise to inflame him against Lennox, on account of his departure into England. As for aid, he could scarcely obtain any, because the French knew for certain that Henry was just upon the point of embarking with great forces for their coast; however, they sent over five hundred horse, and three thousand foot, not so much indeed to defend the Scots from the incursions of the English, as to keep the latter in check, that they might not fall with their whole strength upon France. Henry, during the summer, did not think fit to send greater forces to the borders, because he was of opinion, that the garrisons there were sufficient to restrain the incursions of the Scots; and besides, he knew well enough that the people, in such a perplexed state of their affairs, could not raise a great army that year to attack any well fortified places.

The Scottish ambassador in France raised some objections against Lennox in his absence, but so mean and insignificant were they, as scarcely to deserve answering. These were, that he had concealed the money sent to him; that through his dissensions with the cardinal, the cause of the public was betrayed; and that he had given a false account of his reasons for withdrawing into France. The king of France, who, by means of false rumours, had conceived such an anger against Lennox, that he would not permit him to clear himself, or give him an opportunity to refute the calumnies that had been raised to his prejudice; having even caused the brother of the accused, who was a captain in his guard, to be imprisoned without allowing him a hearing; yet now, when the truth began to appear, thought proper to relax a little from his severity, and, by way of covering or excusing it, ordered an inquiry to be instituted into the charges. The investigation was intrusted to James Montgomery of Largie, commander of the French auxiliaries, who, though a man active and good enough, was a bitter enemy to Lennox. The examination was put into his hands, at the instance of the Guises, because they were not able to distinguish and separate the cause of their sister from the perfidiousness of the cardinal. On the third of July, 1545, Montgomery, with the French auxiliaries last mentioned, arrived at Sootland, where, by shewing the letters, and declaring the good intentions of the king of France towards them in the council, he obtained that an army should be levied, but only of the better sort, who were to bear the charge of the war, and to meet on a short day. Accordingly, at the time appointed, there mustered at Haddington fifteen thousand Scots, who marched to the borders; where they formed their camp over against Werk, a castle in England. From thence, almost every other day, they marched with their country into the enemy's country, and carried off a great deal of plunder. The English endeavoured to resist their incursions, but in vain, for though they ventured to encounter them in some slight skirmishes, they were unsuccessful; so that the Scots wasted all the country for about six miles round. They continued this course of action for the space of ten days, never going so far into England during the day, but that they could return back to the camp at night. In the mean time, Montgomery and George Home pressed the regent

very earnestly to remove his camp to the other side of the Tweed, that so they might make free inroads upon the parts adjacent, and spread the terror of their army to a greater distance; but all their solicitations were fruitless, for the regent and those of his council about him were against it, because they were wholly destitute of the things necessary to the storming of castles; so they disbanded the army, and returned home. The rest took up their winter-quarters as every one thought fit; but Montgomery went to Stirling to the court, where, having made himself acquainted with the calumnies raised against Lennox by his enemies, though he was himself highly offended with him too, yet he rebuked the cardinal very severely, that, without any provocation, he had loaded a noble and innocent person with such scandalous imputations, as had compelled him, even against his will, to join the army.

About the same time, inroads were made on both sides, on all parts of the borders, with very different results. Robert, the son of Robert Maxwell, a young gentleman of singular valour, was taken prisoner by the English; but, with that exception, nothing memorable occurred. At the beginning of the following winter, Montgomery returned to France, and the cardinal took the regent about with him through the neighbouring provinces, under the pretence of exorcising the disaffected, and putting an end to sedition. First, they came to Perth, where four men were punished for eating flesh on a fast day; and a woman and her infant were both suffered to perish, because she refused to call upon the Virgin Mary for aid, while she was in labour. Then they applied themselves to the destruction of the whole body of the reformed, going to Dundee, according to their own declaration, to chastise those who read the New Testament; which in those days was thought a most grievous sin; and such was the blindness of the times, that some of the priests, being offended at the novelty of the title, contended that this book was lately written by Martin Luther, and therefore they desired to have only the Old Testament. At Dundee, they were informed that Patrick Gray, chief of a noble family in those parts, was coming thither with a great train, accompanied by the earl of Rothes. The tumult this occasioned being appeased, the regent commanded both of them to attend him the day after; but the cardinal, thinking it not safe to admit two such potent and factious persons, with so great a train, into the town, which was the only one strongly addicted to the reformed religion, persuaded the regent to return to Perth. In the morning, when the noblemen, who were ready to set out on their journey, heard that the regent had gone to Perth, they immediately, upon the first notice, followed him thither; but as soon as they came in sight of the town, the cardinal was so afraid, that, to gratify him, the regent commanded them to enter severally and apart; and, the next day after, committed both of them to prison. Rothes was soon released, but Gray obtained his liberation with more difficulty, some time afterwards, because he was more hated and feared by them. Before they went from thence, the cardinal, thinking it expedient to lower the power of Rothes, provost of the place, the regent complied, and took away the appointment from him, and gave it to the laird of Kinfauns, a neighbouring chief, who was the kinsman of Gray. Rothes was hated by the cardinal, because he favoured the reformed religion; and as for Gray, though he was not wholly averse to that persuasion neither, nor yet any friend to the prelate, the latter thought that if the two fell out, they would draw to themselves many from the neighbouring parts, according to the relation which they bore to such illustrious families, and that, as each had numerous domestics, the more that fell on either side, the fewer enemies he should have left alive.

Thus the provostship of Perth, which, for many years, had been continued as hereditary in the family of the Ruthvens, was transferred to Charteris, laird of Kinfauns, to the great indignation of the citizens; who took it much more, that their ancient freedom of voting in their assemblies was taken away. But the new provost was sent to bring them to a sense of obedience by force, if they offered to resist; and the design was to assault the town in two places. Gray, who had taken the whole matter upon himself alone, attacked it from the bridge over the river Tay; while the other party were to carry their guns up the stream, and so to storm the open side of the town; but

being hindered by the tide, they could not come up in time. Gray made his attempt by the bridge, from which Ruthven, to make it seem as if the place was undefended, had purposely withdrawn his guards into the adjacent house upon which, the opposite party, seeing none in arms to oppose him, boldly marched up into the town. Ruthven then, with his people, sallied out from their hiding-places on a sudden, and gave Gray a brisk charge, which routed him and his whole party; and, in their flight through narrow passages, he hindered another; for the last, striving to gain the entrance, impeded the rest, and in this confusion many were trod to death, and sixty fell by the sword. The cardinal, when he knew that Ruthven had gained the victory, though he was a little disconcerted at first, yet was glad on the whole, that so many of his enemies were destroyed; for as he despaired of making them his friends, he believed that he should be a gainer by their mutual extirpation. The prelate having thus gone through as much of Angus as he thought convenient at that time, brought the regent, after the winter solstice, to St. Andrew's, to endear his mind still more and more to him, if possible. For though the cardinal had his son, the earl of Arran, by way of pledge, yet as often as he reflected upon the fierceness of the Scottish nobility, the strength of the opposite faction, and the inconstancy of the regent himself, he was apprehensive that he would be persuaded by his enemies, and so brought over to them with the same facility as he had first joined himself with him. There he entertained him, and his small retinue, with sports and pastimes, twenty days at Christmas, gave him many gifts to please him for the present, with promises of more for the future; and, after much discourse together, concerning the state of the kingdom, he came a little more secure to Edinburgh.

There a convocation of ecclesiastics was held on the 13th of January. In that assembly, many things were debated concerning the retaining of the ancient liberty of the church, and the punishment of the enormous crimes of some priests; but, in the midst of their debates, before they could conclude any thing, news was brought to them, that George Wishart, a preacher of the gospel, who was a great favourite of the people, was entertained at the house of a noble person, called John Cockburn, about seven miles from the city. Upon this, they presently sent a party of horse to demand the offender; but Cockburn alleged several things in excuse, purposely to cross some delays, that so he might have an opportunity of conveying Wishart away secretly. The cardinal being informed of this, posted thither with the regent, in the dead of the night, and beset all the avenues of the house; notwithstanding which, neither his promises, flatteries, nor threats, could prevail, till he sent for the earl of Bothwell out of the next district. He, being the chief of all the people of Lothian, with some difficulty succeeded in getting George delivered up to him; first passing his word that no harm or damage should befall him. The priests having now secured this prey in their hands, carried him from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's: where, about a month after, assembled a great multitude of ecclesiastics, of different ranks, to determine concerning his doctrine; which was done to blind men's eyes, under the pretence of a judicatory and a legal proceeding; for all men knew what they would determine concerning him beforehand. With the consent of the whole body, the cardinal, by his letters, desired the regent to issue a mandate for a civil judge to sit upon the offender; because he could not himself, according to the papal canon law, try causes of life and death. And therefore, it was necessary that he who had been condemned as a heretic by the priests, should receive sentence from the secular power. The regent was not likely to have any scruple in granting this request, had not David Hamilton, of Preston, his kinsman, kept him back, who alternately advised and entreated, threatened and reproved him, in order to stop the process against George. The sum of his discourse is supposed to be this:—"That he very much wondered upon what account the regent should vent so great an authority in any man, against the servants of God, who had no other crime objected against them, but that of preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ; and especially that he should deliver them up to such, whose wretched lives and brutal cruelty made them quite careless what torments they put an innocent man to, whose integrity of life his very enemies were forced to confess, even against

their will; that as for his learning, he knew it to be great; that farther, he had himself been formerly a great favourer of him and his opinions; that it was by his recommendations he was advanced to the supreme magistracy; and so, that he had given forth edicts, declaring his assent to the reformed doctrine publicly, and had even undertaken to defend it; nay, that he had exhorted all in general, and each man in particular, to read and understand, practise and simplify it in their hearts and lives. "Consider therefore with yourself," said he, "what will men think? what will men say of you? Reflect upon the mercies which God Almighty hath bestowed upon you. The king, an active man, and your enemy, was taken away, who walked in the very same steps that you now tread; and they who brought him to ruin by their advice, are at this minute doing their utmost endeavour to destroy you; they have opposed you from the beginning with the weight of all their power; and now they seek, with fraudulent counsel, to insnare and undo you. Call to mind the victory given you over your subjects without bloodshed, and over your enemies too, though they had a much greater force than yours, which redounded to your great honour, and their merited disgrace. Remember, for those sake you thus desert God, and oppose your friends and his! Awake, beseech you, and dispel that mist, which wicked and ill-designing men have cast before your eyes; remember Saul king of Israel, how he was raised up from a low to a sovereign state, and how many blessings he received from God, so long as he was obedient to his law; but that, when he slighted and turned aside from his commands, how miserably was he punished? Compare the success of your affairs, from the beginning to this very day, with his prosperity; and unless you alter the course of your designs, expect no happier issue, nay, rather a worse end than he had: for he designed the same projects which you are now upon, and that to gratify some base varlets, who can neither hide their atrocious wickedness, nor are even modest enough to endeavour the dissembling of them."

The regent, being much affected at the advice of his friend, wrote back an answer to the cardinal, that he should not precipitate the process, but let the whole matter remain in its present state, till he came himself; as he was unwilling to consent to the condemnation of the man, without more diligently inquiring into the case; and that if the cardinal did otherwise, the blood which he shed should light on his own head; for he testified by those letters that he himself was entirely clear from it.

The cardinal was unexpectedly chagrined and surprised with this answer; knowing well enough, that if a delay took place in the business, the prisoner would be delivered, as being a popular man. Besides, he was determined not to suffer the thing to be brought to a debate, partly because by fair dispute he had no hope to prevail, and partly because the man having been already condemned by the ecclesiastical councils and canons, he would have no recognition made; so that he was angry to a degree of rage, and persisted in the resolution he had taken: and his reply was, that he did not write to the regent, as if he had not sufficient authority independently of him, but for a show of common consent, that his name might be to the condemnation. Upon this George was brought out of prison, and John Windram, a learned man, and a hearty, though secret, favourer of the cause of religion, was commanded to mount a kind of pulpit there erected, and to preach. He took his text out of Matthew xiii. which says, "That the good seed is the word of God, but the evil seed is heresy." In his discourse, he defined "heresy to be a false opinion, evidently repugnant to the holy scriptures, and maintained with obstinacy, that it was occasioned, supported, and fostered, by the ignorance of the pastors of the church, who did not know either how to convince heretics, or to reduce those who were gone astray, by the spiritual sword, which is the word of God. Afterwards he explained the duty of a bishop, out of the epistle to Timothy, and shewed that there was only one way to find out heresy, which was, to bring it to the test of the word of God." At length, when he had finished his discourse, though what he spoke made against the priests who were there assembled, not to refute heresies, but to punish those who opposed their licentious arrogance; yet, as if all things went completely on their side, they dragged forth George to a pulpit or scaffold, built

in the church, that so they might observe their accustomed form in judgment. Over-against him stood another pulpit, into which John Lauder, a pious priest, ascended; while the rest stood all about him, as arbitrators. But there was not the least appearance of argument, or of a free dispute in the case; for the accuser thundered out many odious and abominable slanders, such as were wont to be commonly forged against the preachers of the reformed religion, with bitter and violent expressions. Thus having spent some hours, George was brought back again to the castle, and lodged in the governor's chamber, spending great part of the night in prayer. The next morning, the bishops sent two Franciscans to him, to acquaint him that his day was at hand, and to know whether they should confess him, as is usual in such cases? He told them, he had nothing to do with friars, nor had he mind to discourse with them; but that if they were willing to gratify him at that one point, then he desired to confer with the learned man who preached the day before. Accordingly, the bishop gave Windram leave to go to the castle, and George had a long discourse with him, who, after he had weeping, which, for a while, he could not refrain, very kindly demanded of him, whether he would receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper? With all my heart, said George, if I may receive it under both kinds of bread and wine, according to the institution of Christ. Windram returned to the bishops, and told them, that George very solemnly protested that he was innocent of the crime of which he was accused; and he said this, not to deprecate his death, now at hand, but only to testify that integrity bore men, which was already sufficiently known to God. The cardinal was much enraged, that he exclaimed, "As for you, we know well enough who you are." Windram then further demanded, whether he would permit him to administer the sacrament to Wishart as he desired. The cardinal took a little with the bishops, and with their consent made answer, "That was not lawful for a stubborn heretic, who was condemned by the church to enjoy any of her benefits." This answer being returned to him, about two o'clock, the friends and officers of the governor of the castle sat down to breakfast; and asked George whether he would eat with them; "Very willingly," said he, "and much more so than in former times, because I perceive you are good men, and fellow-members with me of the same body of Christ, and because I know that this is the last meal I shall eat on earth. And now, you," speaking to the governor of the castle, "I desire you, in the name of God, and for that love which you bear to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that you will sit down awhile with us, and vouchsafe me the hearing, which I give you a short exhortation, and so pray over this bread, which, as brethren in Christ, we are about to eat, and then I will bid you heartily farewell." In the mean time, the cloth was laid, according to custom, and bread was set thereon, when George made a brief and clear discourse for about half an hour, concerning Christ's last supper, his sufferings, and death. But, above all, he exhorted them to lay aside anger, envy, and malice, and to have mutual love impressed on their minds, that so they might become perfect members of Christ, who daily intercedes for us with his Father, that our sacrifices may be accepted by him to eternal life. When he had thus spoken, he offered thanks, and having broken the bread, gave to every one a little piece, and then the wine, after he himself had drank, in the same manner, entreated them to remember the death of Christ, now in the last sacrament with him; but that, as for himself, a bitter portion was prepared for him, for no other reason than that of his preaching the gospel. Then, having again given thanks, he returned to his chamber, and concluded his private directions. A while after, two executioners were sent to him by the cardinal, one of whom put a black linen shirt upon him, and the other bound many little bars of gunpowder round all parts of his body: in which dress they brought him forth, and commanded him to stay in the governor's outer chamber. At the same time, they erected a wooden scaffold in the court before the castle, and made up a pile of fagots. The windows and balconies over against it were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, together with cushions for the cardinal and his train, to behold and take pleasure in the joyful sight, even the torture of an innocent man; thus courting the favour of the people, as the

author of so notable a deed. There was also a great guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as for a vain ostentation of power; besides which, brass guns were placed up and down in all convenient places of the castle. Thus, whilst the trumpets sounded, George was brought forth, and having mounted the scaffold, was fastened with a cord to the stake: where he had scarcely obtained liberty to pray for the church of God, when the executioner set fire to the wood, which immediately taking hold of the powder that was tied about him, blew it up into flame and smoke. The governor of the castle, who stood so near as to be singed by the flame, exhorted him in a few words to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences; to whom he replied, "This flame, though it occasions trouble to my body, in no respect can depress my spirit; but he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place," pointing to the cardinal, "shall, ere long, be as comically thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease."<sup>o</sup> Having thus spoken, they straitened the rope which was tied about his neck, and so strangled him. His body, in a few hours, was consumed to ashes in the same; but the bishops were so mad with hate and rage, that they forbade every one, upon great penalties, to pray for the deceased.

For this deed the cardinal was highly commended by his faction, and exalted to the very skies, that he alone, when others declined it, should have lighted the authority of the regent, and performed so noble an exploit, whereby he had curbed popular insolence, and had courageously undertaken, and as happily managed, the defence of the whole ecclesiastical order. They said, that, if the church had formerly enjoyed such strenuous assertors of its liberties, it would never have been brought to the condition in which it was at that day, to be subservient; but would have given law to all, and received none. This exuberant and superlative joy of the priests, for the victory which they had obtained, rather irritated than discouraged the minds, not only of the common people, but even of some great and noble persons; who were particularly mortified to reflect, that the present degraded state of things should have been occasioned, in a great measure, by their own pusillanimity and cowardice. They now, therefore, thought that some bold step or other was necessary to be attempted and hazarded, to prevent their remaining slaves for ever. This motive drew others to them, whose grief forced them to break out into complaints against the cardinal. So they encouraged one another to rid the prelate out of the way, and either to recover their liberty, or lose their lives. "For what hope of prosperity," said they, "can there be under this arrogant priest and cruel tyrant, who makes war against God as well as man; and who treats as his enemies, not only the owners of estates, and pious persons; but for a small grudge will drag any man as a hog out of the sty, to be sacrificed to his pleasure? And, besides, he is a public encourager and maintainer of war, both at home and abroad; and, in his private capacity, mixeth the love of harlots with lawful marriages; legitimate wedlock he dissolves at his will; at home he wallows in lusts among his minions, and abroad he ravages to destroy the innocent."

The cardinal, though he did not distrust his own power, yet knowing how people stood affected towards him, and what reports were spread up and down concerning him, thought it his best way to strengthen his interest, by making all the additions to it that he could, without regard to the means. For this end, he went to Angus, and married his eldest daughter to the son

<sup>o</sup> This prophecy is called in question by writers of great authority, who treat it as a story invented after the death of the cardinal. Spotswood and Petrie follow Buchanan; but Keith, in the History of the Church of Scotland, suggests strong reasons for disbelieving the circumstance. He says, that there is not one word of it in the first edition of Knox's History; and that if the thing had been true in fact, it is not credible that one who was the friend of Wishart, would have omitted all mention of so remarkable a prediction. Sir David Lindsay, also, who wrote the poem called "The Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton," in which he has gathered together all the vile things that could be found against the prelate, makes no mention of this prophecy; nor does the honest and indefatigable martyrologist, John Fox, who was credulous enough in such things. After all, there was nothing so very extraordinary in the alleged passage, since any man of discernment, judging from the circumstances of the times, and the odious character of the cardinal, might easily have anticipated his downfall from power.



of the earl of Crawford; which ceremony was solemnized in great state, and almost with royal magnificence. Whilst these things were transacting, he received intelligence by his spies, that the king of England was making great naval preparations to invade the Scottish coasts, but especially the inhabitants of Fife, whom he threatened most. As soon as the cardinal received this news, he returned to St. Andrew's, and there appointed a day for the nobles, especially those whose estates lay near the sea, to meet, and counsel in common, what remedy to apply in the present danger. To do this more effectually, he determined to take a view of the whole maritime line of coast, together with the owners of the lands, and so in a manner to make a circuit throughout Fife; and to fortify all convenient places, and put garrisons into them. Amongst the rest of the noblemen's sons who came to the cardinal, was Norman Leslie, son of the earl of Rothes; of whom I have already made mention several times. Though he had done great and eminent services for the cardinal, there arose a dispute between them, concerning a private business, which made them cold to one another, and strangers for a while; but Norman, on being promised some considerable equivalent, quitted his right to the matter in contest. After a few months, he came to demand of the cardinal the performance of the engagement, when they advanced from a place to a pretty warm discourse, and afterwards to downright railing, uttering each reproachful words one to another, as were unbecoming of them both. Thus they parted in a great rage, the cardinal vexed that he was not treated with that deference which he thought was due to his dignity; and Norman, full of wrath, at being circumvented by fraud. So the latter returned home with thoughts full of revenge, and inveighed openly amongst his friends, against the intolerable pride of the cardinal; insomuch, that they all agreed to take away his life. But in order to manage the matter without exciting suspicion, Norman, with five only in his company, came to St. Andrew's, and put up at his usual inn, that so his design against the cardinal might be concealed, by reason of the small retinue which he had with him. There were, however, ten more in the town privy to the conspiracy, who all, in several places, expected the water-word. With this small band did he undertake so great an enterprise; and that too, in a town which was full of the cardinal's train, relations, and attendants. The days were then very long, as they use to be in those countries, towards the end of the spring, or about the seventh of May. The cardinal, at this time, was busy in fortifying the castle for his defence; and that in so great haste, that the workmen continued at it almost night and day. It being the custom of the porter to open the gates early in the morning, to admit the labourers; Norman contrived to place two of his men in a house hard by, as it were in ambush, to watch the opportunity, and gain an entrance. Three men, on the first appearance of the porter, were to seize him, and having thus made themselves masters of the gate, to give the sign, agreed on, to the rest. By this means they all entered the castle without any noise; and sent four of their number to watch the cardinal's door, that no tidings might be carried in to him; while others were appointed to go to the rooms of the rest of the household, and call them up, for they well knew both the men and the place. Having roused the domestics, who were half asleep, and called them all by their names, they threatened immediately to kill them, if they made the least outcry, and so saying, they led them all in profound silence out of the castle, without doing them any hurt. All these being turned out, the conspirators alone were masters of the castle; and then those who watched at the cardinal's door, knocked for admission. Being asked their names, they told them, and were immediately let in, having, as some relate, passed their words that they would do no harm: and, on their entrance, they despatched the cardinal, and giving him many wounds. In the mean time, a noise was spread about the town, that the castle was taken; insomuch that the cardinal's friends, half drunk and half asleep, hastened out of their beds, crying out to "Arm." Thus to the castle they posted, vociferating with threatening and opprobrious words, for ladders; bringing other things also with them, necessary for an assault. They who were in the castle, that they might damp this impetuosity, and bring these mad spirits to consideration, demanded why they made such a confusion, since the man was dead whom they sought to rescue; and with that

threw his dead body out in the sight of them all; even from the very window where before he had exultingly beheld the execution of George Wishart.\*

Whereupon, many reflected within themselves upon the inconstancy of human affairs, and this unexpected event. Many also were affected with the prediction of George Wishart, concerning his death, which then came into their minds; and several other things also, which that holy man had foretold, not without the special inspiration of God's Spirit, as we have cause to believe, and as the event soon after made appear. The cardinal's friends and counsellors, being quite astonished at this unexpected sight, were dispirited, and soon went away. When the matter was spread all over the kingdom, men's minds were variously moved, according to their hatred or love of the cardinal; some thinking it a brave, and others an impious action; for many who professed a different way of worship from him, and lived in deadly fear of him, and others, who were offended at his intolerable arrogance, not only approved the fact, but came to congratulate the perpetrators of it, as the restorers of their ancient liberties; and there were some of them who offered to venture their lives and fortunes in their defence. The court was terribly alarmed at the news, as having lost part of their council; but, by the advice of those who were present, they issued a proclamation, commanding the murderers to come in within six days, and give sureties to answer matters at a day which was to be nominated for that purpose. But they had a strong castle over their heads, and in it all the money and furniture of the deceased prelate. Besides which, they had the regent's eldest son with them, who, as hath already been related, was given in hostage to the cardinal; so that they gave no credit to the promises of their enemies, of whose inconstancy and perfidy they had sufficient experience, and therefore refused to hearken to any conditions of peace; for which reason they were outlawed. Thus the matter was protracted, partly by the threats and vain promises of the one party, and the diffidence of the other, from the month of May till the 5th of November; when the regent, at the importunity of the queen-dowager, and the reproaches and clamours of the priests, took up arms, and lay three whole months before the castle, battering it with his brass guns; but, in the fourth month, almost at the end of winter, he dismissed his army, without carrying the place; and went to Edinburgh, to be present at the convention of estates, which he had before summoned to be held in February.

They who were in the castle, being thus relieved from all fear of the enemy, not only made frequent excursions into the neighbouring parts, and committed depredations with fire and sword all round; but, as if the liberty gained by their arms were to be spent in debauchery and other vices, ran into all the

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\* The particulars of this murder are more circumstantially related by Knox and other writers. According to them, the principal conspirators, John Leslie, Norman Leslie, Peter Carmichael, and James Melvil, knocked at the cardinal's door; on which he cried out, "Who is there?" John answered, "My name is Leslie." "Which Leslie?" replied the cardinal, "Is it Norman?"—It was answered, "that he must open the door to those who were there;" but being afraid, he secured the door in the best manner he could. While they were endeavouring to force it open, the cardinal called to them, "Will you save my life?" John Leslie answered, "Perhaps we will!" "Nay," replied the cardinal, "swear unto me, and I will open it." Some authors say, that, upon a promise being given, that no violence should be offered, he opened the door; but, however this be, as soon as they entered, John Leslie smote him twice or thrice, as did likewise Peter Carmichael; but James Melvil, as Knox relates the fact, perceiving them to be in danger, said, "This work and judgment of God, although it be in secret, ought to be done with greater gravity;" and presenting the point of his sword, thus addressed him, "Repent thee of thy wicked life, but especially of the shedding the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which, albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." After saying this, he stabbed him twice or thrice through the body. This event occurred on the 29th of May, 1546. The archbishop had three sons and a daughter, who were all made legitimate by act of parliament, as the natural children of the right reverend cardinal.

wickedness which idle persons are subject to, for they measured right or wrong by no other rule than their own lust; neither could they be restrained by John Knox, who then came to them, and often warned them, that God would not be mocked, but would take severe punishment on the violators of his laws, even by those whom they least dreamed of; yet his exhortations could not stop the course of their impiety.

Besides this domestic mischief, which raged even in the very heart of the kingdom, what aggravated it exceedingly, was the war with England; for the forces of that nation had passed over the Solway, and thrown the people into a terrible panic. Not contented with pillage and prey, they set fire to some places, took several fortresses, and put garrisons into them. Neither were matters more quiet in other parts of the borders. Robert Maxwell, upon whom the greatest part of the storm fell, came to Edinburgh, to solicit assistance, when almost every thing was lost. He alleged, that the country was made desolate; that their castles were taken, and kept by their enemies; that the husbandman was driven from his habitation, and forced to live in great want on the charity of his friends; and that they suffered all this, because they would neither change nor forfeit their allegiance to their sovereign. He added, that, if no course was taken for their relief, in a short time their miseries would compel them to give themselves up to the English; and so would their neighbours too, for fear of sustaining the like injuries. This complaint had the effect of procuring a promise of aid to Maxwell, for the recovery of his rights; and the regent accordingly marching his army thither, formed his camp by the river Meggat. There the cardinal's friends earnestly desired him to call George, the father of Norman Leslie, who was then in the camp, to an account, and not suffer so potent a man to accompany him in the war, who, if not an open enemy, was at least a suspicious character. The earl, though the time and place did not favour it, was yet willing immediately to put himself on his trial. Upon this, the names of the judges or jury were, according to the custom, which I have elsewhere mentioned, impanelled, and none of them excepted against by the adverse party; yet by all their votes he was acquitted. From thence they marched to the castle of Langholm, and drove out the English there; but when they were about to attack other fortresses, they were suddenly recalled, by the intelligence, that the French fleet, consisting of twenty-one ships, had appeared near St. Abb's head.

The regent, imagining, as it really was, that they were come to reduce the castle of St. Andrew's, according to the agreement that had been made between them, marched joyfully home. There he met Leon Strozzy, the French admiral, and both resolved to lay close siege to the castle, which they did with such wonderful despatch, that many of the soldiers of the garrison who were abroad, could not come in, and several countrymen, who had no hand in the conspiracy, but occasionally were admitted into the castle about their private affairs, could not get out. They planted their brass guns upon the towers of two churches, that stood near both sides of the castle, and thereby so annoyed the quadrangle within the walls, that no man durst stir out of his house without manifest danger of his life. Afterwards, they brought larger pieces of ordnance, to play upon that part of the wall which stood between the two towers; and soon battered it down, because the newly erected buildings were not properly cemented with the old. The concussion was tremendous, and when it happened, the besieged, who before trusted to their fortifications, and were ready to expose themselves at all hazard, to stop any breach, began now to be afraid. Having called, therefore, a council of war, because they feared that the regent would be actuated by that cruelty which is most apt to rage in feeble minds, on the account of his kinsman's death, they surrendered the castle and themselves to Leon Strozzy, only upon quarter for life. Then Leon sent in his men to pillage the castle, where they found, besides a great quantity of provisions of every kind, all the cardinal's money and goods, together with the wealth of the soldiers in the garrison, and of many others also, who had laid up their property there, as in a place of refuge. Here also they found the regent's son, who had been given in hostage by his father to the cardinal, and when he was slain, was still detained

there. The castle was demolished by the advice and order of council; and, a few days after, Leon set sail with his prisoners for France. These things occurred in the month of August, 1547.

About the same time, news was brought that the English had prepared great forces, both by land and sea, to invade Scotland, and to demand the performance of the treaty, which had been made four years before with the regent, for the marriage of the young queen to the son of king Henry. This sudden report greatly agitated the regent, who was fainthearted enough of himself, for as he had then no foreign aid, so neither did he much confide in his own forces; the papal faction being offended at his instability, and the friends of the exiled Lennox, whom he had cruelly treated, retaining the seeds of their old hatred against him. Notwithstanding this, upon his proclamation, here came in great numbers to Edinburgh; from whence they marched to the mouth of the river Esk, which runs through Lothian, and there waited the approach of the English. In the mean time, the Scottish horse rode up towards the enemy, in their march, and challenged them to fight, which had the effect of impeding them in their passage. But the English general, who knew that the Scots were better than his own men at such tumultuary skirmishes, had given command, that none of his troops should march out to encounter them. At last, on the importunity of Gray, commander of the cavalry, he was persuaded to send out some troops of horse, well armed, together with airassiers, that should suddenly rush in upon them, when they were unprepared for resistance. The Scots, grown fearless of the enemy, but now astonished at this sudden onset, broke their ranks, and fled for their lives, leaving behind about eight hundred of their men slain or taken. Of the English also, who pressed too eager in the pursuit, several were made prisoners, amongst whom were some eminent cavalry officers. From this time forward, there was no remarkable action performed by the Scottish horse. The English had their camp at the town of Preston, which was little more than a mile distant from them; and where, as the ground was elevated, they had a full view of the number of the Scottish army. Perceiving them to be more than they had at first imagined, they consulted what course to take, when it was resolved to send letters to the Scots, that so, if just and equal conditions might be agreed upon, the matter might be ended rather by treaty than force. The purport of the letters was: "They earnestly desired the Scots to remember, first, that both armies professed the Christian religion, to whom, therefore, unless they renounced their profession, nothing ought to be more dear than peace and tranquillity, and nothing more to be abhorred than arms and war upon an unjust ground; that the cause of the present contest was neither covetousness, hatred, nor envy, but a desire of perpetual peace, which could no way be so firmly cemented as by the conclusion of the marriage, that had been already promised in the public decree and consent of all the estates, ratified by a league, and on such conditions as were more advantageous to the Scots than to the English; not to reduce them to a condition of servitude, but to a reciprocal affinity in life, and a participation and communion in all their fortunes." It was further observed, that "this marriage would be so much the more beneficial to the Scots than to the English, as the weaker side had reason to hope for more advantages, and to apprehend more injuries, from the stronger; and that, at the present, taking a fair account of things, it was proper first to consider the case, that it was not only expedient the queen should marry, but that the necessity of it was inevitable, though to settle it well was somewhat difficult; that as the sole power of choosing her a husband was left to the estates; if therefore, they would select one solely on account of dignity and public advantage, whom could they pitch upon better than a neighbouring king, born in the same island, allied in blood, instituted in the same laws, educated in the same manners and language, and superior, not in power alone, but in all the external ornaments and attributes of majesty?" and they added besides, that "this marriage would bring with it a perpetual concord, and an oblivion of all ancient resentments. But that if they had any thoughts of bringing in a stranger amongst them, to govern the kingdom, one who differed from them in language, laws, and customs, they should consider how many inconveniences were lodged in the bosom of such a design, as they might easily

foresee, from the examples of other nations; and that it were better so to learn it, than to obtain the knowledge by a painful experience, and acute feeling." The English said, that in regard to themselves, "If they found the spirit of the Scots not wholly averse from an agreement, they were ready to remit something of the rigour of law and right, and would be content that the young queens should be educated under guardians of her own nation, till she came to be marriageable, and competent, by the advice of the nobles, to choose a husband for herself; that, in the mean time, both sides should refrain from war and rapine; and that the queen should not be transported beyond sea, nor any treaty be entertained by the Scots, concerning her union with a French or other foreign prince. If the Scots would faithfully promise this, they said that they would presently depart, and withdraw their forces; and for any damage they had done since their entrance into the country, they would make such restitution as indifferent men should award."

These letters being brought to the regent, were communicated by him to his brother, John, archbishop of St. Andrew's, whom he had put into the place and authority of the cardinal, and to some few others, who, in hopes of a sure victory, advised him to suppress them; for they were afraid, that the equity of the proposals were made known, the minds of the Scots would be inclined to terms of peace; and therefore, they gave out, through the whole army, that the English were come on purpose to take away their queens by force, and to reduce the land under their own dominion. The regent being naturally inactive, had chosen four persons, no more versed in military affairs than himself, who turned and managed all things at their pleasure. These were his three kinsmen and friends, John, his brother, archbishop of St. Andrew's and abbot of Dunfermline, George Dury, Alexander Beton, and lastly Hugh Riggs, a lawyer, who was noted more for his stature, corpulence, and strength, than any military skill. These men so elevated the regent with the vain assurance of victory, that, being of himself inconstant in his resolutions and designs, which shifted at every blast of wind, he shut his ears against the advice of all others. Under these circumstances, the private favourites of the regent caused the report, which they had themselves fabricated, to be spread among all the troops, who, in consequence, ran hastily and unanimously to their arms.—Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, led the van; George Gordon, earl of Huntley, brought up the rear, each commanding ten thousand fighting men; while the regent had about the same number in the centre. In this posture, a report was suddenly raised, that the English had fled; and it was not altogether without ground, for, being in want of provision, and not able to fetch it from a distance, or to forage for it in the neighbourhood, which had been already plundered, they thought it most prudent to secure themselves, at the expense of part of their baggage. Accordingly, they retreated by long marches; but, as they were opposed by so many armed men, unable to engage, and durst not come down into the plain, nor could deceive the enemy by a circuitous course, they waited his coming on the higher ground. On the other side, the regent was impatient of delay, and sent to Douglas to hasten his march; but he, knowing that the English could not long keep that position, for want of provision, waited to fall on their rear; and, therefore, hesitated to obey the mandate, till he was stirred up by another messenger, to quicken his speed. Then, and not before, he passed over the river, the main body and reserve following at a great distance. The English, who were about to depart, seeing Douglas coming speedily towards them, sent out Gray, the commander of the horse, with his whole body, to meet him, and stop his career, till the infantry should have possessed themselves of a neighbouring hill; or, if he saw occasion, to charge them in their ranks; for, seeing the major part of them were armed after the French manner, they thought the Scots would never be able to bear the brunt of the assault. It happened, however, that a brigade of the Scots marching in close order together, and holding forth their stand of long pikes before them, as a fence, received the charge; the van of the English running in upon the weapons, became entangled amongst them; while the rest, thinking that they had fallen into an ambush, returned to their own body, telling them, that the ranks of the enemy could no more be broken, than if they charged against a wall. Upon this,

the English horse would have abandoned the foot, and fled; had it not been for the persuasion of their commanders, and their mutual encouragement of each other; so that, in the expectation of a more advantageous ground, whereon to fight, they were restrained, and returned to order. The Scots were kept from marching forward to the opposite hill, chiefly by seeing a Spanish officer, named Gambo, with some troops of his countrymen, who were harquebussiers, coming down obliquely from the hills, as if he would fall upon their flank. In order, therefore, that no sudden emergency might cause them to divide their force, and also that they might not be attacked on their flanks, they wheeled about leisurely from the right ascent of the hill. The main body, when they saw the van leaving their station, thought that they were running away, and so, breaking their ranks, likewise betook themselves to flight. The English, perceiving this from the high grounds, sent out their force, and trod many of them under foot in the pursuit. During all this march from Esk to the English camp, the ships of the latter fired upon the flank of the Scots, and did them much mischief. All the ways were strewed with arms, by reason of the great slaughter which was made; and numbers of them were drowned in the river. The English acted with the utmost severity against the priests and monks; for such of that tribe as were lusty, and able to bear arms, came into the field; and many even imputed the loss of the day to these men, who had arrogantly refused equitable conditions of peace, and who, if they had obtained the victory, would have used it as cruelly towards their own countrymen as their enemies. In the first charge, the English lost about two hundred horse; but of the Scots, there fell the prime of all the noblest families, with their relations and tenants, who counted it the most vile and wicked thing in nature to desert them; and many were taken in the pursuit. The highlanders, however, by collecting themselves together in a round body, kept their ranks, and returned safe home. At first, they marched through craggy places, and in ways that were very inconvenient for the horse; and when they were sometimes necessitated to descend into the plains, the English cavalry, who followed the pursuit in a scattered manner, durst not attack them. This battle, which, amongst a few others, proved very calamitous to the Scots, was fought on the 10th of September, in the year 1547. The English, who had gained a victory that was the more joyful by being unexpected, marched five miles further with all their forces; and here they staid eight days, sending out parties every day, to burn and destroy every thing within the circuit of six miles. But they attempted nothing considerable else, except fortifying the desolate islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, in the frith of Forth; taking in the bay of Tay the castle of Broughty; and, in their return by land, the fortresses of Fastcastle and Home, the garrisons of which surrendered out of fear. They also raised two forts, one at Lauder, and another on the ruins of Roxburgh castle.

Their sudden departure gave some relief to the Scots, and a breathing time for them to meet together, to consult about the public welfare. The regent, immediately after the battle, came, with those of the nobles who were with him, to the two queens at Stirling, and the nobility there in attendance. The regent and his brother were very sad and dejected, for the calamity which had happened by their default; and the queen-dowager also shewed many outward signs of grief in her speech and countenance; but they who knew her heart, judged that she was not much concerned at seeing the arrogance of the Hamiltons thus humbled and chastised; but, to be joyous in a public calamity, they who are accustomed to cover the faults of princes under honest disguises, are wont to call greatness of mind. Besides, the dowager, ever since the death of the cardinal, had used all ways and means to throw the regent out of office, and to possess the supreme authority herself; but she knew that she could never effect this object, as long as the Hamiltons were in the ascendant, and had all the fortified places in their hands. In her discourse, she continually expressed her apprehensions of the English, complained of the weakness of the military force of the Scots, and enlarged upon the dangers arising from the civil dissensions amongst them. On these points she communicated her mind to those whom she knew were ill-affected to the Hamiltons; in consequence of which, when the nobles were in consultation upon the great

affairs of the kingdom, a decree was made that the young queen should reside at Dumbarton, while the chiefs debated concerning the estate of the kingdom. Jan Brakine, who was well known to be a firm adherent of the dangerous faction, was made governor of the queen, and William Livingston, a friend to the Hamiltons, was joined in commission with him. Ambassadors were likewise sent into France, to demand succours of their king, Henry, against the common enemy, according to the league made between the two nations. Hopes were also given, that the queen would come over into France, and marry the dauphin. The French, however, were so intent upon their own affairs, that the required auxiliaries were slower in coming than the present danger demanded.

In the mean time, the English entered Scotland on both sides of the borders. The earl of Lennox also, as if he had been sent for by his friends, came to Dumfries; his father-in-law, Angus, and his old friend Glencarn, having promised him two thousand horse, with a proportionable number of men from the neighbouring parts, to assist him, if he would leave the English, and come over to them. When, however, he came to the place on the day appointed, there were hardly three hundred assembled, who, besides, were not as used to live by robberies. These, and some other circumstances of a like nature, being very suspicious, more especially the wavering conduct of John Maxwell, who had already given hostages to the English, made Lennox believe that he was betrayed; and, therefore, he resolved to circumvent his enemies with the like fraud. He accordingly detained with him Glencarn, John Maxwell, and other Scottish chiefs, who had treated with him concerning his journey and return to his own country; and, in the middle of the night, he sent toward Drumlanrig six hundred horse, part English, and part of the Scots who had submitted to them. When they came to the appointed place, five hundred of them were despatched to commit what spoil they could in the neighbouring parts, that so they might draw James Douglas, the owner of the castle, into an ambush. He, however, being aware of the design, kept within his hold till it was day; and then, having no further fear of them, he marched out with his men, and passing over the river Nith, fell in a dexterous manner upon the plunderers, whom he charged in the rear as they were retreating. But when they gained a convenient time and place to rally, they faced round upon him with great violence, and struck such a terror into his men, at the entrance to a ford, that they disordered their ranks, killed many, and took several considerable persons prisoners. This light expedition had such an appalling effect throughout the greatest part of Galloway, that no people strove which of them should yield first to the English, partly to gratify Lennox, and partly fearing, lest, being forsaken by their neighbours, they should be exposed to every kind of depredation. The regent of Scotland, dreading that, if, in such a general confusion, he attempted nothing, he should altogether dispirit his men, who were depressed enough already, besieged the castle of Broughty; but after lying before it almost three months, without performing any thing considerable, he drew off his men, leaving only one hundred horse, under the command of James Haliburton, an active young man, to disturb the neighbouring districts, and to hinder any supplies from being carried by land, either into the fortress, or to the garrison which the English had placed on an adjoining hill. These matters took place at the end of that year. In the beginning of the next, which was 1548, the English fortified Haddington, a town in Lothian-upon-the-Tyne, burned the villages, and plundered the surrounding country, which was one of the richest parts of Scotland. They likewise established another garrison at Leander. Lennox, about the end of February, having passed over the west border, escaped with difficulty from an ambush laid for him, by part of those who had yielded themselves; but in returning to Carlisle, he amply revenged himself, by punishing some of the hostages, especially John Maxwell, the chief author of the treaty, of whose treachery he was apprized in some letters which he had received from the king of England. During these transactions, Henry, king of France, who had succeeded his father Francis, caused about six thousand forces to be transported into Scotland; of which three thousand were German foot, commanded by the Rhingrave; about two thousand were French; and one

housand were of different nations, and all of them cavalry. The whole were placed under the orders of the French general Dessius, who had been some years a commander in France, and had there been distinguished by some good services. These troops being landed at Leith, were directed to quarter at Edinburgh, till they should be recovered from their sea-sickness. Meanwhile, the regent, and he forces with him, marched to Haddington, where they blocked up all the passages, and laid close siege to the place. He now issued a proclamation into all parts; in obedience to which summons, there came to him, in a short time, about eight thousand Scots. There also the nobility assembled, and the consultation was renewed, concerning the young queen's going into France, and carrying the Dauphin. A council for this purpose was held at a monastery without Haddington, and which was, in a manner, situated in the midst of the camp. In that convention there were various disputes; some said, that if they sent away the queen, they must expect perpetual war with England, and bondage from the French. Others were of opinion, that by reason of agreement in religion, and the condition of the present times, it would be more advantageous to embrace the terms offered by the English, which consisted of a peace of ten years, with no disgraceful covenants or obligations on the part of the Scots. For the sum of the proposed league ran, "That, if the king of England, or the queen of Scotland, should die within ten years, all things, on both sides, should remain as they were before." It was observed, that if no fortuitous event occurred in the interval, the kingdom would be thereby freed from its present difficulties, which was almost broken in its strength; and that the military force, which was almost wholly lost in the late battle, would have time to grow up and increase, in that long period of uninterrupted peace; and that, intestine discord being thus laid asleep, they would be able more maturely to consider of the great affairs of the nation, than they could do amongst drums and trumpets; while, in such consultations, delays were sometimes of great advantage; when, on the contrary, rash and precipitate doings were attended with speedy repentance. Such were the arguments on that side. But all the papists favoured the French, and some others too, whom the bounty of that power had either bribed, or gained over, by promises and expectations of great advantage; amongst whom was the regent. He had a yearly revenue of 12,000 French livres promised him, and the command of one hundred cuirassiers; so that most voices carried it for the queen's going to France. The fleet which was to convey her, rode at Leith; and making as if they would go away, they sailed about all Scotland, and came to Dumbarton where the queen, who had waited there some months for its arrival, embarked, in the company of James, her brother, John Erskine, and William Livingston. She met with much foul weather, and contrary winds, but at last landed in Bretagne, a peninsula of France, and travelled by easy journeys to the court.

In Scotland, whilst the war was suspended at Haddington, the common people, in several places, were neither backward nor inactive on the present occasion. The garrisons of Home and Fastcastle having done great hurt to the neighbourhood, the Scots, observing that the first of these fortresses was negligently guarded by night, got up to the top of a rock, where the confidence that the place was inaccessible, made those within less watchful; and so the assailants slew the sentinels, and took the castle. Not long after this, when the governor of Fastcastle had commanded the country people of the vicinity to bring a great quantity of provisions into the fort, on a certain day, the peasants came in great numbers, and, unlading their horses, took the provisions on their backs, to carry them over a bridge made betwixt two rocks, into the castle. As soon as they were entered, they threw down their burdons, and, upon a sign given, slew the guards; and, before the rest of the English could come in, they seized the arms, and placed themselves in the avenues; and thus, setting open the gates for the admission of their own party, they made themselves masters of the castle. In the mean time, the naval force of the English was not idle; for as the whole stress of the military operations lay upon Haddington, their commanders thought that the neighbouring parts must be weakened, and deprived of all the means of defence. Under this persuasion, they landed in Fife; and having passed some maritime places



that were well inhabited, they came to St. Mewan's-kirk, which was also tolerably populous, that from thence they might march to some more considerable town, but less fortified, where they expected to meet out-  
 pillage worth their labour. James Stuart, the queen's brother, receiving the alarm, with the people of St. Andrew's, and a few of the countrymen who were left at home, advanced towards them; being joined in his way by many of the neighbourhood. The English were already landed, and about twelve hundred of them stood ready in their arms for an encounter. The great guns which they had brought on shore struck such a dread into the countrymen, that they quickly fled; but James, after he had a little allayed their fear, charged the enemy so briskly, that, though he had not a more numerous band along with him, he soon routed them, and drove them toward the sea, killing many on the spot, and several in the pursuit; and not a few of them were drowned in retreating to their ships; and one vessel with all its passengers was sunk, whilst they endeavoured in throngs to get on board. It is reported that there were six hundred slain in the fight, and one hundred taken prisoners. Then the fleet presently sailed to Mearns, a country less inhabited; their design being to surprise Montrose, a town not far from the mouth of the river Dee. They resolved to land in the night, and therefore lay at anchor, out of sight of the coast, as long as there was any light in the sky. But while they were making to shore in the dark, they discovered themselves through their own imprudence, by hanging out a light in every boat. John Erskine, of Dun, the governor of the town, having commanded his men to arm, without making any noise, divided them into three bodies. Some he placed behind a bank of earth, which was raised on the shore to hinder their landing; while he, with a few archers lightly armed, made directly towards the enemy; and a third band of servants and promiscuous body of people he stationed under the cover of a neighbouring bill, and supported by a few soldiers for their direction. These arrangements being made, he, with his archers, fell upon the enemy as their descent, and maintained a sharp dispute with them, till, in a tumultuary kind of fight, he had drawn them on to the bank; where he was joined by his other party, who stood ready at their arms, and they all united in the combat; yet the English would not have given ground, had not the last have shewn themselves, with colours flying, from the next hill; on which they made such haste, that of about eight hundred who came on shore, hardly a third part escaped to their ships.

In the mean time, vigorous sallies were made about Haddington, and without loss on both sides, but mostly on that of the English, who suffered very much from the want of provisions, and, while waiting for the expected supply, they were reduced to a state of such weakness as to be almost on the point of surrender. At this crisis, two brave soldiers, Robert Bower and Thomas Palmer, were commanded to march thither from Berwick, with one thousand foot and three hundred horse, and to make all the speed they could. The whole body, however, fell into an ambush laid for them, so that scarcely a man of them escaped alive. The English resolved to send further aid, but the French discovering their design, blocked up the narrow passages by which they were to march. At length, Desaius being deceived by one of the enemy's scouts whom he had taken, and who told him the English were far off, and marching another way to relieve the besieged, left the passage of which he had possession, and went in a contrary direction. The English taking advantage of this circumstance, marched through to the relief of their friends without any hindrance; bringing with them three hundred fresh men, powder and ball, and other supplies of which the garrison stood much in need.

Whilst these things were occurring at Haddington, with various success on both sides, and little effect on the main object of the war, intelligence was brought that the English had levied a complete army to raise the siege. In consequence of this, Desaius, aware that he was not able to encounter the force which were expected, removed his troops farther off from the town, and sent back his great guns, all but six small field-pieces, to Edinburgh. Upon the coming of the English army, the siege was raised, because the Scottish

commanders would not hazard the fate of the kingdom upon a single battle ; so that the Scots marched every one the nearest way home ; while the French, though much pressed upon by the English, accomplished their retreat in good order. In their return, the French soldiers slew the governor of Edinburgh, and his son, together with some of the citizens who joined them, because they refused to admit them into the town with all their forces, as knowing that they could not keep them from plundering. Dessius, in the mean time, lest the sedition should increase, drew off his troops ; and, thinking that the enemy would be more passive at Haddington, on account of their good success, he resolved to make an attempt to surprise it on a sudden. Rather he marched all night, and, by break of day, slew the sentinels, and came up to the very walls, where the fort before the gate was taken, and the watch killed ; some also endeavoured to break open the gate, while others rased the granaries of the English. In this hurry, the noise made by the assailants at the gate, and the shouts of the French, crying out, " Victory, victory ! " roused the English out of their sleep. Amidst this great confusion, a soldier let off a brass gun, placed casually against the gate, that he might, in the present danger, make trial of a doubtful remedy. The ball went completely through, and forced a lane in the close ranks of the French ; so that, amidst the exclamations of the soldiers, crying out " victory," and the noise of the shattered gates, such a confused clamour was carried to the rear, that they were seized with fear, not knowing the cause, and so fled ; which occasioned the rest to follow them. The French, after this repulse, marched to Terviotdale, where the English had done great damage. There, under the conduct of Dessius, they drove the enemy from Jedburgh, and made many incursions into the English ground, not without considerable advantage at length, when they had wasted all the country, besides doing their daily duty, they fell into great want, and the common people pitied them the less, on account of their late seditious conduct at Edinburgh ; for they looked upon that attempt as a step to tyranny. From this time forward, the French did nothing worth relating. The king of France was now made acquainted, by letters from the regent and queen-dowager, that Dessius spent much of his time in light and generally insignificant expeditions ; that he was more injurious to his friends than enemies ; that the French soldiers were grown extremely insolent since the tumult at Edinburgh, and that, by reason of the intestine discord, all was like to be ruined. In consequence of these complaints, Dessius was recalled, and Paul Terms, a good soldier and prudent commander, was sent with new supplies to Scotland. Dessius, thinking it would be to his honour to recover the island of Inchkeith, which had been taken a few days before, and was begun to be fortified, got together a fleet at Leith, and went on board with a chosen body of Scots and French. The queen-dowager was a spectator of the enterprise, and encouraged them, sometimes particularly, and sometimes all in general. After landing in the island, he drove the English into the uttermost corners, killed almost all their officers, and compelled them to surrender, but not without much bloodshed. This was his last achievement in Britain, and then he surrendered up his command to Terms, who drew forth the army out of their winter-quarters, and ordered them to march towards the northern counties, while he himself, Dessius being dismissed, followed soon after, and laid siege to the fort of Broughty, which, in a short time, he took, and also the castle adjoining, from the English, putting nearly the whole of both garrisons to the sword. On his return into Lothian, his principal object was to hinder provisions from being conveyed into Haddington ; but while thus engaged, suddenly a great army of English and Germans shewed themselves ready for an encounter ; whereupon he made a quick retreat in good order, till he came to a place of greater safety. Meanwhile, the Scottish cavalry, which hung on every side of the enemy, perceiving that the German baggage was unguarded, plundered it in a moment. Provisions, however, were carried into Haddington without any opposition. During these operations, Julian Romerus, with a troop of Spaniards at Coldingham, was taken in his quarters, where he lay with as great security as if all had been at peace, and almost the whole of his party was destroyed. Terms, when the English forces had marched back, resolved

to return to the attack of Haddington. This place was defended by stout men, yet, as the country all round was wasted, and provisions could not be brought from a distance without great hazard, and frequent loss; and as the English were troubled with a grievous sedition at home, and were further pressed by a war with France; the garrison, having no hope of relief, burnt the town, and, on the first of October, 1549, set out for their own country.

The garrison of Lauder, being in great distress for want of necessaries, was about to surrender, when news came on a sudden, that a pacification had been concluded between England and France, proclamation of which was made in Scotland on the first of April, 1550; and, in May following, the French soldiers returned home. This peace, with respect to foreign parts, lasted about three years, but in Scotland it was as troublesome and pernicious as the hottest war, for those who sat at the helm, the regent and his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, were both extremely cruel and avaricious, and the prelate in particular was very licentious in his conversation; for, as if he had been authorized to injure all mankind, he made his will the sole law. The first presage of the ensuing tyranny was the allowing of the murder of William Crichton, a person of eminence, to go unpunished. He was slain by Robert Semple, in the regent's own palace; and almost in his sight; notwithstanding which, the murderer was exempted from judgment, by the intercession of the archbishop's concubine, who was the daughter of Semple. This archbishop, as long as the king lived, was one of his principal confidants, and pretended to a great zeal for the reformed religion; but after his death, he ran into all the excesses of the wildest impiety. Among his other mistresses, he took away this young woman Semple from her husband, a neighbour and kinsman, and kept her almost as if she had been his lawful wife, though she was neither handsome, nor a woman of good reputation, and remarkable for nothing but her wantonness. After this, followed the death of John Melville, a nobleman of Fife, who was a great intimate of the late king. Some letters of his were intercepted, written to a certain Englishman, in behalf of his friend, a prisoner there; and though there could be no suspicion of treason in the case, yet the author of them had his head cut off; and to make the matter still worse, his estate was given to David, the regent's youngest son. Though the injury occasioned by these wicked practices reached only a few, the obloquy of them extended to many, and the bad example almost to all. This evil conduct of the regent, in the direction of the government, together with the sluggishness of the whole of his former life, mightily offended the commons; so that he every day became more contemptible than before, especially after the suffering of George Wishart; for most imputed the subsequent calamities to the death of this religious man; especially those persons who not only knew the purity of the doctrine which he had preached, and admired his unblemished life; but looked upon him as divinely inspired, on account of the many and true predictions which he had uttered. Hereupon, the authority of the regent decreased every day; and soon after, there followed another, and more spreading mischief, that drew a general complaint against him, which it was impossible to smother. There were judicial conventions appointed to be held throughout the whole kingdom, under the pretence of suppressing robberies, but, as the event shewed, for nothing else than to cover oppression under a plausible name; since money was extorted from all, good and bad, and that as much from honest men as thieves; both being punished, not according to the greatness of the crime, but of their estate. Neither could he keep off his cruelty and avarice from the reformed, though he had formerly professed to be one of them himself; and what aggravated his guilt was, that he had not now the cardinal as a blind for his crimes; but the money thus basely got in the name of the regent, was as profusely and unadvisedly spent by the lust of his brother.

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## BOOK XVI.

Mary being thus settled at home, the queen-dowager took a resolution to go into France, partly to visit her native country, daughter, and relations, and partly to secure her hopes of attaining the supreme power, which seemed to be freely thrown upon her; and accordingly she chose those to attend her on the journey, who were favourers of her design. For this ambitious and politic woman was full of hope, that the regent would, by his own mismanagement, so ruin himself, as to make way for her to succeed him. She staid with the French king above a year, during which she informed him of the state of affairs in Scotland. He heard her favourably, and, by means of her brothers, he easily obtained of him what she desired.

The king of France, the better to bring about his designs without any tumult in Scotland, advanced to high honours all those nobles of that kingdom, each according to his degree, who had adhered to the queen-dowager; and they also who were related to the regent, were in like manner preferred; his son James being made captain over all the Scottish auxiliaries in France, and a yearly pension of 12,000 French livres promised him. Huntly, whose son had married his daughter, was made earl of Murray. Of the sons of nobles, by different mothers, who quarrelled about their patrimony, the youngest, that was of kin to the Hamiltons, was made the earl. The king also, by the advice of the queen-dowager, sent for Robert Carnegy, one of the regent's household, who had lately been despatched by him into France, to give that monarch thanks for his frequent assistance to the Scots against the English: as also David Painter, ambassador for some years in France, in behalf of the Scots; besides Gavin, abbot of Kilwinning, all firm to Hamilton's faction. The king declared to them what he had before settled with the Guises; the sum of which was, "that the regent would do his majesty an acceptable piece of service, in resigning to the queen-dowager the government for the short time of magistracy that was left him; which, as it was but a just and equitable request, and agreeable to their laws, so, if he complied with him therein, he would take care that it should not be prejudicial to his interests; nay, that he should procure thereby in him a fast, firm, and beneficent friend. The king also desired them to inform the regent, how he had at present freely, and of his own accord, rewarded some of his friends, by which he might easily judge what favours he might expect from him for the future." Thus Carnegy, loaded with great promises, was dismissed; and some time after, Painter, the Scottish ambassador, bishop of Ross, was ordered to follow him. He, being a man of great eloquence and authority, dealt with the regent and his friends, to give up the administration of affairs to the queen-dowager; and with much difficulty obtained a promise to that effect; for which diligent and faithful service, the king of France gave him an abbey in Poictou. The queen having thus, as she thought, made sure of her success in Scotland, and provided effectually for the subversion of the ancient liberty of the people, returned thither through England, accompanied by Oysel, as the ambassador; a cunning man, whose counsel she was to follow in all things of moment, in order to bring the nation to an entire conformity with the French. The next year after she followed the regent, who held courts of assize in almost all parts of the kingdom, and so by degrees made the nobility her own. In this progress, a few offenders were punished, and the rest were fined. The queen could not approve of such proceedings, and yet was willing enough to bear them; for she believed, that whatever favour the great lost was so much transferred to herself. In the mean time, having raised the nobility over to her side, she employed some friends to deal with the regent for the free resignation of the government. His relations, on taking a survey of his strength, perceived that as his treasure was low, so his friends were few; and that he would have much difficulty in making up and clearing his accounts. King James the Fifth, at his decease, left a great deal of

money, with arms, ships, horses, brass guns, and abundance of furniture, all of which the regent lavished amongst his friends in a few years; though it was certain that an account would be called for when the queen came of age, and that time fast approached. If therefore he could extricate himself out of all these troubles by quitting the government, he would sustain no great loss; since, in relinquishing the whole sway to the French, he only gave up that which, by their counsels, they had managed before. Besides, it was observed, that, in laying down the invidious title of viceroy or regent, when he could not long keep, he would have the advantage of procuring safety and security to himself and his family. This prospect gave satisfaction; so that an agreement was made on these conditions, that for whatever goods belonging to the late king, Hamilton had made use of, the French king should see him indemnified; as also that he should be free from any charge brought against him on account of his administration in the regency; only, he was to take an oath to restore what was not already embezzled. However, in this he did not perform his promise, for when his castle of Hamilton was taken, after the battle of Langside, twelve years from this time, many things were there found which shewed his perjury. In addition to all this, there were large pensions made him, and he was honoured with the title of duke of Castellanet, a town of Poitou, situated near the river Vienne, with a yearly pension of 12,000 French livres; half of which sum was paid him for some years. Another condition was also subjoined to the treaty, that, if the queen died without children, Hamilton should be declared by all the estates, the next heir to the throne. These were the terms of the surrender, which were sent into France, that they might there be confirmed by the young queen and her trustees. The former, by the advice of her mother, made Henry II. king of France, Francis duke of Guise, and cardinal Charles his brother, her guardians. The regent, though, by the persuasion of Painter, he had promised to resign the government, yet, when the time to do it drew near, according to his usual inconstancy, he hesitated; and began to consider how revolting a thing it would be for him to descend from the supreme magistracy to a private life, since then he should be obnoxious to the resentment of many whom he had offended while in office. On these reflections he began to elude his promise, and to frame excuses, principally because the queen was not yet full twelve years old. Though these pleas of excuse might have been answered, yet the queen-dowager chose rather to retire to Stirling, and there wait the expiration of the appointed time for the giving up the charge, than to make any quarrel about a small matter, though never so true.

In this retirement, fortune favouring her side, she received frequent visits from the greatest part of the nobility, whom she sought by all means to secure in her interest: and those whom she had already engaged, she fixed and confirmed, filling them all with abundance of hopes, and making many general and particular promises; as, how obliging she would be to them, when she should be advanced to the government, which they well knew would shortly follow. She prevailed so much by these artifices, that only two of the nobles remained with the regent, who were, John, his base brother, and Livingston, his near kinsman. All the rest went over to the dowager. This solitude of the regent's court, and fulness of that of the queen, proved a plain sign to him that all the nobles were alienated from him; and so he was glad to accept of those terms which he had before rejected, only with this addition, that the queen-dowager should procure them to be ratified by the three estates in the next parliament, and also by the guarantees in France.

About the same time, affairs became very troublesome in England, in consequence of the death of king Edward VI. a young prince who had raised high expectations, by his uncommon genius, and inclination to all kind of virtue, which disposition was not only born with him, but cultivated by learning and study.

At the beginning of the following spring, the nobility assembled at Stirling where, in a full assembly, the transactions which the queen and guarantees had subscribed with the regent, were confirmed; and this addition made, that the latter should keep a garrison at Dumbarton. And, to complete all, a parliament was appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the 10th day of

the English horse would have abandoned the foot, and fled; had it not been for the persuasion of their commanders, and their mutual encouragement of each other; so that, in the expectation of a more advantageous ground, whereon to fight, they were restrained, and returned to order. The Scots were kept from marching forward to the opposite hill, chiefly by seeing a Spanish officer, named Gambo, with some troops of his countrymen, who were barquebussiers, coming down obliquely from the hills, as if he would all upon their flank. In order, therefore, that no sudden emergency might cause them to divide their force, and also that they might not be attacked on their flanks, they wheeled about leisurely from the right ascent of the hill. The main body, when they saw the van leaving their station, thought that they were running away, and so, breaking their ranks, likewise betook themselves to flight. The English, perceiving this from the high grounds, sent out their horse, and trod many of them under foot in the pursuit. During all this sarch from Esk to the English camp, the ships of the latter fired upon the flank of the Scots, and did them much mischief. All the ways were strewed with arms, by reason of the great slaughter which was made; and numbers of them were drowned in the river. The English acted with the utmost severity against the priests and monks; for such of that tribe as were lusty, and able to bear arms, came into the field; and many even imputed the loss of the day to these men, who had arrogantly refused equitable conditions of peace, and who, if they had obtained the victory, would have used it as cruelly towards their own countrymen as their enemies. In the first charge, the English lost about two hundred horse; but of the Scots, there fell the prime of all the noblest families, with their relations and tenants, who counted it the most vile and wicked thing in nature to desert them; and many were taken in the pursuit. The highlanders, however, by collecting themselves together in a round body, kept their ranks, and returned safe home. At first, they marched through craggy places, and in ways that were very inconvenient for the horse; and when they were sometimes necessitated to descend into the plains, the English cavalry, who followed the pursuit in a scattered manner, durst not attack them. This battle, which, amongst a few others, proved very calamitous to the Scots, was fought on the 10th of September, in the year 1547. The English, who had gained a victory that was the more joyful by being unexpected, marched five miles further with all their forces; and there they staid eight days, sending out parties every day, to burn and destroy every thing within the circuit of six miles. But they attempted nothing considerable else, except fortifying the desolate islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, in the frith of Forth; taking in the bay of Tay the castle of Broughty; and, in their return by land, the fortresses of Fastcastle and Home, the garisons of which surrendered out of fear. They also raised two forts, one at Lauder, and another on the ruins of Roxburgh castle.

Their sudden departure gave some relief to the Scots, and a breathing time for them to meet together, to consult about the public welfare. The regent, immediately after the battle, came, with those of the nobles who were with him, to the two queens at Stirling, and the nobility there in attendance. The regent and his brother were very sad and dejected, for the calamity which had happened by their default; and the queen-dowager also shewed many outward signs of grief in her speech and countenance; but they who knew her heart, judged that she was not much concerned at seeing the arrogance of the Hamiltons thus humbled and chastised; but, to be joyous in a public calamity, they who are accustomed to cover the faults of princes under honest disguises, are wont to call greatness of mind. Besides, the dowager, ever since the death of the cardinal, had used all ways and means to throw the regent out of office, and to possess the supreme authority herself; but she knew that she could never effect this object, as long as the Hamiltons were in the ascendant, and had all the fortified places in their hands. In her discourse, she continually expressed her apprehensions of the English, complained of the weakness of the military force of the Scots, and enlarged upon the dangers arising from the civil dissensions amongst them. On these points she communicated her mind to those whom she knew were ill-affected to the Hamiltons; in consequence of which, when the nobles were in consultation upon the great

affairs of the kingdom, a decree was made that the young queen should reside at Dumbarton, while the chiefs debated concerning the estate of the kingdom. Jean Erskine, who was well known to be a firm adherent of the dowager's faction, was made governor of the queen, and William Livingston, a friend to the Hamiltons, was joined in commission with him. Ambassadors were likewise sent into France, to demand succours of their king, Henry, against the common enemy, according to the league made between the two nations. Hopes were also given, that the queen would come over into France, and marry the dauphin. The French, however, were so intent upon their own affairs, that the required auxiliaries were slower in coming than the present danger demanded.

In the mean time, the English entered Scotland on both sides of the borders. The earl of Lennox also, as if he had been sent for by his friends, came to Dumfries; his father-in-law, Angus, and his old friend Glencarn, having promised him two thousand horse, with a proportionable number of foot, from the neighbouring parts, to assist him, if he would leave the English, and come over to them. When, however, he came to the place on the day appointed, there were hardly three hundred assembled, who, besides, were such as used to live by robberies. These, and some other circumstances of the like nature, being very suspicious, more especially the wavering conduct of John Maxwell, who had already given hostages to the English, made Lennox believe that he was betrayed; and, therefore, he resolved to circumvent his enemies with the like fraud. He accordingly detained with him Glencarn, John Maxwell, and other Scottish chiefs, who had treated with him concerning his journey and return to his own country; and, in the middle of the night, he sent toward Drumlanrig six hundred horse, part English, and part of the Scots who had submitted to them. When they came to the appointed place, five hundred of them were despatched to commit what spoil they could in the neighbouring parts, that so they might draw James Douglas, the owner of the castle, into an ambush. He, however, being aware of the design, kept within his hold till it was day; and then, having no further fear of them, he marched out with his men, and passing over the river Nith, fell in a desultory manner upon the plunderers, whom he charged in the rear as they were retreating. But when they gained a convenient time and place to rally, they faced round upon him with great violence, and struck such a terror into his men, at the entrance to a ford, that they disordered their ranks, killed some, and took several considerable persons prisoners. This light expedition had such an appalling effect throughout the greatest part of Galloway, that the people strove which of them should yield first to the English, partly to gratify Lennox, and partly fearing, lest, being forsaken by their neighbours, they should be exposed to every kind of depredation. The regent of Scotland, dreading that, if, in such a general confusion, he attempted nothing, he should altogether dispirit his men, who were depressed enough already, besieged the castle of Broughty; but after lying before it almost three months, without performing any thing considerable, he drew off his men, leaving only one hundred horse, under the command of James Haliburton, an active young man, to disturb the neighbouring districts, and to hinder any supplies from being carried by land, either into the fortress, or to the garrison which the English had placed on an adjoining hill. These matters took place at the end of that year. In the beginning of the next, which was 1548, the English fortified Haddington, a town in Lothian-upon-the-Tyne, burned the villages, and plundered the surrounding country, which was one of the richest parts of Scotland. They likewise established another garrison at Lauder. Lennox, about the end of February, having passed over the west border, escaped with difficulty from an ambush laid for him, by part of those who had yielded themselves; but in returning to Carlisle, he amply revenged himself, by punishing some of the hostages, especially John Maxwell, the chief author of the revolt of whose treachery he was apprized in some letters which he had received from the king of England. During these transactions, Henry, king of France, who had succeeded his father Francis, caused about six thousand forces to be transported into Scotland; of which three thousand were German foot, commanded by the Rhingrave; about two thousand were French; and one

thousand were of different nations, and all of them cavalry. The whole were placed under the orders of the French general Dessius, who had been some years a commander in France, and had there been distinguished by some good services. These troops being landed at Leith, were directed to quarter at Edinburgh, till they should be recovered from their sea-sickness. Meanwhile, the regent, and the forces with him, marched to Haddington, where they blocked up all the passages, and laid close siege to the place. He now issued a proclamation into all parts; in obedience to which summons, there came to him, in a short time, about eight thousand Scots. There also the nobility assembled, and the consultation was renewed, concerning the young queen's going into France, and marrying the Dauphin. A council for this purpose was held at a monastery without Haddington, and which was, in a manner, situated in the midst of the very camp. In that convention there were various disputes; some said, that if they sent away the queen, they must expect perpetual war with England, and bondage from the French. Others were of opinion, that by reason of agreement in religion, and the condition of the present times, it would be more advantageous to embrace the terms offered by the English, which consisted of a peace of ten years, with no disgraceful covenants or obligations on the part of the Scots. For the sum of the proposed league was, "That, if the king of England, or the queen of Scotland, should die within ten years, all things, on both sides, should remain as they were before." It was observed, that if no fortuitous event occurred in the interval, the kingdom would be thereby freed from its present difficulties, which had almost broken its strength; and that the military force, which was almost wholly lost in the late battle, would have time to grow up and increase, in that long period of uninterrupted peace; and that, intestine discord being thus laid asleep, they would be able more maturely to consider of the great affairs of the nation, than they could do amongst drums and trumpets; while, in such consultations, delays were sometimes of great advantage; when, on the contrary, rash and precipitate doings were attended with speedy repentance. Such were the arguments on that side. But all the papists favoured the French, and some others too, whom the bounty of that power had either bribed, or gained over, by promises and expectations of great advantage; amongst whom was the regent. He had a yearly revenue of 12,000 French livres promised him, and the command of one hundred cuirassiers; so that most voices carried it for the queen's going to France. The fleet which was to convey her, rode at Leith; and making as if they would go away, they sailed about all Scotland, and came to Dumbarton where the queen, who had waited there some months for its arrival, embarked, in the company of James, her brother, John Erskine, and William Livingston. She met with such foul weather, and contrary winds, but at last landed in Bretagne, a peninsula of France, and travelled by easy journeys to the court.

In Scotland, whilst the war was suspended at Haddington, the common people, in several places, were neither backward nor inactive on the present occasion. The garrisons of Home and Fastcastle having done great hurt to the neighbourhood, the Scots, observing that the first of these fortresses was vigilantly guarded by night, got up to the top of a rock, where the confidence that the place was inaccessible, made those within less watchful; and so the assailants slew the sentinels, and took the castle. Not long after this, when the governor of Fastcastle had commanded the country people of the vicinity to bring a great quantity of provisions into the fort, on a certain day, he peasants came in great numbers, and, unlading their horses, took the provisions on their backs, to carry them over a bridge made betwixt two rocks, into the castle. As soon as they were entered, they threw down their burthen, and, upon a sign given, slew the guards; and, before the rest of the English could come in, they seized the arms, and placed themselves in the avenues; and thus, setting open the gates for the admission of their own party, they made themselves masters of the castle. In the mean time, the naval force of the English was not idle; for as the whole stress of the military operations lay upon Haddington, their commanders thought that the neighbouring parts must be weakened, and deprived of all the means of defence. Under this persuasion, they landed in Fife; and having passed some maritime places



that were well inhabited, they came to St. Mifan's-Link, which was also tolerably populous, that from thence they might march to some more considerable towns, but less fortified, where they expected to meet with pillage worth their labour. James Stuart, the queen's brother, receiving the alarm, with the people of St. Andrew's, and a few of the countrymen who were left at home, advanced towards them; being joined in his way by many of the neighbourhood. The English were already landed, and about twelve hundred of them stood ready in their arms for an encounter. The great guns which they had brought on shore struck such a dread into the countrymen, that they quickly fled; but James, after he had a little delayed their fear, charged the enemy so briskly, that, though he had not a numerous and simultaneous band along with him, he soon routed them, and drove them toward the sea, killing many on the spot, and several in the pursuit; but not a few of them were drowned in retreating to their ships; and one boat with all its passengers was sunk, whilst they endeavoured in throngs to get on board. It is reported that there were six hundred slain in the fight, and one hundred taken prisoners. Then the fleet presently sailed to Morven, a country less inhabited; their design being to surprise Montrose, a town not far from the mouth of the river Dee. They resolved to land in the night, and therefore lay at anchor, out of sight of the coast, as long as there was any light in the sky. But while they were making to shore in the dark, they discovered themselves through their own imprudence, by hanging out a light in every boat. John Erskine, of Dun, the governor of the town, having commanded his men to arm, without making any noise, divided them into three bodies. Some he placed behind a bank of earth, which was raised on the shore to hinder their landing; while he, with a few archers lightly armed, made directly towards the enemy; and a third band of servants and promiscuous body of people he stationed under the cover of a neighbouring hill, and supported by a few soldiers for their direction. These arrangements being made, he, with his archers, fell upon the enemy in their descent, and maintained a sharp dispute with them, till, in a tumultuary kind of fight, he had drawn them on to the bank; where he was joined by his other party, who stood ready at their arms, and they all united in the combat; yet the English would not have given ground, had not the last body shown themselves, with colours flying, from the next hill; on which they made such haste, that of about eight hundred who came on shore, hardly a third part escaped to their ships.

In the mean time, vigorous sallies were made about Haddington, not without loss on both sides, but mostly on that of the English, who suffered very much from the want of provisions, and, while waiting for the expected supply, they were reduced to a state of such weakness as to be almost on the point of surrender. At this crisis, two brave soldiers, Robert Beery and Thomas Palmer, were commanded to march thither from Berwick, with one thousand foot and three hundred horse, and to make all the speed they could. The whole body, however, fell into an ambush laid for them, so that scarcely a man of them escaped alive. The English resolved to send further aid, but the French discovering their design, blocked up the narrow passages by which they were to march. At length, Dessius being deceived by one of the enemy's scouts whom he had taken, and who told him the English were far off, and marching another way to relieve the besieged, left the passage of which he had possession, and went in a contrary direction. The English taking advantage of this circumstance, marched through to the relief of their friends without any hindrance; bringing with them three hundred fresh men, powder and ball, and other supplies of which the garrison stood much in need.

Whilst these things were occurring at Haddington, with various success on both sides, and little effect on the main object of the war, intelligence was brought that the English had levied a complete army to raise the siege. In consequence of this, Dessius, aware that he was not able to encounter the forces which were expected, removed his troops farther off from the town, and sent back his great guns, all but six small field-pieces, to Edinburgh. Upon the coming of the English army, the siege was raised, because the Scotch

commanders would not hazard the fate of the kingdom upon a single battle ; so that the Scots marched every one the nearest way home ; while the French, though much pressed upon by the English, accomplished their retreat in good order. In their return, the French soldiers slew the governor of Edinburgh, and his son, together with some of the citizens who joined them, because they refused to admit them into the town with all their forces, as knowing that they could not keep them from plundering. Dessius, in the mean time, lest the sedition should increase, drew off his troops ; and, thinking that the enemy would be more passive at Haddington, on account of their good success, he resolved to make an attempt to surprise it on a sudden. Thither he marched all night, and, by break of day, slew the sentinels, and came up to the very walls, where the fort before the gate was taken, and the watch killed ; some also endeavoured to break open the gate, while others raised the granaries of the English. In this hurry, the noise made by the assailants at the gate, and the shouts of the French, crying out, " Victory, victory !" roused the English out of their sleep. Amidst this great confusion, a soldier let off a brass gun, placed casually against the gate, that he might, in the present danger, make trial of a doubtful remedy. The ball went completely through, and forced a lane in the close ranks of the French ; so that, what between the exclamations of the soldiers, crying out " victory," and the noise of the shattered gates, such a confused clamour was carried to the rear, that they were seized with fear, not knowing the cause, and so fled ; which occasioned the rest to follow them. The French, after this repulse, marched to Teviotdale, where the English had done great damage. There, under the conduct of Dessius, they drove the enemy from Jedburgh, and made many incursions into the English ground, not without considerable advantage at length, when they had wasted all the country, besides doing their daily duty, they fell into great want, and the common people pitied them the less, on account of their late seditious conduct at Edinburgh ; for they looked upon that attempt as a step to tyranny. From this time forward, the French did nothing worth relating. The king of France was now made acquainted, by letters from the regent and queen-dowager, that Dessius spent much of his time in light and generally insignificant expeditions ; that he was more injurious to his friends than enemies ; that the French soldiers were grown extremely insolent since the tumult at Edinburgh, and that, by reason of the intestine discord, all was like to be ruined. In consequence of these complaints, Dessius was recalled, and Paul Terms, a good soldier and prudent commander, was sent with new supplies to Scotland. Dessius, thinking it would be to his honour to recover the island of Inchkeith, which had been taken a few days before, and was begun to be fortified, got together a fleet at Leith, and went on board with a chosen body of Scots and French. The queen-dowager was a spectator of the enterprise, and encouraged them, sometimes particularly, and sometimes all in general. After landing in the island, he drove the English into the uttermost corners, killed almost all their officers, and compelled them to surrender, but not without much bloodshed. This was his last achievement in Britain, and then he surrendered up his command to Terms, who drew forth the army out of their winter-quarters, and ordered them to march towards the northern counties, while he himself, Dessius being dismissed, followed soon after, and laid siege to the fort of Broughty, which, in a short time, he took, and also the castle adjoining, from the English, putting nearly the whole of both garrisons to the sword. On his return into Lothian, his principal object was to hinder provisions from being conveyed into Haddington ; but while thus engaged, suddenly a great army of English and Germans shewed themselves ready for an encounter ; whereupon he made a quick retreat in good order, till he came to a place of greater safety. Meanwhile, the Scottish cavalry, which hung on every side of the enemy, perceiving that the German baggage was unguarded, plundered it in a moment. Provisions, however, were carried into Haddington without any opposition. During these operations, Julian Romerus, with a troop of Spaniards at Coldingham, was taken in his quarters, where he lay with as great security as if all had been at peace, and almost the whole of his party was destroyed. Terms, when the English forces had marched back, resolved

to return to the attack of Haddington. This place was defended by stout men, yet, as the country all round was wasted, and provisions could not be brought from a distance without great hazard, and frequent loss; and as the English were troubled with a grievous sedition at home, and were further pressed by a war with France; the garrison, having no hope of relief, burnt the town, and, on the first of October, 1549, set out for their own country.

The garrison of Lauder, being in great distress for want of necessaries, was about to surrender, when news came on a sudden, that a pacification had been concluded between England and France, proclamation of which was made in Scotland on the first of April, 1550; and, in May following, the French soldiers returned home. This peace, with respect to foreign parts, lasted about three years, but in Scotland it was as troublesome and pernicious as the hottest war; for those who sat at the helm, the regent and his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, were both extremely cruel and avaricious, and the prelate in particular was very licentious in his conversation; for, as if he had been authorized to injure all mankind, he made his will the sole law. The first presage of the ensuing tyranny was the allowing of the murder of William Crichton, a person of eminence, to go unpunished. He was slain by Robert Semple, in the regent's own palace; and almost in his sight; notwithstanding which, the murderer was exempted from judgment, by the intercession of the archbishop's concubine, who was the daughter of Semple. This archbishop, as long as the king lived, was one of his principal confidants, and pretended to a great zeal for the reformed religion; but after his death, he ran into all the excesses of the wildest impiety. Among his other mistresses, he took away this young woman Semple from her husband, a neighbour and kinsman, and kept her almost as if she had been his lawful wife, though she was neither handsome, nor a woman of good reputation, and remarkable for nothing but her wantonness. After this, followed the death of John Melville, a nobleman of Fife, who was a great intimate of the late king. Some letters of his were intercepted, written to a certain Englishman, in behalf of his friend, a prisoner there; and though there could be no suspicion of treason in the case, yet the author of them had his head cut off; and to make the matter still worse, his estate was given to David, the regent's youngest son. Though the injury occasioned by these wicked practices reached only a few, the obloquy of them extended to many, and the bad example almost to all. This evil conduct of the regent, in the direction of the government, together with the sluggishness of the whole of his former life, mightily offended the commons; so that he every day became more contemptible than before, especially after the suffering of George Wishart; for most imputed the subsequent calamities to the death of that religious man; especially those persons who not only knew the purity of the doctrine which he had preached, and admired his unblemished life; but looked upon him as divinely inspired, on account of the many and true predictions which he had uttered. Hereupon, the authority of the regent decreased every day; and soon after, there followed another, and more spreading mischief, that drew a general complaint against him, which it was impossible to smother. There were judicial conventions appointed to be held throughout the whole kingdom, under the pretence of suppressing robberies, but, as the event shewed, for nothing else than to cover oppression under a plausible name; since money was extorted from all, good and bad, and that as much from honest men as thieves; both being punished, not according to the greatness of the crime, but of their estate. Neither could he keep off his cruelty and avarice from the reformed, though he had formerly professed to be one of them himself; and what aggravated his guilt was, that he had not now the cardinal as a blind for his crimes; but the money thus basely got in the name of the regent, was as profusely and unadvisedly spent by the fact of his brother.

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## BOOK XVI.

MARY being thus settled at home, the queen-dowager took a resolution to go into France, partly to visit her native country, daughter, and relations, and partly to secure her hopes of attaining the supreme power, which seemed to be freely thrown upon her; and accordingly she chose those to attend her on the journey, who were favourers of her design. For this ambitious and politic woman was full of hope, that the regent would, by his own mismanagement, so ruin himself, as to make way for her to succeed him. She staid with the French king above a year, during which she informed him of the state of affairs in Scotland. He heard her favourably, and, by means of her brothers, she easily obtained of him what she desired.

The king of France, the better to bring about his designs without any tumult in Scotland, advanced to high honours all those nobles of that kingdom, each according to his degree, who had adhered to the queen-dowager; and they also who were related to the regent, were in like manner preferred; his son James being made captain over all the Scottish auxiliaries in France, and a yearly pension of 12,000 French livres promised him. Huntly, whose son had married his daughter, was made earl of Murray. Of the sons of Rothes, by different mothers, who quarrelled about their patrimony, the youngest, that was of kin to the Hamiltons, was made the earl. The king also, by the advice of the queen-dowager, sent for Robert Carnegy, one of the regent's household, who had lately been despatched by him into France, to give that monarch thanks for his frequent assistance to the Scots against the English: as also David Painter, ambassador for some years in France, in behalf of the Scots; besides Gavin, abbot of Kilwinning, all firm to Hamilton's faction. The king declared to them what he had before settled with the Guises; the sum of which was, "that the regent would do his majesty an acceptable piece of service, in resigning to the queen-dowager the government for the short time of magistracy that was left him; which, as it was but a just and equitable request, and agreeable to their laws, so, if he complied with him therein, he would take care that it should not be prejudicial to his interests; nay, that he should procure thereby in him a fast, firm, and musicant friend. The king also desired them to inform the regent, how he had at present freely, and of his own accord, rewarded some of his friends, by which he might easily judge what favours he might expect from him for the future." Thus Carnegy, loaded with great promises, was dismissed; and some time after, Painter, the Scottish ambassador, bishop of Ross, was ordered to follow him. He, being a man of great eloquence and authority, dealt with the regent and his friends, to give up the administration of affairs to the queen-dowager; and with much difficulty obtained a promise to that effect; for which diligent and faithful service, the king of France gave him an abbey in Poictou. The queen having thus, as she thought, made sure of her success in Scotland, and provided effectually for the subversion of the ancient liberty of the people, returned thither through England, accompanied by D'Oysel, as the ambassador; a cunning man, whose counsel she was to follow in all things of moment, in order to bring the nation to an entire conformity with the French. The next year after she followed the regent, who held courts of assize in almost all parts of the kingdom, and so by degrees made the nobility her own. In this progress, a few offenders were punished, and the rest were fined. The queen could not approve of such proceedings, and yet was willing enough to bear them; for she believed, that whatever favour the regent lost was so much transferred to herself. In the mean time, having raised the nobility over to her side, she employed some friends to deal with the regent for the free resignation of the government. His relations, on taking a survey of his strength, perceived that as his treasure was low, so his friends were few; and that he would have much difficulty in making up and clearing his accounts. King James the Fifth, at his decease, left a great deal of

money, with arms, ships, horses, brass guns, and abundance of furniture, all of which the regent lavished amongst his friends in a few years; though it was certain that an account would be called for when the queen came of age, and that time fast approached. If therefore he could extricate himself out of all these troubles by quitting the government, he would sustain no great loss; since, in relinquishing the whole sway to the French, he only gave up that which, by their counsels, they had managed before. Besides, it was observed, that, in laying down the invidious title of viceroy or regent, which he could not long keep, he would have the advantage of procuring safety and security to himself and his family. This prospect gave satisfaction; so that an agreement was made on these conditions, that for whatever goods belonging to the late king, Hamilton had made use of, the French king should see him indemnified; as also that he should be free from any charge brought against him on account of his administration in the regency; only, he was to take an oath to restore what was not already embezzled. However, in this he did not perform his promise, for when his castle of Hamilton was taken, after the battle of Langside, twelve years from this time, many things were there found which shewed his perjury. In addition to all this, there were large presents made him, and he was honoured with the title of duke of Castleross, a town of Poitou, situated near the river Vienne, with a yearly pension of 12,000 French livres; half of which sum was paid him for some years. Another condition was also subjoined to the treaty, that, if the queen died without children, Hamilton should be declared by all the estates, the next heir to the throne. These were the terms of the surrender, which were sent into France, that they might there be confirmed by the young queen and her trustees. The former, by the advice of her mother, made Henry II. king of France, Francis duke of Guise, and cardinal Charles his brother, her guardians. The regent, though, by the persuasion of Painter, he had promised to resign the government, yet, when the time to do it drew near, according to his usual inconstancy, he hesitated; and began to consider how revolting a thing it would be for him to descend from the supreme magistracy to a private life, since then he should be obnoxious to the resentment of many whom he had offended while in office. On these reflections he began to elude his promise, and to frame excuses, principally because the queen was not yet full twelve years old. Though these pleas of excuse might have been answered, yet the queen-dowager chose rather to retire to Stirling, and there wait the expiration of the appointed time for the giving up the charge, than to make any quarrel about a small matter, though never so true.

In this retirement, fortune favouring her side, she received frequent visits from the greatest part of the nobility, whom she sought by all means to secure in her interest: and those whom she had already engaged, she fixed and confirmed, filling them all with abundance of hopes, and making many general and particular promises; as, how obliging she would be to them, when she should be advanced to the government, which they well knew would shortly follow. She prevailed so much by these artifices, that only two of the nobles remained with the regent, who were, John, his base brother, and Livingston, his near kinsman. All the rest went over to the dowager. This solitude of the regent's court, and fulness of that of the queen, proved a plain sign to him that all the nobles were alienated from him; and so he was glad to accept on those terms which he had before rejected, only with this addition, that the queen-dowager should procure them to be ratified by the three estates in the next parliament, and also by the guarantees in France.

About the same time, affairs became very troublesome in England, in consequence of the death of king Edward VI. a young prince who had raised high expectations, by his uncommon genius, and inclination to all kind of virtue, which disposition was not only born with him, but cultivated by learning and study.

At the beginning of the following spring, the nobility assembled at Stirling where, in a full assembly, the transactions which the queen and guarantees had subscribed with the regent, were confirmed; and this addition made, that the latter should keep a garrison at Dumbarton. And, to complete all, a parliament was appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the 10th day of

April then next ensuing, where all the treaties and agreements approved by her guarantees, as hath been said, were produced; and when they were read, the regent arose, and openly abdicated the magistracy, giving the ensigns of his government into the hands of D'Oysel, who received them for the queen, in her absence; and, afterwards by command, delivered them up to her, with her general consent. And thus, being advanced into the regent's place, she was carried with great ceremony through the city, to the palace in the suburbs. As for the late regent, who, at his entrance into parliament, had been attended by a great number of the nobility, having the sword, crown, and sceptre carried before him, according to custom, now, being reduced, he mixed amongst the crowd, in the year 1564.

This was a new sight in Scotland, and never heard of before that day, that a woman should be, by the decree of the estates, advanced to the helm of government. But though matters thus inclined to the French interest, the Scots would never admit that the castle of Edinburgh should be garrisoned by them; for they feared that if they did, in case the queen died without issue, it should be made the seat of their tyranny. It was therefore put into the hands of John Erskine, as an indifferent person, who was to surrender it to none, but by the command of the estates.

After this, when the state of the public seemed somewhat settled, the queen-regent, as now she was called, sent out George Gordon, earl of Huntly, to apprehend John Muderach, or Mudyer, chief of the family of the M'Ronalds, a notorious robber, who had committed many and abominable outrages. It is, however, thought that Gordon did not act uprightly in this expedition; so that when he returned without executing the business in which he had been employed, he was kept prisoner till the time appointed for his answer. Meanwhile his relations excused him, and laid the blame of the miscarriage upon the clanship of Chattan. Thus they spread false reports among the vulgar; for they gave out, though untruly, that the Mackintoshes had thwarted the design, through their animosity to the Gordons. This hatred between the two clans arose upon this occasion: When the queen prepared for her expedition into France, Gordon detained William, chief of the Chattan family, as his prisoner. He was a young man who had been well educated by the care of James, earl of Murray, and the only crime proved against him was, his refusal to place himself under the clanship of the Gordons. Besides this, it turned to his prejudice that he was related to Murray, as being his sister's son. Gordon, having thus provoked the young man, did not think it safe to give him his liberty, and so leave him behind him; neither could he find sufficient cause to put him to death. Therefore, by means of his friends, he persuaded him, who was not versed in ill arts, to commit his cause wholly to him: by which means Gordon's honour, and his own safety, would be secured. Gordon, being thus made master of the life and death of his enemy, dissembled his anger, and directed his wife to put him to death in his absence; thinking thereby to cast the odium of the fact upon her: but it fell out quite otherwise; for all men knew the ill disposition of Gordon, and they were as well convinced of the integrity of his wife, who was a good woman, and had carried herself like a regular and noble lady during the whole course of her life. Every person, therefore, was satisfied that Gordon was the author of this instruction to his wife. Gordon being thrown into prison, the members of the privy-council were of different opinions with regard to his punishment; for while some proposed banishing him for several years into France, others were for putting him to death. Both propositions, however, were overruled by Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, the chief of his enemies: for he, foreseeing by the present state of things, that the peace between the Scots and the French would not last long, was against his banishment into France; knowing that a man of so crafty a spirit, and vengeful against those who censured and envied him, would, in the war which the insolence of the French appeared likely to raise, prove a perfect incendiary, and perhaps become a general in the service of the enemy. And he was more against putting him to death, because he thought no private offence worthy of so great a punishment, or to be so revenged as to insure the French to spill the blood of the nobility of Scotland. Therefore, he advised as a middle course, that he should be fined, and

kept in prison till he yielded up the right which he pretended to have over Murray; and that he should suffer all the royal revenues, arising out of the Orkneys, Shetland isles, and Mar, to be quietly gathered by such collectors as the queen-regent should appoint; forbearing to meddle himself with any of the public or regal patrimony, and surrendering up his presidency over some juridical courts, which brought him in great profit. Upon these conditions he was dismissed; and having thus pacified the mind of the regent, and those that could do most with her he was admitted at last into the privy-council.

In the mean time, all the offices at court, which were lucrative enough to excite competition, were, by the advice of Gordon, given to strangers, on purpose that he might create a difference between the queen-regent and the nobility of Scotland, and so derive pleasure, though not an honourable one, from their mutual enmity and destruction. The earl of Cassilis, who foresaw this tempest before it came, began, therefore, now to be accounted as a prophet.

After this, matters were tranquil till the month of July in the year 1556 and the queen-regent, having gotten this respite from war, applied herself to rectify the disorders of the state. She went to Inverness, and held public conventions, in the nature of assizes, at all the accustomed places, where many disturbers of the peace were severely punished. She also sent John Stuart, earl of Athol, against John Muderach, in order that he might perform that which Gordon, in his expedition, had failed to accomplish. The earl, besides his natural virtues of fortitude and constancy, was so prudent and successful, that he took Muderach, with his children, and whole family, and brought them to the queen. But Muderach being impatient of restraint, or else excited by the sting of an evil conscience, deceived his keepers, escaped out of prison, and filled all places again with blood and rapine. The regent, on hearing this, was forced to go the circuit sooner than she had determined, to bring him and other malefactors to justice; which having done, she returned; and, in a public assembly, recalled some of those who had slain cardinal Beaton from exile. Though these were popular men, and had been banished by the late regent, the circumstance did not procure the queen so much applause as she expected; owing to the number of new taxes which she imposed. It was thought that D'Oysel, Ruby, and the few French that were about her, were the contrivers of this unprecedented project to raise money, by causing men's estates to be surveyed, and registered in books made for that purpose; and that every one should pay yearly a certain sum assessed upon him out of it, into a treasury set apart for that end, as a fund for war; and that with this money, thus reserved, mercenary soldiers should be hired to guard the frontiers, in order to enable the nobility to remain quiet at home, unless called to repel an invasion of the enemy, which an ordinary force could not resist. The lower orders were much aggrieved by this new pecuniary impost, and inveighed openly against it with bitter execrations; but the greatest part of the nobility kept their resentment within their own breasts, every one fearing that, if he should be the first to oppose the will of the queen-regent, the whole odium of the discontent would fall upon him alone. But the next rank of people were as angry with the nobility, for betraying the public liberty by their silence, as they were with the queen. Accordingly, about three hundred of them met at Edinburgh, and chose James Sandiland of Calder, and John Wemyss, out of their whole body, and sent them to the queen-regent, to represent to her the injurious and degrading nature of this tax; and to pray that it might not be assessed or levied upon them, as being a violation of public and private property. They were also to inform her, that their ancestors had not only defended themselves and their estates against the English, when the latter were much more powerful than they now were, but also had made frequent incursions into England; and that they had not themselves so far degenerated from their progenitors, as to be unwilling to lay down their lives and fortunes for the good of their country, in case of need. And that, in regard to the hiring of mercenary auxiliaries, it was an expedient full of danger, to commit the defence of Scotland to men, who, as they had neither estates nor expectations, would

do any thing for money; and whose avarice was such, that if occasion were offered, it would incite them to attempt innovations; so that their fidelity lay only on the wheel of fortune. But supposing that such men were well qualified, and had a greater love to their country, than respect to their own condition, yet, was it likely, nay, was it not incredible, that mercenaries should fight more valiantly to defend the estates of others, than the owners of them would do; when every man had to contend for his own? and again, was it at all probable that the regard to a small salary or pay, which was likely to cease in time of peace, would raise up a greater courage in the minds of the common people, than in the nobility, who fought every man for his fortune, wife, children, religion, or liberty? Besides, this project, they said, concerned the very vitals of the Scottish constitution, and was a thing of greater consequence than to be debated at the present time, during the tender age of the young queen; for if it were allowed that it could be effected without any sedition; yet this new way of conducting a war was both useless, and also much to be feared and suspected by the generality; especially, since out of the tribute of the Scots, who were far from being a rich people, money enough could hardly be raised to maintain a guard of mercenaries for the defence of the borders, and, therefore, it was to be apprehended, that the event of the counsel would be, to open the door of the frontiers to the enemy, and not to shut it. For, if the English, living in a richer kingdom, should create an ampler treasury for a similar purpose, there was no doubt but they would be able to maintain forces double in number to those of the Scots, and with less burden to their own people, and then they would break in, not only upon the borders, but even into the very heart of the kingdom." The other part of their remonstrance, I know not whether it is not better to suppress in silence, than to publish it amongst the common people. Some matters there were, "Who will collect this money? How much of it must necessarily be expended upon distrainers and treasurers, as a reward for their pains? Who will undertake that it shall be spent in public uses, and not in private luxury? It is true, the probity and temperance of our noble princess, who now rules, gives us great hope, nay, confidence, that no such thing will be; yet, if we consider what hath been done by others abroad, and by ourselves at home, we cannot refrain, or so govern ourselves, but must needs fear, that what hath often been done may possibly be done again. But, to let these things pass, which perhaps we have no cause to fear, let us come to that wherein our ancestors placed their greatest hope of defence, to maintain their liberty against the arms of an overpowering enemy. There was no king of Scotland ever esteemed wiser than Robert, the first of that name; and all confess that he was the most valiant of princes. He, at his death, as he had often done in his life, with a view to the good of his subjects, gave this advice, 'That the Scots should never make a perpetual peace, nor one for any long time, with the English; for he, out of the wisdom of his own nature, and also by his long experience, and exercise under both conditions, prosperous and adverse, knew well enough, that, by idleness and sloth, the minds of men would be broken with pleasure, and their bodies also become languid; for, when severe discipline and frugality are extinct, luxury and avarice will grow up, as in a soil untilled, accompanied also with a dislike to labour, and a sluggishness occasioned by continued ease, avers from, and hating, a military life; by which mischiefs, personal and mental strength being enervated and weakened, men lose all their valour, so that an unnatural short-lived pleasure, the fruit of indolence, is overbalanced by some signal calamity.'

Upon this discourse, the queen-regent, fearing that if she persisted, a sedition would follow, remitted the tribute, and acknowledged her error. It is reported, that she should often be heard to say, it was not "herself, but a certain chief man of the Scots themselves, who was the author and architect of the design." By these words, some thought she meant Huntly, a man of implacable temper, who had lately been released from prison, but was, as it should seem, more resentful of the indignity thrown upon him, than grateful for his deliverance. When, therefore, he saw that the regent made it her main object to bring the Scots under tribute, and thereby to transfer the authority of the nobles to the hands of her countrymen, which would ren-



der her power absolute, it is thought that he suggested this measure as one well suited to her inclination for raising money; otherwise, the advice was plainly destructive, hostile, and pernicious, for he knew well enough that the Scots could not pay such great taxes; neither would they be such obedient subjects as they had been before. Some, however, thought that David Painter, the bishop of Ross, was the real contriver of this new impost; for he was a man of great sagacity and learning, who had received many favours from the Hamiltons, and was a friend to their family and designs.

The next year, which was 1567, while the ambassadors of Scotland were treating about peace at Carlisle, the king of France sent over letters to the regent, desiring her to declare war against England, according to the league. The alleged cause was, that the queen of England had assisted her husband, Philip of Spain, who was engaged in a fierce contest with France, by sending over forces into the Netherlands. The ambassadors having returned from England, without concluding any thing, either for peace or war, the regent called together the nobility at the monastery of Newbottle, where she complained to them of the many incursions which the English had made upon the Scottish territory; from whence they had carried off great plunder, without giving any satisfaction for it when demanded. On these accounts, she urged an immediate declaration of war against England, both to revenge their own wrongs, and thereby also to assist the king of France. She could not, however, prevail with the nobility to commence hostilities; and therefore, by the advice, as it was thought, of D'Oysel, she accomplished that object in another manner. She ordered a fort to be built at the mouth of the river Eye, under the plea of guarding against the sudden incursions of the English, and for a depôt wherein to lay up great guns, and other necessities of war as in a safe magazine; from whence they might be drawn as circumstances required, and so save the labour of conveying them from the remotest parts of the kingdom, which, by taking up much time, occasioned the loss of many favourable opportunities of action. These conveniences were obvious enough; but she had another view in it. She knew that the English would do their utmost to hinder the work, and not suffer a garrison to be erected at their very doors, and so near to Berwick. Thus the seeds of war, which she desired, being sown, it would be easy to charge the aggression of taking up arms on the enemy. The event answered her expectation; for the Scots, being provoked by the wrongs of the English, whilst they were compelled to defend their own borders, easily assented to the regent's desire to make war upon England. Whereupon, the ambassadors, who had been sent thither to make a peace, were recalled, a proclamation was made, and a day appointed for a general rendezvous at Edinburgh. When the camp was formed at Maxwell Haugh, and the council had not yet decreed any thing concerning the manner of carrying on the war, they who were forward to gratify the regent, and oblige the French, ran up and down, plundering in the vicinity of Wark castle, which was situated on the borders of England. D'Oysel had already brought thither as many French troops and ordnance as he thought would be sufficient for the reduction of the castle; but, presuming to cross the Tweed, without waiting for an order from the council, the Scottish nobles were highly incensed against him; as, in so doing, he seemed to aim at encroaching the whole honour of the expedition to himself, and to make them subservient, who were wont to have the chief command themselves. The Scots were mightily offended also that a private man, and a foreigner, should have the arrogance to take the lead in their country, without so much as asking their opinion; and thus, by engaging in military expeditions of his own motion, assume an authority which had never been claimed, or at least, enforced, by their own sovereigns.

Hereupon, the matter was deliberated in council, where it was unanimously agreed, that they would not venture the strength of the kingdom against an enemy, at the humour of every private person, especially as they had never been accustomed to obey their own lawful princes in such a case, till the matter was opened and seriously debated in an assembly of the nobles; and therefore, Oysel's imperiousness in the present instance was nothing but an essay to try how far they might be brought to bear the yoke of slavery. They

summoned him, therefore, to withdraw the ordinance, under penalty, if he refused compliance, of being punished as a traitor. The queen-regent, and 'Oysel himself, highly resented this affront. The former thought that her dignity was impaired thereby; and the latter, that the honour of his master, whose ambassador he was, had been wounded; but, being the weaker, they were forced for the present to remain quiet. Under these circumstances, the most feasible means of accomplishing their object, was that of marrying the young queen, who was now arrived at a proper age, to the dauphin, as soon as conveniently it could be done; for then the wife being in the power of her husband, it was thought that the authority of the council would be considerably secured.

During that winter, there were various irruptions made, and with different success; one of the most memorable of which was at the foot of Cheviot hills, here an obstinate fight was maintained between the duke of Norfolk and Andrew Ker. The victory, which was a long time doubtful, at last inclined to the English, and Ker was taken prisoner, many brave men being wounded on both sides. In the month of October, a general assembly was convoked at Edinburgh, to take under consideration the letters that had been received from the king of France. In these epistles, after a prolix recital of the ancient leagues between the two nations, and their mutual obligations to one another, the king desired the parliament to appoint six persons out of all the three orders, with full powers to act as ambassadors, for the conclusion of a marriage between the queen of Scots and his son the dauphin, both being now arrived at a proper age. It was also observed, that the young queen had been sent over to France originally with that view, in order that two nations, which were anciently confederated, might coalesce into one, and the old friendship between them be cemented by an indissoluble bond. To engage them to perform this, he made them magnificent promises, that whatever fruits of benevolence they could hope for from allies, the same they might expect from him.

Though all the Scots knew to what end this haste of the French king was directed, and that disputes were likely to arise between them, concerning their liberties, yet they all came, in great obedience, to the appointed parliament, where, without much opposition, eight ambassadors were chosen to go over into France, to complete the marriage. These were, three of the nobility, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, George Leslie, earl of Rothes, and James Fleming, earl of Cumberland, the chief of his family; three of the ecclesiastical order, James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Reid, bishop of the Orkneys, and James Stuart, prior of the monastery of St. Andrew's, and the queen's brother; with two commoners, George Seton, governor of Edinburgh, and John Erskine laird of Dun, or Din, the governor of Montrose, and of a knightly family, but comparable for dignity to any noblemen. After their embarkation, and while yet off the Scottish coast, they encountered a violent gale of wind, which increased during the voyage, till it arose to such a terrible tempest, that two of the ships were sunk not far from Boulogne, a town in Picardy. The earl of Rothes, and the bishop of the Orkneys, were conveyed on shore in a fishing-boat, and were the only two that escaped of all the passengers in that vessel.

The rest of the fleet, after being beaten about by the fury of the waves, at length arrived in different ports of France; where, when all the ambassadors had collected, they hastened to court. On their arrival, they began the treaty about the marriage, to which all gave their assent, particularly the Guises, who were extremely anxious to have it hastened, both because they judged that the affinity would be a great accession of authority to their family, as also because they wished to avail themselves of the absence of Annas, duke of Montmorency, then a prisoner of war, who was esteemed the wisest of all the French nobility, and would, if present, most likely have opposed the match.\* He was, indeed, unwilling that the matter should be so precipitated,

\* This was the famous constable of France, who, having given some offence to his royal master, Francis the First, had been banished from court, to which he did not return till the year 1547, when he became a great favourite with Henry II.; who created him a duke. On

on several accounts, which, in the judgment of many, were very just and considerable; but above all, lest the power of the Guisea, which was viewed with jealousy by many prudent persons, and began to be intolerable to us, should grow to that height as to be dangerous to kings themselves. For, as the five brothers of that family, the eldest was captain-general of all the forces in France; the next was sent into Lombardy, to succeed Charles Caesar; the third was despatched with fresh supplies to Scotland, there to act as commander-in-chief; to the fourth was committed the government of the galleys at Marseilles; while the treasury was in the hands of Charles the cardinal, so that neither soldier nor money could stir in all the territories of the French monarch, without their approbation and good-will. Some men commiserated the fortune of the good king; which brought to their remembrance the condition of those times, when, owing to court factions, the sovereignty of that nation were shut up in monasteries, as in places of a milder banishment.†

After the court had for some days been a scene of joy and festivity, on account of these nuptials, the council began to grow serious, and called the Scottish ambassadors before them, where the chancellor of France required them to produce the crown and other ensigns of royalty; so that the husband of their queen might assume, in proper form, the regal title, according to custom. To this demand the ambassadors answered shortly, that they had received no commands concerning those matters. The chancellor replied, that nothing more was desired of them at present, than what was in their power to perform, which was, to promise under their hands, to give their suffrages in support of the present demand, when the same should be discussed in the Scottish parliament. As this proposition seemed to be still more peremptory than the former, they thought it best to reject it with great vehemence and indignation; inasmuch, that their answer was, "that their embassy was limited by certain instructions and bounds, which they neither could nor would transgress; and that, even if they had been left free without any restraint at all, it was not the part of faithful friends to require that of them where they could not grant without certain infamy and treachery, though there were no danger of life in the case; that they were willing to gratify the French, their old allies, as far as the just laws of amity required; and therefore desired them to keep within the same bounds of moderation in making their demands."

Thus the ambassadors were dismissed the court; and though they hastened home as soon as they could, yet, before they embarked, four of the chief of them, Gilbert Kennedy, George Leslie, Robert Reid, and James Fleming, all brave men and true patriots, departed this life, as did Skrew many of their retinue, not without suspicion of poison. It was thought that James, the queen's brother, had also taken a similar potion, for, although by reason of the strength of his constitution, and his youth, he escaped death at that time, yet he lay under a constant weakness of stomach as long as he lived.

The same summer, matters were in such a doubtful state in Britain, that there seemed rather to be no peace than a war; for there were skirmishes

the 10th of August, 1557, he was made prisoner of war at the battle of St. Quentin, and did not obtain his liberty till two years afterwards. He was killed, in his twenty-fourth year at the battle of St. Denys, by a Scotch gentleman named Stuart, Nov. 10th, 1567.

\* Charles Coët was the celebrated marshal de Brienne, whose military exploits make a distinguished figure in the French annals. He died Dec. 31, 1563.

† The five princes of this powerful family, here alluded to by Buchanan, were the sons of Claude duke of Lorraine and Antoinette de Bourbon. They were:—1. Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise and Aumale, who held an absolute sway as minister of state, till his death, which happened at the siege of Orleans, where he was mortally wounded by John Palatut, Feb. 18, 1563. 2. Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, archbishop and duke of Rheims, who died at Avignon, in 1574. 3. Claude de Lorraine, duke of Aumale, lieutenant-general of the crown, and governor of Burgundy. He was slain at the siege of Rochelle, March 14, 1572. 4. Louis de Lorraine, cardinal de Guise, and archbishop of Sens, who died March 23, 1574. 5. René de Lorraine, marquis of Elbeuf. He was general of the French galleys and died in 1596.

and plunderings on both sides, and villages burnt; incursions were mutually made, and not without bloodshed. Two of the nobility of Scotland were also carried away prisoners by the English, namely, William Keith, son to the earl of March, and Patrick Gray, the chief of a family so called amongst the Scots; but the other calamities of war fell on persons of meaner rank.

About the same time, the English sent a fleet, under the command of sir John Clare, to infest the coasts of Scotland. They came to the Orkneys, intending there to land, and burn Kirkwall, a bishop's see, and the only town in the circuit. After making a descent with a good part of their force, a fierce tempest suddenly arose, which carried their ships from the coast into the main sea; where they were driven long about with the wind and waves, and at length made sail for England. Those who had been put ashore, were every one slain by the islanders.

During this year, as well as the preceding one, the cause of religion seemed to lie dormant; for it being somewhat crushed by the death of George Wishart, one party accounted themselves well satisfied, if they could worship God peaceably in their own tongue, in private assemblies, and dispute soberly concerning matters of divinity; while the other side, after the cardinal was slain, shewed themselves rather destitute of a head, than disinclined to revenge; and he who succeeded in his place, coveted more the money than the blood of his enemies, being seldom cruel, except in the attainment of his plunder, or the pursuit of his pleasures.

In April, Walter Mills, a priest, but none of the most learned, being suspected by the bishops, because he left off saying mass, was dragged before their court. Though suffering under the infirmities of poverty, old age, and an enfeebled constitution, rendered still weaker by his long confinement in a filthy dungeon, he answered, notwithstanding these great discouragements, with such firmness and prudence, that his enemies could not but respect a magnanimity of spirit, which indicated the divine support of an uncorrupted frame. The citizens of St. Andrew's were so much offended at the wrong done to him, that there was none found who would sit as judge upon him; and all the tradesmen shut up their shops, that they might sell no materials towards his execution; which was the cause of his reprieve for a day longer than was intended. At last, one Alexander Somerville, a friend of the archbishop, was found out the next day, a great villain, who undertook to act as judge for that particular service. But the people lamented his death so much, that they heaped up a great pile of stones in the place where he was burnt, that so the memory of his martyrdom might not end with his life. The priests obtained an order to have this monument thrown down for some days; but as fast as they demolished one heap, another was raised the day following, till at last the papists conveyed the stones away to build houses with, about the town. The bishops next fixed the 20th of July for the appearance of Paul Methyn, an eminent preacher of the word of God, to give his answer. But as there happened to be then a great assembly of the nobility, and a tumult seemed unavoidable, the process was deferred to another time. Several persons, however, who had been cited to appear, received sentence of contempt; and to remove their fears of a severer punishment, they were required to come in by the 1st of September, in which case pardon was promised them, on condition of their recanting.

The same day was the festival of St. Giles, whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh look on as their tutelar saint, carousing to him in great goblets, and making splendid entertainments for their neighbours and guests. The regent fearing, lest, in such a confused rabble, some tumult should arise, was willing to be present herself at the feast. The papists were extremely rejoiced at her coming, and easily persuaded her to see the show and pageant, wherein St. Giles was to be carried in procession about the city. Unluckily, no St. Giles appeared, for the image was stolen from the shrine by some unknown person. However, that the saint might not want a pageant, nor the citizens a show upon this joyful day, there was a substitute provided for the emergency. After the regent had accompanied the procession through the greatest part of the town, and saw no danger of any insurrection, she retired, weary as she was, into an inn, to repose herself. But presently the youths of the

city pulled down St. Giles from the shoulders of those who carried it, threw the saint into the dirt, and spoiled the glory of the whole pageantry. The priests and friars running several ways for fear, created a belief of a greater tumult; but when they understood that there was more terror than danger in the affair, and that the whole matter had passed without blood, they crept again out of their retreats, and assembled in consultation; where, though they had no hopes of recovering their ancient credit, yet they appeared as confident as if their former power had remained; and, to retrieve their affairs in so desperate a case, they thought to strike fear into their enemies, by appointing a convocation to be held at Edinburgh on the 8th of November. When the day of their convocation came, the priests met in the church of the Dominicans, and there cited Paul Methyn by name, whom in a former assembly they had commanded to appear. As he did not obey, he was banished, and a severe punishment was denounced on those who should receive him into their houses, or supply him with necessaries for the support of his life. But this sentence did not terrify the inhabitants of Dundee from doing their duty for they supplied him with provisions, and harboured him from one house to another. They also applied to the regent, through the agency of some men who were in favour at court, praying that his banishment might be remitted but all the priests strenuously opposed it; and offered besides a great sum of money for his apprehension; so that nothing could be done in his favour.

Whilst these things were transacting, some eminent persons, especially of Fife and Angus, and the chief burghers of several towns, travelled over all the shires of Scotland, exhorting the people generally to adhere to the more preaching of the word, and not to suffer themselves and their friends, who professed the same opinion in religion, to be oppressed and destroyed by a small and contemptible faction. They observed, that if their causes would adjust the matter by law, it would be easy to cast them; but that if they rather chose to do it by force, they were not inferior to them. These persons had schedules, or writing-tables, ready for those who were pleased therewith, to affix their names. They first assumed the name of Congregation,—made more famous afterwards by those who joined themselves thereto.

These assertors of the pure and reformed religion, foreseeing that matters would soon come to an extremity, determined by joint consent to send some demands to the queen, which, unless granted, there was likely to be no probability of a church, neither could the multitude be restrained from an insurrection. They chose sir James Sandiland, of Calder, a worthy knight, venerable both for his age and well-spent life, to carry their desires to the regent. He accepted the office, and having shewn, in his introductory speech, the necessity of such an address, he requested, in the name of those who stood for the reformation of religion, "that all public prayers and the administration of the sacraments should be celebrated by the clergy in their mother-tongue, that all the people might understand them; that the election of ministers, according to the ancient custom of the church, should be made by the people; and that they who presided over that election, should inquire diligently into the lives and doctrines of those who were to be admitted; and that if, through the negligence of former times, unlearned and sanguine persons had crept into ecclesiastical dignities, they should be removed out of the ministry, and properly qualified persons substituted in their place." The priests were highly irritated, and stormed greatly, that any man durst venture to appear, in order to make so audacious a demand, as they called it; but when their heat was a little allayed, they answered, that they would refer the matter to a public disputation; and, indeed, what danger could there be in that, when they themselves were to be judges in their own cause? On the other side, the promoters of the reformation alleged that the matter ought not to be determined by the will of men, but by the plain words of holy scripture. The priests propounded also other terms of agreement, but those so ridiculous, that they were not worthy of an answer. They said, that, if the reformers would keep up the mass in its ancient honour,—acknowledge purgatory after this life,—and retain prayers to the saints and for the dead;—then they would also yield that they should pray in their mother-tongue, and celebrate the sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, in the same. The re-

formers, on the other hand, pressed the regent, as they had done before, that, in so just a cause, she would please to gratify them with an answer agreeable to equity and reason. The regent, however, favoured the priests, and secretly promised them her assistance, as soon as opportunity should offer itself. In the mean time, she allowed the adverse party to use prayer, celebrate the sacraments, and perform other religious exercises in their mother-tongue, but without tumult; and interdicted their teachers from preaching public sermons to the people of Edinburgh or Leith. Though these conditions were carefully observed by them, yet it soon appeared, by many testimonies, that her affection was alienated from them.

The papists at Edinburgh made almost the same answer to the demands which were brought in by the nobility; only this they added farther, "that, as to the point of electing ministers, in such kind of questions they were to stand by the canon law, or the decrees of the council of Trent." Neither did they, in that assembly, attempt any thing in their own concerns, only commanded the bishops to send secret informers into all parishes of their dioceses, who were to take the names of the violators of the papistical laws, and bring those persons before them; and though they plainly perceived that their throats were little esteemed, yet, trusting to the public authority, which was on their side, and having confidence in the arms of France, they insulted over their inferiors as imperiously as they had ever done in former days. To soften their minds in some sort, and to deprecate their severe and bitter sentences against the preachers of the gospel, John Erskine, lord of Dun, a man learned, pious, and affable, was sent to them. He entreated them, out of that piety which we all owe to God, and charity towards men, that they would not think it much, at least to allow people to pray to their Maker in their mother-tongue, when they were met together for that service; as that was agreeable to the injunction of scripture. So far, however, were the clergy from granting his request, that they treated him with more bitter and arrogant words than formerly, adding also very cruel threatenings and reproaches. But, lest they might seem to have done nothing in that assembly, they caused some old popish laws to be printed, and fastened on the doors of the churches, which ordinances, because they were commonly sold for a farthing, the common people called the Quadrantary, and sometimes the Triebolar Faith.

Moreover, they who had the year before been ambassadors in France, came to the assembly, and easily obtained the ratification of their measures; after which the French envoy was introduced, who made a long oration concerning the ancient and constant friendship of the sovereigns of his nation towards all the Scots, and then concluded with earnestly desiring them all, both singly and jointly, to set the crown, which he, by a new and monstrous name, called the Matrimonial, upon the head of the queen's consort, who he alleged would thereby only gain an empty title, without any accession of power or profit. He also used many other flattering words, not necessary here to be repeated; which, the more accurate they were in a trifling business, by so much the more were they suspected as coverts of concealed fraud. The French ministers, however, partly by immoderate promises, partly by earnest entreaties, and partly by the favour of some who courted the ascending power, gained their object, and Gillespie Campbell, earl of Argyle, and James the queen's brother, were chosen to carry over the crown to the dauphin. These perceiving that they were sent abroad to their own ruin, because the French ambition hung as a storm ready to fall on their heads, made no great haste in preparing their equipage, but deferred it from day to day, until they had pondered all things, and taken surer measures of what was likely to occur, since now a nearer and more eminent title of honour was presented to view. On the death of Mary queen of England, the queen of Scots set up an hereditary claim to that throne, and assumed the arms and ensigns of England, causing the same to be engraved on all her household plate and furniture; and though France was at that time sadly distressed in asserting an absolute right to, and dominion over, Milan, Naples, and Flanders, yet did she add to the rest of her miseries this mock-title of England. The wiser sort of the people saw through this folly well enough, but they were forced to comply

with the Guises, who then could do all at court; and who, by this kind of vanity, thought to increase the splendour of the French title.

The regent having succeeded in getting the decree passed concerning the matrimonial crown, seemed now to have put on a new disposition; for she turned her ancient affability, which was acceptable to all, into an impetuous arrogance; and, instead of those gentle answers, wherewith before she was wont to soothe both factions, as, that it was not her fault, but that of the times, that she could not promise so largely as she desired; now she thought herself secure, and therefore adopted another kind of language and deportment. A parliament was summoned to be held at Stirling on the 10th of May; and as she often said that "since she was free from other cares, she would not suffer the majesty of government to be debased, but endeavour to restore it to its ancient glory, by some eminent example;" these words were considered as portending a storm ensuing, and therefore many applied to her in her favour. Amongst the rest, the reformed party, to make their request more likely to be granted, on account of the dignity of the messengers, sent to her Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, and Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, a worthy knight. When they came, she could not contain herself, but passionately uttered this speech, as a proof of her impiety: "Do you and your ministers what you will or can, yea, though you preach now so sincerely, yet they shall be banished the land." When they requested a great humility, "that she would be pleased to call to mind what she had often promised them;" she answered, "that the pledges of princes were so far from being urged upon them for performance, than as it stood with their personal convenience." To this they rejoined, "that then they renounced all allegiance and subjection to her," and advised her to consider what immobility was likely to ensue thereupon. She was unexpectedly struck with this answer, and said, "she would think of it." But when the fierceness of her anger seemed somewhat to abate, it was again kindled much more violently, on hearing that the inhabitants of Perth had publicly embraced the reformed religion: on which she turned to Patrick Ruthven, provost of the town, and commanded him to suppress all those tumults for innovations in religion. His answer was, "That he had power over their bodies and estates, and those he would take care should do no hurt; but that he had no authority over their consciences." At this reply she fell into a great rage, and said that she hoped none would think it strange, if he were shortly made to regret his stubborn impudence. She also commanded James Haliberton, sheriff of Dundee, to send Paul Methyn prisoner to her; but he was advised thereof by the sheriff, and so yielding to the necessity of the times, departed secretly from the town. She wrote also to the neighbouring assemblies, enjoining them to keep the Easter following after the popish manner. But the orders were generally disobeyed, at which she was so enraged, as to cite all the ministers of the churches throughout the whole kingdom, to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May ensuing.

When this matter came to be spread abroad, the reformers held a consultation, and exhorted each other to attend the meeting with their ministers. The regent, apprehending that the appearance of so great a multitude as was likely to be at that assembly, though unarmed, would be unfavourable to her party, sent for John Erskine of Dun, who happened to be in town at that time, and prevailed with him to cause the populace to return home, which was not very difficult for him to accomplish, on account of the great authority he had amongst them; and, in the mean time, she promised to do nothing against the men of that persuasion. Many, on being made acquainted with this promise of the regent, changed their purpose of going thither, and returned home; yet, nevertheless, she, on the day appointed for the assembly, called over the names of those who were summoned, and those who did not answer were outlawed. Erskine, seeing what little credit was to be given to her promises, and fearing to be seized on by force, withdrew himself, and joined the lords Strathearn, Angus, and Mearns, who were yet in a doubtful doubting the faith of the regent. They, finding by his discourse, that the queen's rage, as they had before expected, was implacable, and that matters could no longer be dissembled, prepared themselves for open force.

While things stood in this uncertain posture, Knox assembled the multitude at Perth, and made such an excellent discourse to them, that he set their minds, which were already agitated, in a flame. After sermon, the greatest part of the audience went home to dinner, but a few of the meaner sort, and such as were also enraged with anger and indignation, staid behind in the church. Amongst them, a poor priest, to try how they stood affected, prepared himself to say mass, and drew out a large frame, or rather idol-case, which was contained the history of many saints, curiously engraven. A young man who stood by, cried out, that what he did was abominable, upon which the priest gave him a box on the ear; the youth, in return, took up a stone, which, instead of hitting the priest, as intended, fell on the frame, and broke one of the images. The crowd, upon this, became exasperated; some attacked the priest and his frame, and others the shrines and altars; and thus, as it were in a moment of time, they demolished all the monuments of superstition or profane worship.

These things were done by the rabble, while the richer were at dinner. With the same furious violence, and increasing in numbers, they ran several ways to the monastery; and though the friars had provided some aid against an assault, yet no force was able to resist the rash violence of the multitude. The first attempt was upon the images and ornaments of the church; while the poorer sort ran in search of plunder. The Franciscans were furnished, not only with a profusion of furniture, but such as was elegant, and more than would serve ten times their number. The Dominicans, though not so opulent, yet had enough to evince their profession of begging to be a cry vain one; so that one wittily called them, not begging, but eating, friars. The poor seized on all their goods, for they who had estates, to prevent any suspicion of being actuated by covetousness, suffered some of the monks, and especially the prior of the Carthusians, to remove great quantities of old and silver plate. But what was still more remarkable, was the abstinence of the very soldiers from plunder on this occasion, and which was as incredible, as their celerity in demolishing the buildings was wonderful. For those large houses of the Carthusians were so hastily overthrown, and even the stones carried away, that, within the short space of two days, there was hardly the sign of any foundation left. When the news of all this came, though with some exaggeration, to the queen, her lofty spirit was so exasperated, that she swore she would expiate the nefarious wickedness with the blood of the citizens, and the burning of the town. The inhabitants of Cupar in Fife, on hearing of these proceedings at Perth, assembled by general consent, to cleanse their temple, and either broke the images, or threw them out of their church: which so affected the parson of the parish, that the night following, out of grief, he laid violent hands on himself. The regent, amazed at the intelligence of these things, sent for Hamilton, the earls of Argyle and Athol, with their allies and clanships, to come to her; and though she desired, by the promptness of her measures, to anticipate the preparations of her enemies, yet the carriage of the brass ordnance was so tedious, that it was about the 30th of May before they came to the vicinity of Perth. When the nobles were heard of the designs which the regent had formed against them, they too sent messengers to their friends, and the reformers all round, with an urgent request, that they would not desert them in this last extremity of life and fortune. Upon this, all the commonalty came in zealously and speedily, and even some hastened thither out of Lothian, that they might not be wanting in the time of the common danger. But Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, exceeded them all in his alacrity and force; for, on hearing how things stood, he gathered together 2500 men, horse and foot, and led them night and day, through rough and by-ways, till he came to Perth. James Stuart, the natural son of the late king, and Gillespie Campbell, earl of Argyll, were as yet in the army of the regent; for though they were the chief authors of reform in religion, yet, because all hopes of concord were not quite lost, they staid there; that so, if peace might be made on just terms, they might render some service to their friends; but if the minds of the papists should be wholly averse from concord, then they resolved to run the same hazard with their brethren in Perth.



The regent, having been informed by her spies, that the enemy were about seven thousand strong, all firm, and resolved to fight, though she had on her almost an equal number of Scots, besides the French auxiliaries, was loath to venture every thing upon the issue of a battle; and therefore sent James Stuart and Gillespie Campbell, whom I have already mentioned, to treat with them; while they, on their part, chose for negotiators, Alexander Cunningham, and John Erskine of Dun. The queen was now somewhat more affable, when she heard that Gloucester had joined his forces with the rest of the opposers of idolatry. The four commissioners, therefore, came to an agreement, that all the soldiery of the Scots should be disbanded on both sides, and that the regent should have liberty to enter the town, and so there with her retinue a few days, till she had refreshed herself from the fatigue of her journey; on condition, however, that they were not to commit the least injury to any of the townsmen. The French were wholly prohibited from entering the town, or coming within three miles of the walls. All the other differences were referred to the decision of the ensuing parliament. Thus, the present insurrection being quelled without bloodshed, the adherents of the reformation departed joyfully home; for they had no desire to begin a war, but only to defend themselves, and thereupon they gave thanks to God who had given a pacific termination to the contest. The earl of Argyll and James Stuart left the regent at Perth, and went to St. Andrew's, that they might refresh themselves after their labours. But she, whom the volunteers were disbanded on both sides, entered the place with a small retinue, and was honourably received, according to the ability of the citizens. The French mercenaries were also admitted, but, in passing by the house of Francis Murray, an honest and worthy townsman, six of them levelled their guns against a balcony, wherein his whole family were collected to behold the sight; and by the discharge, killed Patrick's son, a youth of only three years of age. The body was brought to the queen; and when she heard what family he was, she said, that the chance was to be lamented; and so much the rather, because it had befallen the son instead of the father, but that she could not help nor prevent such accidents. This speech gave every one to understand that she would no longer abide by her engagements, than that she had force strong enough to accomplish her purposes; and her declaration confirmed the truth of this suspicion: for, within three days after, she began to reverse all things; some of the citizens she fined, others she banished, and exchanged their magistrates without any judicial proceedings. From thence she went to Stirling, where she left some mercenary Scots, who were in the pay of the French, to garrison the town; whereby she pretended she had not broken her word, which was, that the city should be left free, and no Frenchman near the place. And when it was objected to her, that by the agreement all those were to be accounted French, who had sworn allegiance to the monarch of that country; she had recourse to the common subterfuge of papists, that "promises were not to be kept with heretics." It would, however, have been full as honest an excuse, if she had told them, that she had no remorse of conscience at all, and that she might lawfully take away both life and goods from such sort of people as they were; and, moreover, that priests were not to be so eagerly pressed for the performance of their promises.

These things sufficiently declared, that the concord was not like to be long; and besides, the circumstances which followed, gave further occasion for a sinister opinion of her intentions; for she tormented James Stuart and Gillespie Campbell with threatening letters and commands, denouncing to extremity of the law against them, unless they came to her. As for the rest of the adverse party, she disregarded that, because she knew that it was made up of volunteers, and such as fought without pay; and when discomfited could not easily be brought together again. After she had restored the town and settled other things as well as she could, she left a garrison in the town as I said before, and went towards Stirling. She was very desirous to recover the possession of Perth, in regard it was situated almost in the middle of the whole kingdom, and was the only walled town in it; and besides, all the neighbouring nobility were adverse to the papists, and therefore she wished to keep this place as a curb upon them. Moreover, Perth had many count-

ciences, and especially for the conveyance of land or sea forces; for the tide comes up thither by the river Tay, which washes its walls; and so it affords a passage for commerce with foreign countries; and besides, it is almost the only town to which access may be had by land, even to the utmost parts of the kingdom. As for other towns, the entrances to them are intercepted by long bays, running in from the sea; the passage through which is slower, because they have not vessels enough to carry many persons at once; so that oftentimes passengers are stopped many days, by contrary winds, or by violence of tempests.

For these reasons Perth is accounted the most convenient place to hold assemblies, and collect forces from all parts of the kingdom. But at that time the regent gained less advantage by the commodious situation of the town, than she reaped hatred by violating her faith in breaking her contracts; for that was the last day of her felicity, and the first wherein she was publicly contemned. For, when the matter came to be divulged, it gave occasion to many insurrections in all parts of the kingdom. The earl of Argyll and James Stuart, perceiving that their credit was wounded by the violation of that truce, of which they were the authors, convened the neighbouring nobility at St. Andrew's; and joining themselves to the reformed party, wrote to their confederates of the same sect, informing them that the regent was at Falkland with French forces; that she was bent on the destruction of Cupar and St. Andrew's; and that unless help was presently sent, all the churches in Fife would be in imminent danger. Upon this, a great multitude came presently in to them from the neighbouring parts, all highly enraged against the queen and her forces; for they found that they were at war with a perfidious and barbarous people, who had no regard to equity, right, faith, promises, or the obligation of an oath, but esteemed them so lightly, that they could say and unsay, do and undo, at every waving blast of hope, and uncertain gale of smiling fortune. It being, therefore, evident, that no conditions or articles of peace were in future to be hearkened to, unless one party was extinguished, or at least that the foreigners were driven out of the kingdom, they prepared themselves to conquer or die.

By these and such like speeches, the minds of all present were so inflamed, that, first of all, they made an assault on Crail, a town situated on the eastern part of Fife, where they overthrew the altars, broke down the images, and spoiled all the apparatus of the trade in masses. But what was almost incredible in the case, anger prevailed more in the minds of the vulgar than in the nobles. From thence they went to St. Andrew's, where they defaced the temples of the other saints, and levelled the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican friars to the ground. Though all this was done almost before the face of the archbishop, who had thought himself able to defend the town, and had assembled a body of horse sufficient for the purpose; yet, seeing the fierceness of the people, and such a numerous concourse of all sorts of volunteers, he withdrew himself and his followers from the fury of the multitude, and went to Falkland among his clans and kindred. The regent was so enraged on hearing of this, that, without any further deliberation, she commanded her troops to march the next day, and despatched proper persons forward, to provide quarters for the French at Cupar. She also issued abroad her injunctions, commanding all who were able to bear arms to follow her to Cupar; besides which, she gave a watchword, to the assembled forces of the French and the Hamiltons, that they should be ready to be in arms at the sound of the trumpet. When this design of hers was made known to the reformers by their spies and scouts, they summoned their friends and acquaintance to join them. In the mean time, to prevent the design of the regent, they marched presently towards Cupar; and at the same instant, the inhabitants of Dundee, and the nobles of the adjacent country, to the number of about one thousand men, came in, and associated themselves with them on the first alarm. That night they halted there, but the next morning early they drew their troops out of the town, and marshalled them in the adjoining fields, expecting the army of the papists, and gathering up their own forces as they came in gradually and separately. In the camp of the regent there were two thousand French under the command of D'Oysel, and one thousand Scots

led by James Hamilton, duke of Chatelherault, as he was then called. Thus sent their cannon before them in the second watch, and marching early in the morning, came all so near, as to see the enemy, and to be seen by them. There was a small river between them, where, at convenient posts, their great guns were planted: and, meanwhile, five hundred horse were sent before to make light skirmishes with the enemy, and also to hinder their passage over the river if they should attempt it. The alacrity of these men gave some stop to the French; which was further increased by the coming in of Patrick Lorne, provost of St. Andrew's, with five hundred citizens in arms, who, for the convenience of their march, being stretched out in length, made a show of a much greater number than they actually were.

This kept the regent's forces from discovering the real strength and order of their opponents, which they much desired to know; as also to discover what general officers were present, that so they might give notice to their own people how they were commanded. To ascertain this, some of the French went to the summit of a high hill adjoining, that they might have a full view of the enemy as they could from such a distance. Here they discovered many bodies of horse and foot, with small distances betwixt them, and behind them a great number of men attending the baggage and waggon, which made a formidable show at the edge of an extensive valley. Thinking that the whole of this numerous party was laid in ambush for them, they carried the report to their fellows, exaggerating all things beyond what they truly were. Upon this, the commanders of the army, by the advice of the council sent to the regent, who remained at Falkland, acquainting her how matters stood: that the Scots seemed more numerous and ready prepared to fight than they had expected; while, on the contrary, their own men murmured, and some of them publicly gave out, that they abhorred, for the sake of a few strangers, to be led to combat against their own countrymen, friends, and relations. In consequence of this report, with the assent of the queen, three ambassadors of the nobility, who had some friends or sons in the enemy's army, were despatched thither from Hamilton. These messengers, however, could not conclude a peace, because the reformers having been so often deluded by vain promises, gave no credit to their concessions; and the regent at that time had no other voucher than her bare word to make good her engagements; and even if she had, she would have thought it beneath her dignity to have offered it. Besides, there was another difficulty in the case, and that was, the expulsion of foreigners out of the kingdom, a thing principally insisted upon, and this she could not do without acquainting the French king. Therefore, under all the circumstances, only dilatory truces were made not to incline their minds to peace, as they had often experienced before, but to procrastinate matters till the regent could procure foreign aid. This she was agreed on between them, that the French forces should be transported into Lothian, and that an armistice should be made for eight days, till the regent could send some pacificators of her own to St. Andrew's, to propose equal conditions of peace to both parties. But the reformers plainly perceived that the regent did but protract time, till she should have passed her army over the next frith, where she could settle things more to her advantage; wherefore the earl of Argyll and James Stuart desired her to letters, that she would draw the garrison out of Perth, and leave the city to its own laws, as she had promised when she was admitted into it; and they observed also, that the blame of her breach of the covenant was thrown upon them, who were the authors of the agreement. The regent giving no answer to these letters, they turned their ensigns towards Perth, from whence moveable complaints and cries for relief were daily brought them; for the laird of La-fauns, a neighbouring chief, whom the regent, at her departure, had made governor of the town, to shew his officiousness, mightily oppressed the citizens. This man, by taking the opportunity of his command over them, indulged his own private passions, and revenged the old grudges which he had against many of the inhabitants, even to extremity, banishing some, and pillaging others, on account of religion; and he also allowed the like liberty to his soldiers.

The forces that were at Cupar, being made acquainted with the injuries done to their friends and associates in the reformation, bent up a march

hither very early in the morning, and on their arrival laid siege to the town, which, after a few days, was surrendered to them. Kinfauns was put out of his governorship, and Patrick Ruthven, the old governor, was substituted in his place. Afterwards they burnt Scone, an old town, and thinly peopled, because, contrary to their faith given, they had killed one of their number.

Having received intelligence from their spies, that the regent was about to send a garrison of French to Stirling, to cut off those who were beyond the Forth, from the rest; to prevent the design, Gillespie Campbell and James Stuart marched in the dead of the night, with great silence, from Perth, and entered that place, where they presently overthrew the monasteries of the nuns; they also purged the other churches in and about the city, from all the monuments of idolatry; and then, after three days, proceeded towards Edinburgh, destroying in their route the superstitious relics at Linlithgow, a town in the mid-way. But though they were only a few in number, the common soldiers, as if the war had been ended, deserted home to their domestic affairs; notwithstanding which, they subdued the papists in so many towns, and diffused so great a terror among the mercenary Scots and French, that they fled, with all the baggage which they could draw after them, to Dunbar. The Scottish nobles who were the leaders of the reformation, remained several days, to put things in order; and besides cleansing the temples from all the relics of popery, they appointed preachers to expound the word of God, purely and sincerely, to the people.

In the mean time, information was brought from France, of the death of King Henry the Second; which news, while it increased the joy, lessened the civility of the Scots; for many now betook themselves to their private concerns, as if all danger had been over. On the other side, the regent, fearing that she and the French should be expelled out of Scotland, was extremely vigilant and watchful on all occasions. First, she sent out scouts to Edinburgh, to penetrate into the designs of the enemy; by whom, being informed that the common soldiers had dispersed themselves, and that the few who remained kept neither military discipline nor guard; she thought it unwise to let slip such a favourable opportunity, and therefore marched, with the forces which she had, directly to Edinburgh. Duke James Hamilton, and James Douglas, earl of Morton, met her very respectfully, but without being able to compose matters; and the only point they gained, was, that the battle should be begun on that day. At last, after canvassing many propositions on both sides a truce was concluded, on the 24th of July, in the year 1560, which was to last till the 10th of January following. The sum of the terms was, "That no man should be compelled in matters of religion; that no garrison should be placed in Edinburgh; that the priests should not be hindered from receiving the fruits of their lands, tithes, pensions, or other incomes, freely; that none should demolish churches, monasteries, and other places set apart for ecclesiastics, or transfer them to other uses; and that, on the day after the ratification of the agreement, the mint for coining money, and the royal palace, with all the furniture found there, should be restored to the regent."

Though the regent was careful that the articles of this truce should be kept by herself and her adherents, because she had shewn so much scandalous levity in observing the treaties made in former times; yet, by men of her own faction, she caused the Scots to be irritated, who were by nature inclinable to anion, and so gave occasion for harassing the unhappy people. When she had no colour for her project, sufficient to disguise her cruelty, under the pretence of law, she caused false reports to be spread abroad, that religion was only made the pretence for rebellion; and that the true cause of the presenturrection was, that, on the extinction of the lawful line, the kingdom might be transferred to James, the bastard son of the late king. As soon as she perceived that the minds of men were somewhat affected by these and similar fabrications, she sent letters to James, pretending that they came from Francis and Mary, king and queen of France, wherein he was upbraided with the pretended favours he had received from them; and withal severely threatened unless he laid aside his design of revolt, and returned to his duty. James answered, "That he was not conscious to himself, either in word or deed, of any offence against the king, the regent, or the laws; but that as the nobility

had undertaken the cause of the reformers in religion, which was decayed, & rather had joined themselves to those who were first therein, he was willing to bear the blame of those things, if any such arose, which were acted in common by himself and others, since they aimed at nothing but the glory of God." He further observed, "that it would not be just in him to desert that cause which had Christ himself for its head, favourer, and defender, and that unless they would voluntarily deny him, they could not cease from their enterprise. Setting that cause aside, he and others, who were branded with the invidious name of rebels, would be most obsequious and loyal in all other things." This answer was given to the regent, to be sent into France; where it was looked upon as proud and contumacious; while others esteemed it sufficiently modest, especially as he had been unjustly charged with ingratitude, when, in truth, he had received no other favours than such as were common to all strangers.

Whilst these things were transacting, one thousand additional French mercenaries arrived at Leith; and, at the same time, the earl of Arran, son of James Hamilton, the late governor, came to the convention of the nobles which was held at Stirling. The regent, thinking herself very secure upon the arrival of the French, now began openly to apply her mind to subdue all Scotland by force. But the cause of the return of the earl of Arran, was the zeal which he shewed in the cause of reformation; for his forwardness in which, his death was resolved upon as an example to the lower orders of the people, by the family of Guise, who were the favourites of Francis the First. Nay, the cardinal of Lorraine was so bold, in a speech which he made in the parliament of Paris, inveighing against the cause of the reformation, that he said "they should shortly see some eminent man suffer upon that account, who was little inferior to a prince." The earl being made acquainted with this, and calling to mind besides, that he had a little before been free in his discourse with the duke of Guise upon that subject, took the advice of his friends, and provided for his safety by a secret flight. Accordingly, very much to the surprise of all men, he came home in the midst of his country tumults, and not only joined himself to the party of the reformers, but brought over his father also to them; thereby reconciling many to him, who were before his enemies upon old resentments.

The chief of the party there were now certainly assured that fresh supplies had actually arrived, and that others would be speedily sent over to Leith, which was strongly fortified, to be made a magazine for provisions and ammunition for war; and that the French intended to make use of that town to secure their retreat, in case of distress, and as a port to receive their friends, if they prospered. Upon this intelligence, the Scots gathered their forces together, and endeavoured to besiege Leith, but without success: for the regent, and the governor of Edinburgh castle, who had not joined herself with the reformers and vindicators of public freedom, had gained possession of almost all the brass cannon in the kingdom; and besides, the party had not strength enough to blockade a town completely, which had the sea on one side, and was also divided by a river.

In the mean time, the king of France being informed how matters stood in Scotland, sent thither De Brosse, a knight of the order of St. Michael, with ten thousand infantry, to assist the queen in the maintenance of the popish religion. He was accompanied by the bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, who, in case of necessity, or opportunity, were to dispute arguments the points in controversy. Their arrival so elevated the dejected spirit of the regent, that she solemnly vowed to be speedily revenged of the enemies of saints and kings. There were then twelve of the chief nobles assembled at Edinburgh, who, when M. De Brosse and the bishop alleged that they were sent over as ambassadors, and therefore desired a day to propose their demands, answered, "that they did not seek peace, as they pretended but that they threatened war; otherwise, if it were only to debate, to what purpose was it to bring over so many armed forces? As for themselves, they were not so imprudent," they said, "as to commit themselves to a dispute, where they must be forced to accept of such conditions as their enemies should be pleased to impose; but that if a pacification should prove necessary,

le to them, they would take care to avoid being compelled by force, though willing to submit to reason." They added, "that if the others did really aim at what they pretended, they should send back the foreign soldiers, and meet unarmed, as they had done before; that so the matter might be determined by equity and truth, and not by force of arms." This they said to the ambassadors. As to the fortifying of Leith, their address to the regent was to this purpose:

"That they did much admire she should, without any provocation, so soon forget and recede from her agreements, as to drive out the ancient inhabitants of the place, and put a colony of foreigners therein, and so erect a fort over all their heads, to the ruin of their laws and liberties. Therefore they earnestly desired her to desist from so pernicious a resolution, which was rashly undertaken by her against the faith of her promises, against the public benefit, law, and liberty; lest, otherwise, they should be compelled to call for the assistance of all the people in the present emergency."

About a month after this, they sent another letter from their convention at Edinburgh, to the same purpose, adding withal, to their former demands, that she would demolish all the new fortifications, and send away the whole body of strangers and mercenaries, that so the town might be free for traffic and mutual commerce. If she refused to do this, they said, they would look upon it as a sure indication that she was resolved to bring the kingdom into slavery, which mischief they would do all they could to prevent.

Three days after this, Robert Forman, principal herald king of arms, as they call him, received from the regent these commands, for his mission to the convention: "First of all, you shall declare to them, that I am greatly surprised, and look upon it as a preposterous thing, that any other person should claim authority here, besides my son-in-law and daughter, on whom all my power depends. The former conduct of the nobility, and these their present requests, or rather injunctions, sufficiently shew that they acknowledge no jurisdiction superior to their own; and that their petition, or rather menaces, though gilded over with smooth words, are not at all new to me. Next, you shall require the duke of Chatelherault to recollect what he had proposed to me by word of mouth, as well as to the king by letters, that he would not only be loyal to the sovereign, but also would take effectual care that his son, the earl of Arran, should not mix himself in these tumults of his country; and you shall ask him, whether his present conduct corresponds with those promises? To their letters, you shall answer, that, for the sake of the public tranquillity, I will do, and so I promise, whatsoever is not contrary to my duty towards God or the king. As for the destruction of law and liberty, it never entered into my heart, much less to subdue the kingdom by force. For whom (said she) should I conquer it, seeing my daughter doth now, as lawful heiress, possess it? As to the fortification at Leith, you shall ask, whether ever I attempted any thing therein, before they, in many conventions, and at length by a mutual conspiracy, openly declared, that they rejected the government set over them by law, and without any advice or notice, though I held the place and authority of a chief magistrate, broke the public peace at their pleasure, strengthened their party by the capture of towns, and entered into a treaty with old enemies for establishing a league; many of them even now keeping Englishmen in their houses? But to omit other arguments, what reason have they to judge it lawful for themselves to maintain an army at Edinburgh, to invade those that are in possession of the government; while yet it must not be lawful for me to have some forces about my person at Leith, for my own defence? Their aim is principally this, to compel me, by often shifting of places, to avoid their fury, as I have hitherto done. Is there any mention in their letters about obedience to lawful magistrates? Do they discover any method for the restoration of peace and concord? By what indication do they manifest that they are willing these tumults should be appeased, and all things reduced to their former state? Let them colour and gild their pretences how they please with the show of public good, it is yet plain that they mind nothing less; for if that one thing were a hindrance to concord, I have often shewed the way that leads unto it. They themselves are not ignorant, that the French, at the command of their own

king, had long since quitted Scotland, if the conduct of the disaffected had not necessitated the longer continuance of these soldiers. And therefore, if now they will offer any honest conditions, which may afford a probable ground to hope that the majesty of the government may be preserved, and that they will with modesty obey their superiors, I shall not decline any way of renewing peace, nor omit any thing relating to the public good. Neither am I thus affected towards them; but the king of France is of the same mind as who hath sent over an illustrious knight of the order of St. Michael, and another prime person of the church, with letters and commands to that purpose, whom yet they have so slighted, as neither to vouchsafe them an answer nor an audience. And therefore, you shall require the duke, the other nobles, and persons of all conditions, presently to separate themselves, otherwise they shall be proclaimed traitors."

To this remonstrance, the nobles, the day after, which was the 23d of October, sent an answer to the following purport: "We plainly perceive, by your letters and commands, imparted to us by your herald, how you persist in your disaffection to God's true worship, the general good of the whole country, and the common liberty of us all; which, that we may preserve according to our duty, we do, in the name of our king and queen, suspend and inhibit that public administration which you continue to usurp under their names, as being fully persuaded that your conduct is quite contrary to their inclinations, and against the national welfare. And since you will not recognise us as a senate and public council, who are the lawful people of our king, queen, and country; we therefore refuse to acknowledge you as regent in the supreme authority over us, especially when your government, if ever any such was intrusted to you by our princes, is, for weighty and just reasons, abrogated by us, and that in the names of those kings to whom we were born contemporaries, especially in such things as concern the safety of the whole commonwealth. And, though we are determined to undergo the utmost hazard for the deliverance of that town, wherein you have a garrison, from foreign mercenaries, whom you have hired against us; yet, for the reverence and due respect which we bear to your person, as the mother of our queen, we earnestly entreat you to withdraw yourself, ere necessity compels us to reduce that place by force, which we have often endeavoured to obtain by equitable overtures. And, withal, we desire, that within the space of twenty-four hours, you will discharge those who challenge the name of legates or ambassadors to themselves, and forbid them either to decide controversies, or to manage public affairs; and also, that all mercenary soldiers in the town retire likewise; as we would willingly spare their lives, and consult their safety, both by reason of that ancient amity which hath been kept up between the kings of Scotland and France; and also on account of the marriage of their king with our queen, which doth equitably engage us rather to increase than diminish the union of the two nations."

According to the report of the herald, on the preceding day, in a full assembly of nobles and commons, it was voted, that all the regent's warlike deeds, and designs, tended only to tyranny, and therefore a decree was made to abrogate her authority; to which all of them subscribed as most just. Moreover, they inhibited the trust her son-in-law and daughter had committed to her; they also forbade her to execute any act of public government, till a general convention of the estates should be held, which they determined to summon as soon as conveniently they could. On the 26th day, the nobles sent a herald to Leith, to warn all the Scots to depart out of the town within the space of twenty-four hours, and to separate themselves from the destroyers of public liberty. After these threats, horsemen made excursions on both sides, and the war began, yet without any considerable slaughter. In the beginning of the action, there fell such a great and sudden terror upon the party of the reformed, as mightily disturbed them for the present, and also cut off all hopes of success for the future. For the regent, partly by threats, and partly by promises, had brought off many that had given in their names to the reformers, from the party of the nobles; whose camp was besides so full of spies, that their very words and actions, even those which they thought were necessary to be kept most secret, were made known. When likewise James

Balfour's servant was taken in carrying letters to Leith, suspicion of treachery fell on numbers, and the panic diffused itself over the whole body. The hired soldiers also mutinied, because they had not their pay on the day appointed; and when any one endeavoured to appease them, he was intimidated, and silenced by threats. But people less wondered at the sedition of such men, who had neither religion nor honesty, than they did at the imbecility and saint-heartedness of the duke of Chatelherault, who was so amazed at the impending dangers, that his apprehensions discouraged the minds of many. The most courageous endeavoured to apply remedies; among which, their first consultation was, to quiet the discontented soldiers; and on seeing that the nobles who remained could not make up a sum sufficient to satisfy and pay them, some declining through parsimony, and others pleading inability, they agreed at last to melt down all the silver plate; but when the assay-masters were ready to assist therein, the stamps, I know not by whose fraud, were taken away.

The only ground of hope now was from England, which being thought too slow, they resolved to try the fidelity of their private friends; and thereupon sent John Cockburn of Ormiston, to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, two knights of known valour, who at that time were officers at Berwick, to obtain of them a small sum of money to serve their present occasions. This design, though they kept it as private as they could, was yet discovered to the regent, who commanded the earl of Bothwell to waylay the messenger in his return. Bothwell, though it was but a few days before that he had taken a solemn oath not to prejudice the cause of the nobles in the least; and though he had given them hopes that he would join himself to their party, yet, nevertheless, went and lay in ambush for Ormiston, assaulted him unawares, wounded and took him prisoner, and so became master of all the money that he brought. When the news of this exploit was brought to Edinburgh, it alarmed the earl of Arran and James Stuart so much, that they marched with almost all the horse, not so much for desire of revenge, as to rescue Ormiston, if he were alive, or at least to put a stop to the march of his captors, and prevent his being conveyed to the regent. But Bothwell, having notice of this by a spy, eluded their object by the swiftness of his flight.

The same day, the governor of Dundee, with the townsmen, and a few volunteers, marched towards Leith, and planted their ordnance on an adjoining hill. The French, who were informed by their scouts, that almost all the enemy's horse were absent, and seeing that this force was very insignificant in numbers, detached some troops to out them off. The reformers stood a while, in hope of relief; but as the few mercenaries that followed them, turned their backs almost at the first charge, they also retreated, leaving their guns behind them. At last, a noise was raised in the rear, that the French were gone another way, towards the gates of the city, to seize them, and so keep them out. Upon this, there was such a general consternation, that they all ran promiscuously to save themselves the best way they could; and, while each endeavoured to escape, the weak were trodden under foot by the strong, so that every one looked to his own affairs, and there was no provision made in common for them all. The papists, on the contrary, crept out of their lurking-places, and openly reproached them; insomuch, that those who ever pretended great zeal for the reformation, began partly to withdraw themselves secretly, and partly they consulted how to abandon the cause altogether.

On the 6th day of November, news was brought that the French had marched out to intercept some provisions that were coming to Edinburgh, but so great was the disagreement of the reformed among themselves, that the mercenaries could scarcely be got out of the town to oppose them. The earl of Arran and James Stuart, with their friends, went first against them, and they were soon joined by many worthy and valiant persons. But by charging the French more fiercely than prudently, they had nearly paid dear for their rashness, in being cut off from Edinburgh. For the marshes on the one side, and the adjacent wall of an orchard, left them so narrow a space for their march, and that only open to the French musketeers, that they were trodden under foot, partly by their own men, and partly by the enemy's horse. In this confusion, they would have been all certainly captured or destroyed, had



not their commanders leaped from their horses, and put themselves upon an equal footing of danger with the rest. Some of the common soldiers seeing this, stopped for shame, and stood their ground. Among the rest who distinguished themselves, was captain Alexander Haliburton, a resolute young man, and very zealous in the cause of religion. He, on being severely wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and having received many strokes from them, soon after died.

After this engagement, in which about twenty-five were killed, many withdrew themselves, and others became almost desperate; but the earl of Argyll and James Stuart promised to continue their endeavours, if only a small company of them would keep together, which nearly all of them refused to do. The next consultation therefore, was, to leave the city; and, as the nobles had determined, in the second watch they began their march, and the day after came to Stirling. There John Knox made an excellent sermon to them, wherein he raised the minds of many into a sure hope of a speedy deliverance out of these distresses. Here it was agreed upon, in a convention, that, as the French were continually increasing their numbers by new supplies, they would also strengthen their party by foreign aid. To accomplish this object, William Maitland was sent into England, a young man of great prudence and learning, who was to inform the queen what imminent danger would accrue to her realm, if the French were suffered to fortify places, and plant garrisons in Scotland, where they sought the destruction, not of religion only, but of laws and liberties too. He also urged that, if the Scots should be overcome by force or fraud, or if they were reduced to servitude by an unequal alliance, the French would thereby the more easily be induced to attempt the reduction of the power of England.

After a long debate on the subject, the English council at length held out some hopes of the desired assistance. In the mean time, those of the Scottish nobility, who were the most strenuous assertors of liberty, had divided themselves into two parties. Some staid at Glasgow, that they might command the neighbouring provinces, and defend their associates in the reformation from injury; while others were sent for the same purpose into Fife. The French did what mischief they could to their enemies; and, being greatly agitated on hearing of the intended supplies from England, they endeavoured to subdue the remainder of the contrary party before their arrival; for which purpose, they first marched against that body which was in Fife; plundering, in their march, Linlithgow, and the estates of the Hamiltons. From thence they proceeded to Stirling, where they continued no longer than till they had pillaged the inhabitants; after which they passed over the bridge, and led their army along the shore of the river, which was full of towns and villages thickly peopled. They ransacked all they met with, and at last came to Kinghorn; but the Scots, to stop their career, threw a small garrison into a town called Dysart. Here the French made light skirmishes for twenty days together; and because they could not vent their fury upon the masters, they did it upon the bare walls of the houses, and razed a village called Gouge, belonging to William Kirkaldy, to the foundation. This man, knowing that the French made frequent excursions from thence to plunder the country-people, a little before day lay in ambush, and observing Captain l'Abbat, a Swiss, march out with his company, kept himself concealed till the French were above a mile from their garrison, when he with his horsemen started out, and cut them off from their comrades. The French, in these circumstances, had but one course to pursue, and that was, to enter a country village near at hand, and there endeavour to defend themselves behind walls and hedges. The Scots, being provoked by their former cruelty, were utterly unmindful of their own safety, and wholly intent on the destruction of their enemies. Though armed only with horsemen's lances, they broke down all that came in their way, and rushed in upon them; the captain, who refused to accept quarter, with fifty of his men, being slain; but the rest were sent prisoners to Dundee.

They who were at Dysart, as in a settled post, met at Capar; and selected from their body, in concert with those at Glasgow, some persons to repair to Berwick, to agree to the terms of the league with the English. The chief ar-

ties were these:—"That if any stranger should enter Britain in a warlike manner, each of them should aid and assist the other; that the queen of England should pay the Scots in that country, and also the English auxiliaries in Scotland; that the plunder taken from the enemy should belong to the English, but the towns and castles be presently restored to the right owners; that the Scots should give hostages, which were to remain in England during the marriage of the French king with their queen, and one year after."

These transactions passed at Berwick, on the 27th of February, 1600. One thing of which the English gave strict warning to the Scots, was, that they should not join in a set battle, and so hazard all before the promised succour of their friends arrived; for the nobility of that nation were greatly afraid that the over-eager spirits of their new friends would precipitate the whole concern into irrecoverable disorder.

In the mean time, the French having plundered Dysart and Wemyss, held a debate among themselves, whether they should march directly towards the enemy, or else proceed along the shore to St. Andrew's, and so on to Cupar. The latter opinion prevailed, because, by reason of the great snow which had fallen, all the highways were so clogged, that the horse, without great inconvenience, could not march through the midland countries; wherefore, passing long a little by the sea, when they came to the promontory called Kincraigie, that is, the head or end of a rock, some of them got up there, where there was an extensive prospect of the sea; but they soon came down in great joy, telling their fellows, that they discovered eight large ships of the first rate at sea. Upon this, the French certainly concluded that those vessels had brought them over the reinforcements which they had long expected; and therefore saluted them according to custom, with the discharge of their great guns, and congratulating one another, invited them ashore, resolving to pass that day in exceeding mirth and jollity. Not long after, however, one or two boats landed from the opposite shore of Lothian, having in their passage had some discourse with the people in those foreign ships, whereby it appeared that it was an English fleet; and withal, that their land forces were not far from the borders of Scotland. Hereupon there was a sudden change of spirit among them, and their premature laughter was turned into fear and trembling; so that presently they caught up their colours, and retreated, part of them to Kinghorn, others to Dunfermline, many of them in the hurry leaving their tinnets behind them; for they were afraid lest the garrison which they had left at Leith might be cut off, and themselves, in consequence, be exposed to the fury of the surrounding enemy, before they could concentrate their entire strength into one body.

During this whole march, they plundered more of the papists, who came in thick and voluntarily to them, than they did of their enemies. For of the latter, the wealthier sort had taken timely care to remove their most valuable moveables to remote places, where they were effectually protected. As to the property that was not thus secured, the French commanders, elated by present success, and confidently looking for speedy succours, reserved it carefully from plunder, because they flattered themselves with becoming the perpetual lords of the country, and therefore, thinking that they were now perfectly established in the possession of the soil, they were induced to screen the rich estates and villages, as their own peculiar prey. But the papists were partly exhausted by the frequent invitations of the principal commanders to feast at their houses, under the pretence of amity; they were also privately pillaged by the common soldiers; or, in their absence, had their houses openly ransacked by the French, who were very short of provisions, and that not without bitter reproaches of their cowardice, and want of hospitality in not relieving their friends; "which (said they) we leave for you to judge, how near akin it is to downright parody." This arrogant insolence, added to the rapacity of the French, quite alienated the hearts of many from them; and not long after, the people of Fife being compelled, either through fear of their enemies, or the wrongs sustained from their own partisans, joined themselves to the reformers; till at last, the more distant provinces universally revolted from the foreign allies, and showed themselves

as eager in repressing the tyranny of the French, as the rest of the Scots did in the defence of their religion.

The spring being now at hand, both parties hastened to draw their forces together into one place. The earl of Martigues, a youth of undaunted courage, arrived from France with two ships, bringing with him about one thousand foot, and a few horse. He and his soldiers presently went on shore; but the ships were taken in the night by the Scots. About the same time, the marquis of Elbœuf, brother to the regent, who was bringing further aid of men and money in eight ships, returned back into the haven from whence he had set sail, partly because the sea was covered by the English vessels of war, and partly on the plea of bad weather. Besides all that, another fleet of English ships was sent to second the former, which cruised about the whole channel, and held Inchkeith island in blockade; thereby hindering all manner of provision from passing by sea into Leith.

Meanwhile, the chief of the assertors of liberty, who commanded in France, went to Perth, and after three days' conference with Hentley, succeeded in gaining over all that northern part of Scotland to their cause; upon which an order was soon given, that they should all assemble and rendezvous at the end of March. About the same time, all the reformers had a meeting at Lindsaygow; from whence they went to Haddington. On the first of April they joined the English army, which consisted of above six thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and the next night they pitched their tents at Preston. The same day, the regent, to withdraw herself from the danger which was now near approaching, and to avoid the uncertain hazard of war, retired, with a few of her domestics, into the castle of Edinburgh, of which John Erskine was governor, a man of approved loyalty and prudence. He had received the command of that fortress by a decree of the public council, as hath been before related, but it was upon this condition, that he should render it up as soon as he should receive the command of the same authority. The French saw that the possession of this castle was of great advantage to their affairs, and therefore they used great endeavours to obtain it by treachery. The governor, though he was not ignorant of their intentions toward him, and had so fortified the castle, and made such other diligent provision, that it was secure either from force or fraud, yet was not willing to exclude the regent at such a time; but, in receiving her into the place, he took great care that both she and the castle should be still entirely under his orders. The nobles, who were associated for the maintenance of the national liberties, though before they had often found that the mind of the regent was obstinately averse from the cause which they had undertaken, yet thought it advisable not to omit the present occasion of terminating the dispute, as hoping that the fear of the war, approaching nearer to her, and the uncertainty of aid from a remote country, might incline her mind to peaceable counsels. Whereupon, the chief of the party had a meeting at Dalkeith, from whence they wrote to her to this purpose:

"We have oftentimes heretofore earnestly entreated you, both by letters and messengers, to send away the French soldiers, who yet for another year grievously oppress the poor country-people; nay, they excite a just dread in the commonalty, that they shall be reduced into a miserable servitude; from which fear we have many times entreated you to deliver us; but when our just requests prevailed nothing with you, we were forced to represent our deplorable estate to the queen of England, as the nearest princess to us, and to desire aid of her to expel the foreigners, who have threatened to make us their slaves, out of our kingdom, and that by force of arms, if it could be otherwise accomplished. And though she, out of a sense of our calamities, hath undertaken our cause; yet, that we might perform our duty towards the mother of our queen, prevent the effusion of Christian blood as much as possible, and have recourse to force of arms only after we have tried all other ways to obtain right without success, we do, as a part of that good temper which we ought to keep, again pray you to order the French soldiers, with their commanders and officers, to depart immediately out of the land. In order to the performance whereof, the queen of England will not only afford them a safe passage through her kingdom, but will also assist with her fleet to transport them. If this condition be rejected, we call God and man to witness, that we take up

arms, not out of hatred, or any wicked intent, but compelled thereto by absolute necessity, that so we may try the extremity of remedies, in order to prevent the commonwealth, ourselves, estates, and posterity, from being precipitated into utter ruin. Notwithstanding this, and though we at present suffer very grievous pressures, with the expectation of still more heavy ones approaching, no danger whatsoever shall at any time induce us to depart from our duty towards our queen, or from the king her husband, in the least point, wherein the destruction of our ancient liberty, and the ruin of ourselves and posterity, are not concerned. As for you, most excellent princess, we beseech you again, that, weighing the equity of our demands, the inconveniences attending war, and how necessary peace is to this kingdom of your daughter, which at present is so miserably harassed, you would afford a favourable ear to our just requests; which, if you shall do, you will leave a grateful and pleasing remembrance of your moderation amongst all nations, and will also consult the tranquillity of the greatest part of Christendom. Dated at Dalkeith, the 4th day of April, in the year 1600."

On the 6th of the same month, when the English drew near by the seaside, about thirteen hundred French marched out of Leith, and occupied a little rising hill at the end of a plain, where they thought the enemy would pitch their tents. There was a sharp fight for above five hours, to recover and retain possession of this place, with no small loss on both sides; till, at last, the Scottish horse, with great violence, rushed in amongst the thickest of the French, and drove them back with such astonishment into the town, that if the English cavalry had come up sooner than they did, and according to agreement, they would have been all separated from the others, and so cut off.

After this, there were conferences managed between the contending parties; but without producing an amicable termination; for the English refused to allow any truce, and now and then made some light excursions, which, though not without bloodshed, it is needless to recount. On the 21st of April, John de Montluc, bishop of Valence in Savoy, first arrived in the English camp, and next at the castle of Edinburgh, on a visit to the regent, where he had a conference with her two days, and then returned to the Scottish nobles.\* The terms of accommodation, however, could not then be agreed on, because the Scots persisted peremptorily in their demand, that the foreign soldiers should return home. Hereupon, the English, finding the distance between their camp and the town was too great for the ordnance to do any execution, and that their batteries, in consequence, were of little or no avail, broke up, and removed to the other side of the river, near the town of Leith, where they might more certainly annoy the enemy, and also have frequent skirmishes. On the last day of April, about two hours before sunset, a casual fire seized upon part of the town, which being assisted by the violence of the wind, burned fiercely till next morning, destroying many houses, and making terrible devastation, even to part of the public granary, whereby a considerable quantity of provisions was consumed. In this confusion, the English were not backward in their duty; for they turned their great guns upon that part, and played so hot upon the people, that they durst not come to quench the fire; nay, they entered the trenches, and in some places measured the height of the wall; so that, if the French, at the beginning of the combustion, fearing some treachery, had not run in great numbers to the breach, and thereby prevented their ruin in such a general consternation, that very day would have put an end to the war.

On the 4th of May, the English set fire to the water-mills, which were near the town; one of them they burnt down before day, and the other on the day

\* This prelate, who was brother to the famous marshal of that name, was employed in no less than six embassies, to Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, Poland, and Constantinople. He was a man of talent, and very eloquent, but loose in his principles, and worse in his practice. He at one time professed himself a Protestant, to please the queen of Navarre; and he even wrote a book in defence of Calvinism, for which pope Pius IV. condemned him as a heretic. Notwithstanding all this, he retained his ecclesiastical dignity; and, in 1679, says his biographer, resigned his soul into the hands of the Jesuits. He left a natural son, who was legitimized, and became marshal of France.

following, the French in vain endeavouring to quench the flames. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of the same month, the besiegers set ladders to the walls, to make an assault; but the ladders were too short, so that they were beaten off, many being wounded, and one hundred and sixty slain. The three following days, the French were employed, with great labour and hazard, in repairing the walls; the English continually playing upon them, where they saw them assembling in the greatest numbers. The papists were so extremely elevated with success, that they now flattered themselves with the assurance, that the English would depart, the siege be raised, and the war finished. But the English and Scots were so far from being discouraged by this blow, that they exhorted one another to constancy, and the former promised to stay till their queen's pleasure should be made known to them from her court.

In the mean time, letters came from the duke of Norfolk, which mightily encouraged all their spirits; for he wrote to Gray, the chief commander, urging him to continue the siege, and promising that he should not want soldiers as long as there was a man able to bear arms in his province, which was very large, reaching from the Trent to the Tweed: he added, that, if necessary, he would himself come in person to the camp; and to convince him further of his sincerity, he caused his own tent to be erected there, and in a few days, sent two thousand auxiliaries; so that the memory of the former loss was quite obliterated, and, with great cheerfulness, they renewed the operations, which were continued from that day forward, and though the French made frequent sallies, yet hardly one of them succeeded.

During these transactions, the queen of England sent William Cecil, a learned and prudent person, who was then her chief minister of state, and Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, into Scotland, to treat about a peace. These persons were commanded to confer with Randon and Montluc, of the French party, concerning conditions of peace; for the kings of France thought it beneath their dignity to enter upon a dispute, and even negotiation, with their own subjects. Such was the effect produced by the fame of this conference, that, as if all controversies had been already decided, a convention was appointed to be held in July. In the mean time, however, the queen-dowager died in the castle of Edinburgh, on the tenth of June, worn out with sickness and grief. This event variously affected the minds of men; and some of those who had fought against her, did yet lament her death; for she was endowed with a singular genius, and her mind was strongly inclined to equity. She had besides the merit of reducing the fiercest of the Highlanders to a state of order, and of subjugating the inhabitants of the remotest of the isles by her wisdom and valour. It was the belief of some, that she would never have had any war with the Scots, if she had been left free to her own disposition; for she so accommodated herself to their manners, that she seemed able to accomplish all things without force; but the misery was, that, though she possessed the title of governess, and wanted not the virtues worthy of so great a dignity, yet she did as it were rule precariously; because, in all matters of moment, she was bound to wait for orders, like so many oracles, from France. For the Guises, who were then paramount in the French court, intending to attach the kingdom of Scotland as a peculiar to their family, advised their sister to be more severe in asserting the papal religion, than either was agreeable to her own disposition, or the spirit of the times could well endure. At this she gave some evident tokens; for she was heard to say, that if matters were left to her own decision, she did not despair of composing them upon equal conditions.† Others, however, were of opinion, that she alleged the

\* Sir William, afterwards lord Burleigh, was at this time secretary of state. Doctor Wotton was more distinguished as a civilian and politician, than a divine. He was the only man since the Reformation, that ever held two deaneries at the same time. He died in 1568.

† That the queen-regent was sincere in her professions, may be charitably inferred from what occurred on her death-bed. During her sickness, she sent for the duke of Chastellain, the earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Marischal, and lord James Stuart, to whom she declared her grief at the public disturbances, pressed them to conclude a peace, and to send both the French and English out of the kingdom. She asked pardon of all whom she had offended, and begged all injuries that had been done to herself.—*Spotswood*.

rather for popularity, than in sincerity of mind, and that, not only with an intent to avert the fault of mal-administration from herself, but also that, under a pretext of asking advice, she might protract the time in delay, whilst she sent for foreign aid; and so, by yielding, take off the violence of the Scots, and in time suffer their angry mood to abate; being of opinion, that the volunteer troops, after being disbanded once or twice, could not again be easily assembled, because, as they consisted of men who were not in pay, they were not under any certain command. Besides, the inconstancy of the queen in keeping her promises, was a plain evidence of her dissimulation; or she never waited the end of a truce, which, by the conditions she was bound to do; but, if any specious advantage offered itself, she would adventure to renew the war arbitrarily of her own will. Others there were, who threw the blame of all things, that were avariciously or cruelly acted, or which were attempted by fraud or false report, upon her advisers; for, when she undertook the regency, at the very first, some French counsellors were joined to her assistance; the principal of whom was D'Oysel, the ambassador of the king of France, a man, though hasty and passionate, yet otherwise well-meaning, and skilled in the arts both of peace and war; he was also one that directed his counsel rather by the rule of equity, than the will and pleasure of the Guises. With him was joined an advocate of Paris, named D'Ruby, who was to discuss and settle such questions of law and policy as should arise. This man, in his public administration, brought all things, as such as he could, to the customs and laws of France, as if that standard alone were the right way to govern a commonwealth; by which means he raised a suspicion of innovation; and though others might share the guilt of the same crime with him, yet he alone, in a manner, bore the blame of it. But these two committed no offence which could be deemed absolutely irreparable and incurable.

Towards the end of the war, there were three French generals, having distinct appointments allotted them, for the management of the military affairs in Scotland, namely, the count Martigues, of the house of Luxembourg,\* who was afterwards made duke of Penthièvre; the second was James de Brosse, of a noble family, well experienced in arms;† and the third was the bishop of Amiens, accompanied with some doctors of the Sorbonne, as if the matter were to be determined by the tongue rather than the sword. All the counsels of these three tended to open tyranny. The advice given by Martigues, was, to destroy all the country round Leith by fire and sword, that so the resolution of the country, and the want of necessaries, might compel the Scots and their allies to raise the siege. But if this counsel had been carried into effect, many peaceable persons, who were poor, and mostly papists, would have been destroyed, without yielding any benefit to the besieged, for the sea being open, provisions might easily have been brought by ships from all the maritime places of Scotland and England, into the camp of the assailants, so that the devastation of the country would have distressed the papists all as much as the friends of the reformed religion.

De Brosse was of opinion, that all the nobility of Scotland should be cut off without distinction; and one thousand French cuirassiers garrisoned on their lands, who were to keep under the common sort, as vassals. This project of his was discovered by some letters which were intercepted in their passage to France; and it is scarcely credible how much the hatred against the French, which had been generated by other causes, was hereby increased.

As for the bishop of Amiens, he would have had all those seized, and put to death, without allowing them to plead in their own defence, who, in his opinion, were not so favourable to the pope as he would have them; nay, and all those too, who were not so forward to assist the French party as he expected;

\* This was Sebastian, viscount de Martigues, who obtained the title of *The Chevalier without Fear*. He was then a colonel of infantry, and, in 1569, became duke de Penthièvre. Buchanan erroneously calls him duke de Estampes, which was the title of his uncle John.

† James de la Brosse was a great favourite of Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise, who sent him to Scotland, to support the regent, in 1569. He was a squire at the battle of Dreux, with an arm, in 1562.

and he mightily blamed the soldiers of his country, for suffering their vices to be disaffected to their king, to walk openly up and down with impunity. One person at whom he particularly aimed, was Mr. William Maitland, a noble and learned young man, whom, because the Sorbonists could not refute with their reasons, the bishop designed to take off by the sword, and ran upbraided the French soldiers for permitting him to live, and advised them to kill him; of which he having notice, took an opportunity to withdraw himself from that party, and so escaped into the camp of the Scottish reformers.

## BOOK XVII.

*From the Year 1560 to 1566.*

A few days after the death of the regent, a truce was made for a short time, in order to give an audience to the ambassadors, who were come out of the two nations, France and England, with a commission to negotiate the terms of peace. Upon this object, the nobles assembled; but could offer nothing. The greatest obstacle to an agreement, was the refusal of the French, who, the winter before, had obtained considerable plunder in the neighbouring parts, to remove, unless they carried their baggage and ~~horses~~ along with them. The denial of this occasioned new irritations to be more sorely than ever, though not so successful to the French. At length, when both parties were weary of the war, and the inclinations to peace were no longer to be dissembled, the ambassadors on each side met again in conference. The circumstance which most inclined all to a pacification, were these; the French had no further hopes of any relief, and their provisions grew daily more and more scarce, in consequence of which they were not likely to hold out long, and their condition became nearly desperate. As for the English, they were wearied out with a long siege, and wanted necessities as well as the French, so that they were equally desirous to put an end to the war. The Scots also, seeing they could obtain no pay, could hardly be kept from deserting the cause; therefore they easily hearkened to a capitulation; and, at length, by the joint consent of all parties, on the 8th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1560, peace was proclaimed on these conditions. that the French should embark within twenty days, with all their baggage; but as they had not ships enough to transport them all at once, they were to hire some from the English, leaving hostages for them till they were safely returned; that Leith should be surrendered up to the Scots, and the walls of it demolished; and that the fortifications lately made by the French at Dunbar, should be razed; on the execution of which articles, the English were immediately to recall their forces. It was stipulated also, that Mary queen of Scots, with the consent of her husband Francis, should grant an oblivion of all that the Scottish nobility had done or attempted, from the 1st of March, 1559, till the 1st of August, 1560; and that a law should be made to the same purpose, to be confirmed in the next parliament there, which was appointed to be in August; and that Francis and Mary should give their consent to the holding of that assembly. It was likewise agreed that sixty of the French should keep the island of Inchkeith, and the castle of Dunbar, that so the queen might not seem to be thrown out of the possession of the whole kingdom at once. After the departure of the foreign soldiers, there was great tranquillity and cessation of arms till the queen's return. The assembly of the estates was kept at Edinburgh, where the greatest debate was about promoting the reformed religion. The statutes there made, were sent into France, to receive the assent and subscription of the queen. But this was done, rather to sound her mind, than out of any hopes of obtaining any thing from her. Ambassadors were likewise despatched for England, to give that government thanks for its assistance so seasonably afforded.

Not long after this, James Sandiland, a knight of Rhodes, went to the French court. He was a man as yet free from the discords of faction; and

his business was, to apologise for past transactions, and to remove the ill-will remaining since the former wars, and so to endeavour by all ways and means to establish peace and concord. But his arrival happened at a very critical and very troublesome period, for the whole direction of the French affairs was then in the hands of the house of Guise, who, when they perceived that neither threats nor batteries would prevail, strove to oppress the adverse party by force of arms; and when they could allege no other plausible crime against their opponents, they accused them of high treason, in betraying the kingdom. Upon this, the king of Navarre was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and his brother, the prince of Condé, sentenced to death; Annas Duke of Montmorency, with the two sons of his sister, Jasper and Francis Juligni, and their relation, the vidame or bailiff of Chartres, were destined to be slaughter; and besides those, above ten thousand were put into the black list of criminals. Moreover, all means were used to terrify the people. The city of Orleans was full of foot soldiers; guards of horse were posted every where up and down the country; so that all the highways were beset by them; entrance was passed by a few men in the court, upon the lives, fortunes, and good names of the most upright characters; all the steeples of the churches and towers round about the walls had their windows closed up, and their gates and doors fortified, being designed for prisons; while criminal judges were called together from every part of the kingdom. The manner of inflicting punishment was thus designed, that as soon as the frost broke, and the river Loire was navigable, the king should go to Chinon in Poitou, at the mouth of the river Vienne; and then the Guises, with a few of their partisans, at the command of the court cabal, of which they were the chief, should proceed to the execution. Meanwhile, Sandiland came to court, not so much in humility to desire pardon for what was past, as to vindicate his countrymen, and to lay the blame of the tumults upon the French. The Guises received him in a very uncourteous manner, blaming him, that he, being a man dedicated to the holy war, should undertake to manage the cause of rebels, in favour of an execrable heresy, which, with the consent of all nations, had been highly condemned in the council of Trent. Nay, many of them professed to wonder not so much at the folly as the madness of the Scots, that they being but few, and disagreeing among themselves, and besides, destitute of money and all requisite preparations, should dare to provoke so potent a monarch, who was now at peace, and free from any foreign enemy. Amidst these fretful indignations and threats, the king, however, was attacked with a sudden disorder. The ambassador was in consequence dismissed without any answer; and the intelligence of the king's death reaching him at Paris, on the 6th of December, without delay he made haste home, hoping for better things to come.

The news of the royal demise being divulged abroad, did not so much affect the minds of the Scots, who had been in great suspense, by reason of their imminent dangers, as it filled all France with faction, and the contagion of domestic discord. James, the queen's brother, perceiving that Scotland was now freed from the French domination by the death of Francis, made that haste he could to his sister, while she, on the loss of her husband, went to Lorrain to her uncle, either as a solace to her grief, or else out of female pride and ambition, that she might not be near her mother-in-law, who, taking advantage of the slothfulness of Anthony Bourbon, king of Navarre, had, by degrees, brought the whole administration of affairs into her own hands. Here James, having settled things in Scotland for a season, found her, and after much discourse, the queen told him she had a mind to return home; and fixed a day on which they might expect her. In this resolution her uncles occurred, for, before the coming of James, there had been a great consultation upon this very matter, some objecting to the voyage on account of its difficulty, the unfavourable disposition of the queen of England, and the barbarous character of the people, who were naturally seditious, and hardly kept in quiet by the government of men. Moreover, she had fresh examples before her eyes of her father and mother, who, though not openly oppressed, were so harassed by all manner of artifices, as to be almost driven to despair, so that she would be daily and hourly in danger, either of her honour or her life, amongst them. On the other side, they who were conversant in the



affairs of Scotland, urged, that the seditions there arose more frequently from the fault of the princes than of the people, in endeavouring to reduce a kingdom to an arbitrary government, which, time out of mind, had been circumscribed and regulated within the due limits of law. This assumption, however, was such as a nation which was more warlike than rich, could never be brought to endure. But it was observed, that all those kings who laboured from making any efforts to infringe the liberties of the people, were less free from private enemies and popular tumults, and reigned happy in the love of their subjects at home, while they were famous abroad, and conquered by their enemies. The safest, and almost only way, at present, to keep things tranquil, was to attempt no alteration in the state of religion. It was then established. Such were the opinions, as public report went, that were advanced on both sides. But the uncles of the queen had other and more prevailing objects in their view; for they, in the troubles of France, cherishing rather great than honest hopes, thought if their niece was absent, she would be more in their power than if she continued where she was, and as neighbouring princes, in hopes to obtain her for a wife, would court her friendship, and use them as mediators; while in the mean time, one or other of their faction would preside over the management of affairs in Scotland. Besides, the queen's resolution swayed much in the case, who was bent upon returning into her own country, for her husband was dead, and her mother-in-law, who directed all matters of state, behaved so coolly towards her, finding her influence at court declining, though she had little experience in government, yet being in the spring and flower of her age, and of a high spirit, she could not endure to be subservient where she had been used to command. She chose rather to have any fortune with a kingdom, than to be richest without one; neither could she hope that her condition would be very honourable, where the power of the Guises was liable to be weakened by the opportunity by the adverse party. Besides, the persuasions and promises of her brother James had a great force in turning the balance; for he assured her she would find all tranquil at home, especially seeing he was a man to whose faith she might safely commit herself, being of her own blood, and one who, for his youth, had performed many noble and brave exploits, and so had gained great credit and renown amongst all men. Whilst the queen was deliberating on these matters, Noel, a senator of Bourdeaux, who had been sent from France, arrived in Scotland a little after the termination of the public convention, but was put off till the next assembly, which, in order to the settling of the public affairs, was summoned to be held in Edinburgh on the 21st of May. The nobles, however, who met there at the time appeared in great numbers, did not sit, because they were as yet uncertain of the queen's will and pleasure. In the mean time, James Stuart returned from France and brought a commission from the queen, giving them liberty to sit, and to enact laws for the good of the public. Then the ambassador laid his submission the heads of his mission being these: "That the ancient league with the French should be renewed, and the new one with the English broken. That the priests should be restored to their estates and dignities, which had been sequestered from them." To which this answer was given: "That as to the French league, they were not conscious to themselves of its having been violated in the least on their part; though it had been many ways infringed by the French themselves, and especially of late, in their opposing the public liberty, and endeavouring to bring a miserable yoke of bondage upon a people who were their allies, and had given no cause for offence. In regard to the alliance with England, they said they could not dissolve it without being guilty of the worst species of ingratitude imaginable, that of recompensing the greatest act of kindness with the most atrocious injury, which it certainly would be, to join against those who had been the deliverers of their country. As for restitution to the ecclesiastics, they freely told him, "that, in their opinion, those whom he called priests, were of no use or significance at the church." Conformably to this sentiment, a statute was made in that parliament, to demolish all the convents of the monks, and proper persons were presently despatched through all parts of the land, to put it in execution.

When matters were fully prepared in France for the queen's departure

she was advised by her intimate friends, and those who enjoyed her confidence, to abstain, at least for the present, from interfering in the concerns of religion; but there were others again who rashly counselled her to arm on that very account, and to put to death all that should oppose her measures. The chief of these last were Dury, the abbot of Dunfermline, and John Sinclair, the intended bishop of Brechin; and she herself was, by nature, as well as by the persuasion of her near relations, so inclinable to their counsel, that sometimes threatenings would drop from her, which were eagerly caught up at court, and industriously spread amongst the vulgar. She would also frequently boast, in the company of her familiars, that she purposed to follow the example of her kinswoman, Mary, the late queen of England. Wherefore the spirit of her counsels tended to this, to feed the zeal of her own faction with hopes at present, and to suppress the opposite party by degrees, till she should be well settled in her power, and then more openly to declare her mind. And this did not seem hard to accomplish, since the council of Trent had but lately begun, under the pretence of restoring the decayed manners of the church, but in reality to extirpate the professors of the reformed religion, as, by the decrees of that cabal, was afterwards manifest. Besides, the queen was further stimulated by her uncles, who made a great display of the power of the papal faction, at the head of which, Francis, the eldest brother of the house of Guise, was to preside by the decree of the council. In the mean time, Charles, the cardinal, amidst so many public cares, not unmindful of himself, advised the queen not to carry her household goods and attire, which were of great value, as it were into another world, but to leave them with him, till he might be assured of the event of her journey. She knew the man and his craft well enough, and therefore answered him, that, seeing she ventured herself, she might as well trust her goods as her person. When all was resolved upon, they sent D'Oysel into England, to try how the queen stood affected to the voyage. The envoy was well entertained there, and sent back presently into France, to tell the queen of Scots, that, "if she pleased to pass through England, she should have all the respect which she could desire from a kinswoman and an ally, who would besides take it as a great favour; but that if she shunned the proffered interview, it would be taken as a designed affront." The English queen also prepared a great fleet, the pretence of which was to scour the sea of pirates; but some thought that it was to intercept the queen of Scots, if she should venture to pass against her will. They took one ship, in which was the earl of Eglington, and brought her to London; but she was dismissed again in a short time. If, however, any sinister design was intended in fitting out this fleet at such a time, Providence frustrated it; for, when the French galleys came out to sea, a fog enveloped them for several days, till they came into Scotland, on the 21st day of August.

The news of the queen's arrival being circulated abroad, the nobility, from all parts of the kingdom, hastened in, as to a public show. Many came to congratulate her return; some to put her in mind of the services they had done their sovereign in her absence, that so they might secure her favour in time, and prevent the cavils of their enemies; while, again, there were others who came in order to form some judgment of her future government, by the line of conduct adopted at her first entrance into the kingdom. Upon these different grounds, all equally desired to see their queen, who had arrived among them so unexpectedly, after such various events and changeable fortunes. They reflected that she was born amidst the cruel tempests of war, and had lost her father within about a week after her birth; that though she was well educated by the great care of her mother, who was one of the very best of women; yet, between domestic seditions and foreign wars, she had been left as a prey to the strongest party; so that, even almost before she had a sense of misery, she was exposed to all the perils of a desperate fortune. They considered that she had left her country, as it were an exile, and been banished to a foreign land, where, between the fury of arms, and the violence of the waves, she was with great difficulty preserved. It is true, fortune had somewhat smiled upon, and advanced her to an illustrious marriage; but her joy, so far from being lasting, had been but transitory; for by the death of

her mother and husband, she was brought into the mournful state of widowhood; so that the new kingdom which she had received, and the old one to which she was called, both stood in a state of jeopardy. Furthermore, besides the variety of her dangers, the excellency of her mind, the delivery of her beauty, the vigour of her blooming years, and the elegance of her wit, all joined in her recommendation. These accomplishments her courtly education had either much increased, or at least made more agreeable, by a fallacious disguise of virtue, not sincere, but only shadowed over, as it were, with the similitude of something very worthy; whereby her too eager desire to please and ingratiate herself, made the real goodness of her nature less acceptable, and nipped the seeds of virtue by the blandishments of pleasure, that they might not come to bring forth any ripe fruit in their season. Though these things were grateful to the vulgar, persons of keener penetration saw through them; yet they hoped that her soft and tender age would produce an improvement, and that she would grow better by experience.

Amidst these gratulations, a trivial offence occurred, which struck deep into the minds of both factions. The nobility had stipulated with the queen, that there should be no alteration made contrary to the established religion, and that only she and her household should have mass, which also was to be in private. But while the furniture for the service was carrying through the court into the chapel, one of the multitude snatched the torches out of the hands of the bearer, and broke them; and unless some men of a more moderate spirit had come forward to prevent it, all the rest of the apparatus would have been destroyed in a similar manner. This action was differently interpreted amongst the vulgar; for while some blamed the deed as too scandalous, others said it was to try men's patience, how much they would bear, and there were some again who maintained publicly, that the priests ought to undergo the punishment appointed in the scriptures against idleness. The commotion, however, was nipped in the very bud by James, the queen's brother, to the great but secret indignation of George Gordon, who was willing to lay hold of any occasion that presented itself for creating a disturbance, and in the present case, thinking an opportunity lay open to gain favour, he went to the queen's uncle, then at court, and promised them to reduce all the country beyond Dunkeld to the old religion. But they suspected the design of the man, as having heard enough of his disposition; and fearing lest he should raise a new storm to no purpose, held a consultation with James, the brother of the queen, by which means the matter ended without further trouble. The rest of the year was spent in balls and feasts, and in sending away the French, who out of civility had attended the queen, and were then honourably dismissed; only one of her uncles, the marquis of Elboul, staid behind. During this posture of affairs, William Maitland, jun. was sent ambassador into England, to compliment Elizabeth, according to the usual custom, and to acquaint her how highly his queen stood affected towards her, and how much she desired to maintain peace and concord with her. He also carried to her letters from the nobility, expressing their grateful remembrance of former courtesies and favours; but one thing they earnestly desired of her, which was, that, both publicly and privately, she would shew herself friendly and courteous towards their queen; and that, being excited by good offices, she would not only continue the ancient alliance, but add daily thereto, if possible, stronger obligations. As for their part, they declared it should be their earnest study and desire, to omit no occasion of perpetuating the peace between the two neighbouring kingdoms; and that the only sure way to cause an oblivion of all past differences, and to stop the recurrence of them for ever, would be an act of parliament, confirmed by the royal assent, declaring the queen of Scots heiress to the kingdom of England, next after queen Elizabeth and her children, if she should have any. The ambassador having stated the equity of such a statute, and how beneficial it would be to all Britain, by many arguments, added in the close, "That her majesty being the nearest relation to the queen of Scots, ought to be more intent and diligent than others in having such an act made; and that his royal mistress expected that testimony of good will and respect from her." To which the queen of England answered in these words: "I had reason to look for as

other kind of embassy from your queen. I wonder how she comes to forget; that, before her departure out of France, after much solicitation, she at last promised, that the league made at Leith should be confirmed, and faithfully engaged that it should be so, as soon as ever she returned into her own country. I have been put off with words long enough; it is therefore now time, if she has any respect or regard for her honour, that her deeds should answer her words." To this the ambassador answered, "That he was sent on this mission but a very few days after the queen's arrival, and before she had entered upon the administration of any public affairs; that she had been hitherto taken up in treating the nobility, many of whom she had never seen before, who came from many parts to pay their dutiful respects to her; and that she had been chiefly employed about settling the state of religion; which, how difficult and troublesome a thing that is," said he, "you are yourself not ignorant. Hence," he proceeded, "your majesty may easily perceive, that the queen of Scots had no leisure time at all before my departure; neither indeed had she as yet called fit men to her council, to consult about various affairs; especially since the nobility, who live in the most distant parts towards the north, had not as yet come to attend her, before my coming; and, without their advice, matters of such public moment could not, and indeed ought not to be transacted." Upon this, the English queen was somewhat angry, and said, "What need had your queen to hold any consultation about losing that which she hath obliged herself to, under her hand and seal?" He replied, "I can give no other answer at present, for I received nothing in command about it; neither did our queen expect that an account of it would now be required of me; and you may easily consider with yourself, under what just causes of delay she lies at present." After some words had passed betwixt them upon these matters, the queen returned to the main point. "I observe," said she, "what you most insist upon in behalf of your queen; and in seconding the request of the nobles, you put me in mind, that your queen is descended from the blood of the kings of England, and that I am bound to love her by a natural obligation, as being my near relation, which I neither can nor will deny. I also have made it evident to the whole world, that in all my actions, I never attempted any thing against the weal and tranquillity either of herself or her kingdom. Those who are acquainted with my inward thoughts and inclinations, are conscious, that though I had just cause of offence given, by her using my arms, and claiming a title to the kingdom, yet I could never be persuaded, but that those seeds of hatred sprung up from the advice of others, and not from herself. However, as the case stands, I hope she will not take away my crown whilst I am alive, nor hinder my children, if I should have any, to succeed me in the kingdom. But if any unforeseen casualty should previously happen to me, she shall never find that I have done any thing which may in the least prejudice the right which she claims to succeed to the kingdom of England. What that right is, I never thought myself obliged to make a strict inquiry into; and I am of the same mind still. I leave it to those who are skilful in the law to determine. As for your queen, she may expect this confidently of me, that if her cause be just, I shall not prejudice in the least. I call God to witness, that next to myself, I know none that I would prefer before her; or if the matter come to a dispute, that can exclude her. You are aware" said she, "who are the competitors; but by what assistance, or in the hopes of what force, can such poor creatures attempt such a mighty object?" After some further discourse, the conclusion was shortly,—"That it was a matter of great weight and moment, and that this was the first time she had entertained any serious thoughts about it, and therefore, she had need of longer time to consider of it." A few days after, she sent for the ambassador again, and told him, "That she extremely wondered why the nobles should demand such a thing of her, upon the first arrival of the queen; especially knowing, that the causes of former offences were not yet taken away. But what, pray, do they require? That I, who have been so much wronged, should, before I receive any satisfaction, gratify her in so great a matter! This demand is not far from a threat. If they proceed on in this way, let them know that I have force at home, and friends abroad, as well as they, who will defend my just right." To which he answered, "That he

had shewn clearly, at first, how that the nobility had fastened on this promising medium of concord, partly out of duty to their queen, with a view to maintain her welfare, and increase her dignity, and partly out of a desire to procure and establish public peace and amity. And," said he, "that they deal more plainly with you than with any other prince, in this cause, proceeds from your known and experienced good-will towards them, and also on account of their own safety; for they cannot be insensible, that they must venture life and fortune, if any body should oppose the right of the queen, or any war arise betwixt the nations on those grounds. And, therefore, their desires do not seem unwarrantable or unjust, as having a tendency towards rooting out the seeds of all discords, and the settling a firm and solid peace." She rejoined, "If I had done any thing to diminish your queen's right, then your demand would have been just, that what was wrong might be amended. But this requisition is without an example, that I should pin my winding-sheet before my eyes, while I am alive; the like of which we never asked of any prince. However, I take not the good intention of your nobility amiss; and the rather, because it is an evidence to me, that they have a desire to promote the interest and honour of their queen; and I do set a great value on their prudence, in providing for their own security, and aversion to the shedding Christian blood, which could not be avoided, if any faction should arise on the question of a succession to the kingdom. Be what such party can there be, or where could they obtain the necessary law? But to let these considerations pass, suppose me inclinable to assent to the demands, do you think I would do it rather at the request of the nobles than of the queen herself? But there are many other things which divert me from such a transaction. First, I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to venture on the discussion. The dispute concerning the right of the kingdom, is a thing that I have always carefully avoided; for the controversy had been already so much canvassed in the mouths of many, concerning a just and lawful marriage, and what children were illegitimate, and what the contrary, according as every one is addicted to this or that party, that, by reason of these contentions, I have hitherto been more backward in marrying. Once, when I took the crown publicly upon me, I espoused myself to the kingdom, and I wear the ring, which I then put on my finger, as a badge of those nuptials. However, thus my resolution stands, I will be queen of England as long as I live, and when I am dead, let that person succeed in my place, who hath most right to it; and if that shall chance to be your queen, I will leave no obstacle in her way; but if another hath a better title, it would be unjust to require of me to make a public edict to such a person's prejudice. If there be any statute against your queen, it is unknown to me, and I have no great delight to sift into it; but if there should be any such act, I was sworn at my coronation, that I would not change the laws of the realm, or the rights of my subjects. As for your second allegation, that the nomination of my successor would knit a more strict bond of amity betwixt us, I am afraid rather it would prove a seed plot of hatred and discontent. What, do you think I am willing to have my shroud always before my eyes? Sovereigns have the peculiarity, that they are apt to be jealous of their own children, who are born lawful heirs to succeed them. Thus Charles VII. of France was somewhat disgusted with Lewis XI.; and Lewis XI. with Charles VIII.; who of late, Francis greatly disliked Henry; and how is it likely that I should stand affected towards my relation, if she be once declared my heir; just as Charles VII. was towards Lewis XI. Besides, that which weighs most with me, I know the inconstancy of this people; how much they are dissatisfied with the present state of things; and how intently their eyes are turned towards a successor. It is natural for all men, as the proverb is, "to worship the rising rather than the setting sun." I have learned this from my own times, to omit other examples. When my sister Mary sat at the helm of government, how eager were the desires of some men to see me placed upon the throne; and how solicitous were they in advancing me thereto? I am not ignorant what dangers they would have undergone to bring their design to an issue, if my will had concurred with their desires. Now, perhaps, the same men are otherwise minded; just like children, when they dream of

apples in their sleep, they are very joyful, but on waking in the morning, and finding themselves disappointed in their hopes, their mirth is turned into sorrow. Thus I am dealt with by those, who, whilst I was yet a private woman, wished me so well, that if I looked upon any of them a little more pleasantly than ordinary, they thought presently with themselves, as soon as ever I came to the throne, they should be rewarded rather at the rate of their own desires, than of the service they performed for me; but now, seeing the event hath not answered their expectation, some of them are eager for a new order of things, in hopes of a better fortune: for, the wealth of a prince, though never so great, cannot satisfy the insatiate ambition of some men. But if the good-will of my subjects decline towards me; or if their minds are changed, because I am not profuse enough in my largesses, or for some other trivial cause, what will be the event, when the malevolent shall have a successor named, to whom they may make their grievances known, and, according to their changeable disposition, betake themselves thereto upon every fit occasion which may suit their purpose. What danger shall I then be in, when so powerful a neighbouring queen is my successor? The more strength I add to her in fixing her succession, the more I detract from my own security; which danger cannot be avoided by any precautions, or by any limits of law: nay, those princes who have the hopes of a kingdom offered them, will hardly restrain themselves within the bounds either of law or equity. For my part, if my successor should be once publicly declared to the world, I should think my affairs very far from being settled and secure." This is the substance of what took place at that conference.

A few days after, the ambassador asked the queen, whether she would vouch any answer to the letter of the Scottish nobility? "I have nothing," said she, "at present to reply, only, I commend their affection and love to her queen; but the matter is of such weight, that I cannot so soon give a plain and express answer to it; however, when your queen shall have done her duty in confirming the league which she bound herself to ratify, then it will be reasonable to try my affections towards her; in the mean time, I cannot ratify her in her request, without abridging my own dignity." The ambassador replied, "He had no command about that affair, nor ever had any discourse with his mistress concerning it; neither did he then propound his own judgment concerning the right of succession, but his own, and had sought reasons to enforce it. As for the confirmation of the league by her husband, he said, it was forced from the queen of Scots, without the consent of those whom the ratifying or disannulling of it did most highly concern; either was it a thing of such consequence, as therefore to exclude her and her posterity from the inheritance of England. "I do not inquire," he observed, "by whom, when, how, by what authority, or for what reason, the league was made, because I have no command to speak of any such subject; at this I may venture to affirm, that even though it were confirmed by the queen in compliance with her husband's desire, yet, since so great a stress is laid on it, she, in time, may find out reasons why it should, and ought to be dissolved. I speak not this," said he, "in the name of the queen, but my intent is to shew, that our nobility have good reasons for what they do; that all controversies being entirely annihilated, a sure and lasting peace may be established betwixt us."

After much discourse upon the subject of the league, the queen was brought to this, that ambassadors should be chosen on both sides to review it, and relate it, according to this outline: "That the queen of Scots should abstain from using the arms of England, and from the titles of England and Ireland, as long as the queen of England, or any of her children, were alive. On the other side, the queen of England was to do nothing, either by herself or her posterity, which might prejudice the queen of Scots, or impair her right of succession." These were the matters transacted in this embassy; and while they were in treaty abroad, for the purpose of settling peace, sedition had almost broken out at home. There was mass allowed to the queen and her family, as I said before; but when the edict was published, one of the nobility, namely, the earl of Arran, vehemently opposed it, at which the queen was highly offended, though she dissembled her anger. The next

offence she took was against the people of Edinburgh. It is a common custom among them to choose their magistrates on the 20th of September. At that time, Archibald Douglas, the sheriff, according to custom, proclaimed that no adulterer, fornicator, drunkard, mass-monger, or obstinate papist, after the 1st of October, should stay in the town; and great penalties were denounced against those who proved disobedient. When the queen was informed of this, she committed the magistrates to prison, without hearing them, and commanded the citizens to choose others in their room; with an injunction to set the gates open to all her good subjects. This excited the most indignation of some, and the laughter of others, that flagitious persons should be accounted good subjects, and her majesty's most faithful ministers and servants. The queen, finding that the citizens took this matter more patiently than she expected, attempted greater matters by degrees. The mass had hitherto been but privately celebrated, without any great solemnity; but on the first of November, she added to it all the pomp of the popish offices. The reformed ministers of the gospel took this very ill, and complained much of it in their pulpits, putting the nobility in mind of their duty. Upon this a dispute arose among a few in a private house, whether it was lawful to restrain idolatry, which was likely to spread and ruin the whole kingdom, or whether they might, by force, reduce a chief magistrate to the bounds of the law, who sets no limits to his own arbitrary will? The reformed ministers persisted constantly in their opinion, which had been approved in former times, that a magistrate might be compelled by force to the performance of his duty. The nobles, however, were more unsteady in their resolutions, either to obtain favour with the queen, or out of hopes of honour and reward, yet, as they were superior in number and greatness, the decision went on their side.

In the mean time, the court was immersed in vice, and gave a lease to luxury; neither was it awakened by what was reported of the mean-spirited inhabitants of the English borders, who, as if by permission, took the freedom of plundering openly, and killing all who opposed them. James, the queen's brother, was sent with a delegated power to suppress them; not so much, as the opinion of many people, with an intent to honour him, as with a design to expose him to danger. For, as his power was distasteful to the queen, as his innocent carriage was still more offensive, because it served to expose her faults, and to check her career in tyranny. But God, beyond all men's hopes, prospered his just endeavours; for he hung twenty-eight of the fiercest robbers, and the rest he suppressed, either by the mere terror of his name, or else by making them give hostages for their good behaviour. The queen seemed to flatter herself with having gained some liberty by his absence; as she was not well pleased with the present state of things; partly by reason of the controversies in religion, and partly because matters were managed more strictly than a young woman could bear, who had been educated in the most corrupt of all courts, where lawful dominion was considered beneath the dignity of princes, and as though their freedom consisted in the slavery of others. Hence she was sometimes heard to give utterance to her discontent; nay, the foundation of tyranny seemed to be laid: for, whereas all former kings intrusted their safety only to the nobility, she determined to have a body-guard, and being without any reasonable pretext to effect it, or a convenient colour for her desire, she set up a plea of courtly magnificence, and the envy of foreign princes. The blameless deportment of her brother increased her uneasiness, because it cut off any opportunity to feign crimes against him, or to fasten any suspicions upon him; and also because she knew that his regularity made her loose life appear intolerable. When she saw that the people were so affected, as to consider her keeping of life-guards in the manifest light of a design to establish tyranny, her restless mind being determined, to any means whatever, to effect what she had once resolved upon, devised the following stratagem. She had a brother named John, an ambitious man, and not so strict in life as James. He was easily persuaded to be obsequious to the queen, and thereby endeared himself so much to her, that he was accounted a fit instrument of her disorderly doings. She accordingly communicated her design to him, in the absence of James, about taking a guard

The plot was laid thus ; there was a rumour of a tumult to be spread abroad in the night, as if James Hamilton, earl of Arran, would have surprised the queen, who had but a few men to guard her, and so have carried her to his castle, fourteen miles off. This story, they thought, would take with the vulgar, both because the queen had a great aversion to him, and he was much in love with her, both which were things publicly known. A tumult therefore was made, as the plot was laid, and horsemen scoured about the neighbouring fields, for a good part of the night, and, in the morning, a guard was set at the court-gate, while some fretted, and others smiled at the business. The authors of this project, though they knew themselves that they were not believed, yet were mightily pleased, as being secure of the general opinion, and knowing that none there present dared to oppose them. Upon this beginning, the court ran headlong into wantonness and luxury ; notwithstanding, as yet justice was equally administered, and offences were punished ; for the chief management of affairs was in James, the queen's brother, who, for his equity and valour, was dear to all men. He took for his chief counsellor, William Maitland, a young man of a penetrating judgment, of which he had already given ample proofs, and raised the expectations of men, that he would give still larger demonstrations of it in time to come. Their united virtuous counsels kept things quiet at home and abroad, and all things went on as well as good men could wish ; while the factious were compelled to fret inwardly, rather than complain justly.

Amidst these things, a debate arose in the court, which held them in dispute for three whole months. They who had been kings or regents in the preceding times, had exhausted the public treasure, which was never great in Scotland. The queen was expensive to an immoderate degree ; the estates of the nobility and commonalty, in the late tumults, were mightily wasted ; so that now nothing remained to maintain the expenses of the court, but the ecclesiastical revenues. Upon this, the chief of the clergy were sent for, and some of the principal nobility were added to the number, of such as could either prevail with them by persuasion, or compel them by force. After a long dispute, the clergy being overcome rather with the sense of their own weakness, than the weight of any reason, the conclusion was, that a third part should be taken off from the revenues of the church, wherewith the queen should maintain orthodox ministers, and reserve the rest for her own use. This conclusion was pleasing to none ; the rich ecclesiastics grudged that any of their old revenues should be pared away ; while the reformed ministers expected no good from the queen ; and yet, after all, though a great show was made, she did not gain much by the measure ; for many of the old possessors had their thirds forgiven ; several, both men and women, had the wages for their household service and expense paid out of it for many years ; and many besides obtained pensions and support out of the same for their old age. That winter, the queen created her brother James earl of Marr, with the universal approbation of good men. Every one praised her for giving honour to virtue, and nobody could discommend her that she allowed some partiality to propinquity in blood ; while many thought she had done well for the public, in advancing a person to distinction, who was of an illustrious stock, and had so highly deserved of his country, that so he might pre-empt over public affairs with the greater authority. Some, indeed, thought that this favour of the queen's was intended to reconcile him to her, who, she knew, was offended at the carriage of the court in his absence. Besides this honour, he had a wife provided for him, who was Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl of March ; at which marriage there was such magnificent feasting, or rather immoderate luxury, that the minds of his friends were very much offended at it, and his enemies took occasion of exclaiming and venting their envy ; and the more, because he had been so temperate during all the former part of his life. Not long after this, the title of Murray was bestowed upon him, instead of Marr, which was found to be the ancient right of John Erskine, Gordon, who had been deprived first of Marr, and now of Murray, over which country he had long presided as governor, looked upon himself as robbed, in a manner, of his patrimony, and therefore levelled all his designs at the overthrow of his rival. He had many other motives for this, being far the



richest man in all Scotland, by reason of the rewards his ancestors had received for their services to the crown, and having also himself augmented the power of his family by indirect practices. First, he overthrew John Forbes, as I said before, by false witness; next, when James Stuart, brother of James V. died without children, he obtained of those who sat at the helm, the stewardship of Murray; by which means he carried himself as heir, and arrived at such a pitch of greatness, that all his neighbours laid down their opposition, and rested quietly under his authority, or rather, I had almost said, they tamely became his vassals.

But whilst others submitted to him, either in fear of danger, or in a patient spirit to bear the yoke, he was much troubled with the disregard shown him by one man, or, as he termed it, with his pride. This was James Macintosh, the chief of a great family amongst the old Scots. He was born and brought up amongst the brutal highlanders, who lived upon prey; but yet, whether it was by a secret instinct of nature, or else by having good instructors, he attained such a degree of politeness, modesty, and decency of behaviour, that he might be said to vie with those who had the greatest care bestowed to give them a liberal education. Gordon, being jealous of this young man's power, for he knew he could not use one of so good a disposition as an instrument for his wicked purposes, seized him suddenly, and threw him into prison; but not being able to find any crime in him worthy of death, it is reported that he suborned some of his friends to persuade him to submit himself and his cause to him; as the only way to be delivered honourably from confinement, and to gain the friendship of so potent a man as the chief. Thus the simple and plain-hearted man was deceived unto his own destruction; yet Gordon, being anxious to avoid the disgrace which would accrue to him in being the author of his death, prevailed with his wife to bear the blame of it. She, being a woman of a stern and masculine resolution, readily undertook the matter; and, in the absence of her husband, the poor innocent betrayed young man had his head struck off. His neighbours were either so astonished at this person's fate, or were so alarmed by bribery, that the whole country beyond the Caledonians submitted to the jurisdiction of Gordon alone. He, therefore, being a man ambitious of power and glory, took it very ill, that James, earl of Murray, should be set up as his rival; and being impatient of the present state of things, he took occasions to promote disturbances, and daily calumniated his proceedings in public. Besides all this, he presented a book, written with his own hand, to the queen, in which he accused Murray of aiming at tyranny; but he supported the charge with very slender arguments.

On the other side of the country, and at the same time, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, being much in debt, and very debauched, was excited to enter into an attempt against the same earl of Murray; for, having spent his youth wantonly amongst loose women of the worst description, he was reduced to that pass, as either to raise a civil war, or else to prevent extreme poverty by some bold and daring action. Having considered all ways to compass his design of disturbing the public peace, he thought it his best course to set Murray and the Hamiltons at variance; flattering himself with the assurance of destroying one or other of the parties by that means, and without caring which. In the first place, he went to Murray, and endeavoured to persuade him to root out the Hamiltons, as a family detested and obnoxious to the queen, the whole kingdom, and especially to himself. In this object he offered him his assistance, alleging, that the thing would not be unacceptable to the queen; for that, besides the common ground of hatred which princes bear against their relations, as detractors of their ruler's majesty had some particular and just cause of offence, either on account of his affection to the evangelical doctrine and discipline, of which Arminius was the only assertor, and for which he had incurred the hatred of the Galilean France; or else, by reason of the hard words which he had lately given to one of her uncles, the marquis of Elbeuf, then in Scotland. But Murray being an honest and conscientious man, scorned to be guilty of so base an action. Whereupon, Hepburn next went to the Hamiltons, and offered his service to them to destroy Murray, whose power they could not well endure. He told

them that he was the only man who was an obstacle to their hopes, and an enemy to their interests; that if he was but once taken away, the queen must needs be in their power, whether she would or not, and that the method of compassing it was easy. The queen was then at Falkland, a castle situated at a town of the same name, near which is a small wood, where deer, of the nature of stags, called, by mistake, fallow-deer in the country, were kept and fed. The queen might be easily surprised, as she went thither every day, or to any neighbouring place, with a small retinue; at which time it was very easy to destroy Murray, being unarmed, and suspecting no such thing, and to get the royal person into their hands. He quickly gained over those whom he addressed, and all, except the earl of Arran, not only assented to the proposal, but appointed a time to perform the enterprise. The earl, however, detested the wickedness, and sent letters privately to Murray, acquainting him with the particulars of the whole plot. Murray wrote back to him, by the same messenger, but Arran, being casually absent, the letters were given to his father; who, upon holding a consultation, caused his son to be shut up a close prisoner, from whence he made his escape by night, and went towards Falkland. As soon as his flight became known, horsemen were sent after him all over the country, to bring him back; but he hid himself in a wood, and frustrated their expectation for that night, and in the morning came to Falkland, where he discovered the whole plan of the treasonable design. Not long afterwards, Bothwell and Gavin Hamilton, who had undertaken with a party of men to commit the fact, followed him, and, by the queen's command, had a guard set upon them as prisoners in the castle of Falkland. The reality of the project being thus manifest, and the spies having also brought word that the leaders were met at the time and place mentioned by Arran, and that many horsemen were seen there, the earl was asked to explain the order of the plot, at which he was a little disturbed in his mind, for he, on the one hand, mightily deoted on the queen, and was also a great friend of Murray's, which made him desirous to gratify them. On the other side, however, his father was no bad man, only he had been drawn too easily into great and difficult designs; wherefore the son was desirous of exempting him from the charge of the conspiracy. That night, when he was alone, his thoughts were so divided between piety and love, that he was almost beside himself; his countenance and speech gave evident signs of great perturbation of spirit: besides which, there were other causes to affect the young man's mind. For, whereas he had been brought up magnificently, according to the greatness of his family, his father, being a covetous man, by the persuasion of some counsellors who nourished that vice in him, reduced him to only one servant, who before had many attendants. They who had undertaken to kill Murray, were sent to several prisons; Bothwell to Edinburgh castle, Gavin to Stirling, till their cause was tried; while Arran was conveyed to St. Andrew's, where the queen was going, to be kept in the archbishop's castle. In that place, during his lucid intervals, he wrote such wise and prudent letters to the queen, concerning himself and others, that many were suspicious he had counterfeited himself mad, only to free his father from the treason. As for the rest, he constantly and sharply accused them; inasmuch that, when he was brought to the council, and so private a conspiracy could not be proved by their testimonies, he proffered to fight with Bothwell himself. About the same time, James Hamilton, the father of Arran, first wrote, and after that came to St. Andrew's to the queen, earnestly desiring her to take sureties for his son, together with Bothwell and Gavin Hamilton, and leave them to him; but he could not be heard. At the same time, the queen took Dumbarton castle, the strongest in all Scotland, which Hamilton had held ever since she was regent. George Gordon, being an enemy to Murray, now evinced the greatest hatred to Hamilton, his son's father-in-law, who was accused of a manifest crime, and almost convicted of it; for he thought now he had a good opportunity to get his enemy out of the way, especially when two such noble families were joined to his side. And first, he caused a tumult to be raised by his friends in the town, where, at that time, the company was but few, hoping that Murray would come out from the court, to appease it by his authority; and then, being unarmed, he might be easily slain in the crowd.

This project did not succeed as he would have it, and therefore he sent some of his followers armed into the court, to perpetrate the deed. Then employed to slay Murray, entered in the evening, as he was returning to his lodging from the queen, who was wont to keep him late at night; as this time seemed fittest, both to commit the fact, and to escape after it was done. When the design was discovered to Murray, he would not have believed it, unless he had seen it with his eyes; and, therefore, he got some few of his most faithful friends, and took one or two of the Gordons in their armour, as he groped with his hand in the passage. The case being brought to the queen, Gordon was sent for, who pretended that some of his retinue, just as they were going home, had armed themselves; but, upon some occasion or other, were detained. This excuse was rather received than believed; and so they departed for that time. The same summer, by the mediation of ambassadors on both sides, it was proposed that the queens of Scotland and England should have an interview at York, there to debate many matters in dispute. But when they were almost ready for their journey, the matter was put off till another time. The cause of deferring the conference was commonly reported to be, that the duke d'Aumale, one of the brothers of the Guises, had intercepted and opened the letters of the English ambassador, then at the French court; and that by his means, principally, the English ship, which carried another ambassador, was taken and plundered. Further wrongs and injuries, matters being likely to end in a war with France, the queen went from St. Andrew's to Edinburgh, forwarding Arran thither also where he was sent prisoner to the castle. In the mean time, James, her brother, went to Hawick, a great market-town in those parts, and there surprised fifty of the chief handitti, who were met together, and did not dream of his coming; which struck such a terror into the rest, throughout all that track, that the whole country was quieter for some time after. But as that action procured him the love and reverence of good men, so did it daily more and more excite the minds of the envious to his destruction; for three very potent families had already projected his ruin, and the accession of the Guises to the plot made a fourth; for they, being willing to restore the old popish religion, and knowing they could never effect it as long as Murray lived, employed their utmost endeavours to remove him out of the way. Many concurrent circumstances contributed to make the attempt seem feasible: especially because the French who had accompanied the queen to Scotland, being returned home, related there what great interest and power Gordon possessed; how unquiet his mind was, and what promises of assistance he had made for the restoration of mass; all which things they aggravated in their discourse to the utmost height. Accordingly, this matter was debated by the papists in the French court, and the following method of effecting it resolved upon. They wrote to the queen, to cherish the inflamed spirit of Gordon by large promises; and that she should rather pretend, than promise, to marry his son John; that so, being hoodwinked with that hope, they might lead him whither they pleased; and they also gave her the names of those, in a list whom they had a mind should be destroyed. Besides this, letters from the pope and cardinal were sent to her to the same effect; for, whereas her revenue was not sufficient to maintain that immoderate luxury to which she had used herself, she craved some pecuniary aid of the pope, under a pretence of managing a war against those who had revolted from the church of Rome. The reply of the pope was somewhat ambiguous, but the cardinal wrote more plainly, that she should not want money for the war; yet on condition that those persons must be first killed whose names were given her in a scroll.

The queen shewed these letters to Murray, and to the rest designed for the slaughter; either because she thought they would have some notice of it another way, or else to make them believe her sincere in the regard which she professed for them, since she did not conceal from them any of her secret counsels. Thereupon, all other things being fitted for the attempt, the queen pretended a great desire to visit the parts of Scotland which lie northwards; and Gordon promoted her desire by his forward invitation. At last, when she came to Aberdeen, which was on the thirteenth of August, Gordon's wife, a woman of a manly spirit, and coming withal, used all her art to sift out the queen's mind,

as well to fathom her secret thoughts, as to incline them to her own party. She knew well enough, that the designs of princes are liable to be changed by small incidents ; neither was she ignorant how the queen had stood affected a little before, towards both Murray and Gordon ; for while hating them both, she had sometimes deliberated privately with herself, which of them she should destroy first. She could not endure the innocence of Murray, as being a curb to her licentiousness ; and as for Gordon, she was well acquainted with his perfidiousness against her father first, and next to her mother ; besides which, she had some reason to fear his power. But as the letters of her uncles and the pope urged her rather to destroy Murray, of which Gordon was not ignorant, he, therefore, to cast the balance, promised by his wife to restore the Romish religion. The queen was glad of this ; yet there was one impediment, though not a great one, that kept her from assenting to him. This was, that she did not think it consistent with her honour to be reconciled to his son John, who had, a few days before, been committed to prison for a tumult raised at Edinburgh, but made his escape. The queen, therefore, declined the overtures of Gordon, unless his son returned to Stirling, to be there a prisoner of state, at least for a few days ; and she insisted upon this, not so much for the cause which was pretended, as that she might have her way clear when Murray was killed, and might not be compelled to marry while her lover was absent. Gordon, though willing to satisfy the queen, yet made some scruple to give up his son as a pledge into the hands of a man who was most adverse, of all others, to his designs. This was John, earl of Mar, the uncle of Murray, and governor of Stirling castle ; and Gordon was the more reluctant to comply with the demand, because he was uncertain how the queen would take the murder when it should be committed. Whilst these cunning wits were endeavouring to impose one upon another, and were mutually suspicious—the queen affirming that the delay in despatching the matter was not owing to her, though she used no expedition ; John Gordon, to shew himself officious, and to watch all events, got together about one thousand of his friends and tenants, well armed, and quartered them up and down in the neighbourhood, near the town. But Murray, though he had not much help at hand, and saw that all these things were prepared for his ruin, of which design he had received advice by his friends, both from the French and English courts, yet, in the day-time, performed his usual services to the queen, in whom he placed no confidence, and at night had only one or two of his servants to watch in his chamber. Being, however, often informed of the plots of his enemies against him, he, by the help of those who were still true to his interest, disappointed all their purposes without any noise.

About the same time, Bothwell was let down by a rope, out of a window, and so escaped from the castle of Edinburgh. Meanwhile, matters remained at a stand in Aberdeen, by reason of the dissimulation on both sides. The queen intending to make a further progress, was invited by John Leslie, a nobleman and friend of the Gordons, to his house, about twelve miles off : which being a lonesome place, seemed to them most favourable for the murder. But Leslie, who knew their secret design, entreated them not to lay so great a brand of infamy on himself and family, as that he of all men should betray the queen's brother, a man who was not otherwise bad, and against whom he had no private grudge. The next night they spent quietly enough at Rothiemay, a town of the Abernethies, because the day after they determined to lodge at Strathbogie, a castle of the Gordons ; so that they deferred the murder till that time, because there all would be in their power. In their journey, Gordon had a long discourse with the queen ; and at last came to this, plainly to desire her majesty to pardon his son John ; for that, being a young man, and ignorant of the laws, he had made his escape out of prison, into which he was cast for no higher offence than being concerned in a commotion, of which he was not the original author. But the queen urged, that her authority would be abused, unless his son returned at least for some days, and submitted to be confined in another prison, though a larger one ; that so his former fault being, as it were, expiated, he might be discharged in a more handsome way. Though this was but a slight demand, yet Gordon, who was unwilling to lose the opportunity of committing the designed deed, obstinately refused to com-

ply with it, either that he might cast the blame of the murder upon his son, if the queen should not approve it after being committed; or, if the act should be done in the absence of his son, though she was not unwilling, that he might then be kept as an hostage. The queen was so much offended at this obstinacy of Gordon, that when she was almost in sight of his house, she turned aside, and went another way. Thus the whole plot, which, as they thought, had been wisely contrived, was now quite overthrown, till they came to Inverness; for there, besides Gordon's being lord-president for the administration of justice, he also commanded the queen's castle, that was seated on a high hill, and overlooked the town; besides which, all the people in that quarter were his vassals. It was the intention of the queen to have taken up her residence in the castle, but she was prevented by the guards, which made her uneasy that she should be obliged to lodge in an unfortified town. In the mean time, Huntly's son had about one thousand choice horse now in arms, together with a promiscuous multitude from the parts adjacent. Thus the queen, taking counsel from her present circumstances, set a watch at all the avenues of the town; and commanded the ships which had brought her provisions, to ride ready in the river, that, if her guards were beaten off, she might have a retreat to them. In the middle of the night, some scouts were sent out by Huntly, and the first watch let them pass on purpose, till they came to a narrow passage, where they were all surrounded and taken. Among the highlanders, the tribe of Mackintosh, as soon as they understood that they were to fight against the queen, forsook Huntly, and came to her the day after into the town. A great number of the other highlanders also, when they heard of the danger of their sovereign, partly by persuasion, and partly of their own accord, came in, and especially the Frasers and Macraes, two valiant families in those countries. The queen being now secure against any force, began to blockade the castle, and as the besieged were not numerous enough, neither was the place well fortified, or prepared to hold out, it was surrendered to her. The chief persons that defended it were put to death, but the rest were sent to their respective homes. The nobility now came in from all parts; upon whose arrival others were permitted to return and so, on the fourth day after, with a guard of sufficient strength, she went back to Aberdeen. There, being freed from fear, she was mightily inflamed with hatred against Gordon; and, being eager for revenge, she again outwardly received her brother into favour, pretending that her dependence was wholly on him; and she even endeavoured also to persuade others, that her safety and life consisted in his security. Hereupon, Gordon perceiving that the whole face of the court was altered; that the earl of Murray, lately designed for the slaughter, was now in great esteem; while himself was fallen from the summit of his aspiring hopes, and made the object of a mortal hatred; and, thinking he was sunk beyond any possibility of a retreat or pardon, had recourse to desperate counsels. He thought no remedy would be better for his present danger, than by all means to get the queen into his power; and though he knew he should grievously offend her at present by the attempt, yet he did not despair, thinking a woman's heart might be made flexible in time, by attentions, flattery, and the marriage of his son, of which her uncles were supposed to be the contrivers.

This design he communicated to his friends, and resolved, by some means or other, to remove Murray out of the way; for if that could be once accomplished, there was none besides to whom the queen would commit the government, or who was able to manage it. His spies gave him hopes that the thing was practicable; and, amongst others, George Gordon, earl of Sutherland, who was in daily attendance at court, and by pretending good-will to the queen, was enabled to search out all her counsels, of which, through the agency of messengers proper for the purpose, he acquainted Huntly; say, he did not only observe the opportunity of time and place, but also promised his assistance to effect it. Besides, as the town lay open on every side, it was exposed to any private attempt; and the inhabitants being either won over by bribery, interested by alliances, or terrified by danger, were not likely to make any opposition. The highlanders were in general dissatisfied; there being with the earl of Murray but a few, and they too came from remote

parts, whom he did not much fear to disoblige; and, seeing all the neighbouring countries were in his power, the matter might be transacted without bloodshed, so that only one man's death would put the queen into his hands; while the other wounds might be easily cured. These things drove him on to attempt the matter; but when the way to accomplish it was ready fixed, some letters of the earl of Sutherland and John Leslie were intercepted, which discovered the whole intrigue. Sutherland, upon the discovery, fled; but Leslie acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon, and ever after, as long as he lived, performed true and faithful service both to the queen and king. Huntly, who with a great body of men waited the event of his design, in a place almost inaccessible by reason of the marshes that lay round there, by the advice of his friends determined to retreat to the mountains; but many of the neighbouring nobility then with the queen, being his friends, he trusted to their promises, and therefore altered his resolution, and determined to bide the success of a battle in that advantageous place. Murray had scarce a hundred horse in which he could confide; but there followed him of the nobles then present, James Douglas, earl of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay; with whom he marched forth against the enemy; the rest consisted of countrymen of the neighbourhood, about eight hundred, and as Huntly had for the most part corrupted them before, they were more likely to draw on Murray's men to their ruin, than to give them any aid; yet they made a mighty boast, and were loud in their expressions, promising, that they would themselves, without any other help, subdue the enemy; and that the others should have nothing to do but to look on, and stand as spectators of their actions. Some horsemen were sent before to guard all the passages about the marsh, that Huntly might not escape. The rest marched softly after; and though, the night before, many of Gordon's men had slipped away, yet he had still with him above three hundred, who maintained themselves in their posts. When Murray came thither, he stood with his party in rank and order, on a small hill, where he overlooked all the marsh; the rest, as they were advancing towards the enemy, gave evident tokens of treachery, putting shouts of heath in their caps, which plant grows in abundance in those parts, but they might be known by the opposite party. When they came near, Huntly's men, as being secure of success, hastened to them, and seeing the adverse army disordered by the traitors, and put to flight, that they might more easily pursue them, threw away their lances, and with their drawn swords, to terrify those ranks that stood, they cried out, Treason, treason! and poured in with great violence upon the enemy. The traitors, thinking that they should also get to flight the standing party, made haste towards it. But Murray perceiving no hope in flight, and that nothing remained but to die nobly, cried out to his men to hold out their lances, and not let those who were running away come in amongst them. They, being unexpectedly excluded from both ways, passed by in great disorder. But Huntly's men, who now thought the matter ended, and the victory sure, when they saw a party, though but small, standing in a terrible manner, with their pikes forward, and that the rest, who were making towards them, were in confusion, and quite out of order, and could not come to close quarters, by reason of the length of their spears, being struck with a sudden terror, fled as swiftly as they had pursued before. The traitors perceiving this change of fortune, pressed upon them in their flight, and as if willing to make amends for their former fault, now made all the slaughter of the day. There were one hundred and twenty of Huntly's men slain, and one hundred taken prisoners; not so much as a man of the other army being lost. Among the prisoners were Huntly himself, with his two sons, John and Adam; the father being an old man, fat and corpulent, died in the hands of those who took him, and the rest were brought to Aberdeen late at night. Murray had appointed a minister of the gospel to wait for his return; where, in the first place, he gave thanks to Almighty God, who, of his mercy alone, and beyond all human expectation, without any strength or wisdom of man, had delivered him and his people out of so imminent a danger. Afterwards, he went to the court, where, though many congratulated him, yet it was observed that the queen gave no sign of joy at all, either in her speech or countenance.

A few days after this, John Gordon was put to death, who was generally pitied and lamented; for he was a manly youth, very handsome, and not entering on the prime of his age; not so much designed for the royal bed, as deceived by the false prospect of it; but what moved no less indignation than pity, was the manner in which he was mangled by an unskilful executioner. The queen beheld his death with many tears; but as she was prone to conceal and counterfeit affections, various remarks were made upon her grief and passion; and the rather, because most people knew that she hated her brother no less than she did Huntly. Adam was pardoned on account of his youth; George, the eldest son, in this desperate case, fled from his house to his father-in-law, James Hamilton, there to shelter himself, or else to obtain pardon through his mediation. As for Gordon's followers, they were treated just as the degrees of their guilt were, more or less; some were fined, others banished the land; and some again were sent into remote parts of the kingdom, that they might raise no more commotions at home; but those who had the good fortune to have powerful intercessors, received a full pardon for their offences, and were taken into former grace and favour. Matters being thus settled, or at least appeased for the present, the rest of the winter was spent in peace.

The 27th day of November, Bothwell, who had escaped out of prison, was by a proclamation commanded to surrender himself again; but as he did not obey the mandate, he was declared a public enemy. When the queen returned from Aberdeen to Perth, James Hamilton came to her, to beg pardon for his son-in-law, George Gordon; but though he had a gracious answer, yet he was forced to give up his kinsman, who was sent prisoner to Dunbar; and the next year after, which was 1563, on the 26th of January, he was brought to Edinburgh, where he was condemned for high treason, and then sent back to his former place of confinement.

It was about this time that there came out a proclamation, that no fast should be eaten in Lent, under the penalty of a fine. The pretence for this was not any thing of religion, but for civil advantage only. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he did not forbear to hear and say mass, after the edict made at the coming in of the queen, was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; and some other ecclesiastics, who were guilty of the same fault, were punished slightly, yet were threatened to be more severely treated if they offended in the same way again.

And now came the day for the session of parliament, which was summoned to be held on the 20th of May, where the queen, with the crown on her head, and in her royal robes, went in great pomp to the senate-house; which sight to many would have been a greater novelty, had not men been accustomed to hear the government of women in the days both of her mother and grandmother. In that assembly some statutes were made in favour of the reformed, and some coins were punished. After this, the queen spent the rest of the summer in Athol, where she took the diversion of hunting.

At the end of autumn, Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, with the queen's leave, returned to Scotland, having been unworthily deserted by the king of France, in the 22d year after his departure, as I said before; and the next year, which was 1564, in the month of January, at a convention of the estates, held almost for that very purpose, his banishment was reversed, and his goods were restored, the queen seconding that remission with many favourable words, and repeating the numerous and great services which the earl had done to her in her very infancy; she having been delivered out of the hands of her enemies, and advanced to the throne, by his means. Afterwards Henry his son came out of England into Scotland, on the 12th of February, having there obtained a passport for three months. The queen of Scots received the young man very graciously, being of high descent, very beautiful, and the son of her aunt. She took such a delight in his company, that the common saying was, she would marry him; neither were the nobility against it, because they saw that many advantages would redound to Britain by the marriage, if it could be made with the queen of England's consent—both parties being allied to her in an equal degree of consanguinity. Elizabeth, on her side, was so far from being against it, that she was rather inclined to appear the author of it.

ed to secure some credit to herself in making the match. Besides, she fancied that in promoting this unequal marriage, she should secure her own advantage, by humbling the power of her relation, and keeping it from increasing to a degree incompatible with the safety of the neighbouring states. But when every thing was settled, there fell out an unlucky business, which little retarded all, and turned every thing as it were upside down. To make it plain, I must deduce the original story a little higher.

There was one David Rizzio, who was a native of Turin, in Savoy. His father being honest, but poor, got a mean livelihood for himself and family; teaching young people the first grounds of music; and having no other patrimony to leave his children, he made them all, of both sexes, skilful in the same profession. David was one of them, who, being in the prime of youth, and having a good voice, placed some hopes in his art of bettering his fortune. He therefore went to Nice, to the duke of Savoy's court, which place that prince had lately obtained; but his entertainment there was not answerable to his hopes; however, while contriving every way to relieve himself in his penury, it was his chance to become acquainted with Moretto, who, by the duke's command, was then preparing for a voyage to Scotland. Thither Rizzio accompanied him; and when Moretto, who was a man of no great estate, looked upon his service as unnecessary and useless, he resolved to stay in Scotland, and try his fortune there, especially because he had heard that the queen took great delight in music, and was not ignorant of the elements of it herself. Accordingly, to make way to her presence, he first revailed with her musicians, of whom many were French, to admit him into their society; and, having played his part once or twice, he was liked very well, whereupon he was made one of their set and company; and he so complied with the queen's humour, that, partly by flattering her, and partly by undermining others, he grew high in her favour, and, in consequence, procured the extreme hatred and envy of his fellow-musicians. Neither was he content with this favourable turn of fortune, but he despised his equals also, and, by sly insinuations and accusations, wormed them out of their places; then he rose higher, and began to treat about matters of state, till, by degrees, he was made secretary; and, by that means, had an opportunity of private converse with the queen, apart from others.

The sudden advancement of this man from a low and almost beggarly state, to so much power, wealth, and dignity, afforded matter of discourse to the people; for his fortune was beyond his virtue, and his arrogance, contempt of his equals, and contention with his superiors, above his fortune. This vanity of the man, which was inflated to madness, was much increased and nourished by the flattery of the nobility, who sought his friendship, courted him, admired his judgment, waited before his lodgings, and even attended his levee. But Murray alone, who had no dissimulation in his heart, was so far from fawning on him, that he gave him many a sour look, which troubled the queen as much as it did Rizzio himself; while he, on the other hand, to uphold himself in his station against the hatred of the great, applied himself with great adulation to the noble youth who was destined to be the queen's husband; by which means he came to be so familiar with him, as to be admitted to his chamber and bedside, and to a secret conference with him; where, taking advantage of his unwary credulity and forwardness to compass his desires, he persuaded him that he was the chief occasion of her majesty's placing her affections upon him; besides which, he threw in seeds of discord betwixt him and Murray every day, thinking, that if the latter was but removed, he should pass the residue of his life without any injury or disturbance.

There was now much talk abroad, not only of the queen's marriage with Henry, and of his secret recourse to her, but also of the too great familiarity betwixt her and David Rizzio. Meanwhile, Murray, who, by his plain downright advice to his sister, gained nothing but her ill-will, resolved to leave the court, that so he might not be thought the author of what was acted there; and the queen was willing enough that so severe an observer of her actions should withdraw, especially in a season whilst she was strengthening the contrary faction; for she recalled those who were banished, namely, Bothwell from



France, and George Gordon, earl of Sutherland, from Flanders. She likewise released the other George Gordon, son of the earl of Huntly, out of prison, and restored him to his former place and dignity. On the return of Bothwell from France, Murray accused him of the treacherous practices which he had lately committed against him; and some of those noblemen and gentlemen, who were his familiars abroad, were witnesses against him. The matter being clear and leinous, to a great degree of enmity, a day was appointed for the trial; but the queen first dealt earnestly with her brother to desist from the prosecution, which he refused, judging his credit to be much at stake, which way soever the balance should incline. Upon this, the queen wrote letters to many of the nobility, desiring them not to appear at the time appointed; and as Alexander, earl of Glencairn, the intimate friend of Murray was passing by Stirling, she sent for him out of the way to her; yet all good men were so well agreed in the case, that Bothwell being prejudged and condemned beforehand in his own conscience, and moved with the general detestation of the wicked attempt, durst not abide the trial. This favour of the people to Murray, so enraged the queen's mind against him, that she hastened his long-promeditated end; and the manner which she took to accomplish it was this. Murray was to be sent for to Perth, where the queen was with a few attendants; and there Darvel was to discourse with him, in which conference they all knew he would speak his mind so freely that a quarrel would arise. This was to be the opportunity for David Rizzio to give him the first blow, and the rest were to wound him to death. Murray was made acquainted with this conspiracy by his friends at court, notwithstanding which, and regardless of consequences, he resolved to go; but as he was on his journey, being again advised by Patrick Ruthven, he turned himself aside to his mother's house near Lechliven, and, being much indisposed, excused himself, and staid there. Some of his friends came thither to visit him; upon which a report was presently spread about, that he continued there to intercept the queen and Darvel in their return to Edinburgh; whereupon horsemen were sent out, but they could neither discover men in arms, nor the sign of any military force; yet the queen made such haste, and was as fearful in this journey, as if there really had been some great danger near at hand.

The marriage was now approaching, and a great body of the nobility was called together at Stirling, that the queen might countenance her will with some pretence of public consent. Most of those who were thus summoned were such as they knew would easily give their assent; or else durst not make any opposition. Many of the persons here assembled agreed to the motion, provided, however, that no alteration should be made in the established religion; but the most part complied, without any exception, to gratify the queen; only Andrew Stuart, of Ochiltree, openly professed, that he would never give his consent to the admission of a popish king. As for Murray, he was not averse to the marriage, for he was the first whom that the young man should be called out of England, but he foresaw what tumults it would occasion, provided it should be celebrated without the consent of the queen of England; besides which, he promised to procure her approbation, that so all things might go on favourably, if provision were made for the security of religion; but, perceiving that there would be no freedom of debate in that convention, he chose rather to be absent, than to declare an opinion which might prove destructive to himself, and be no way advantageous to the commonwealth.

Moreover, there was a question started and discoursed amongst the rest, whether the queen, upon her husband's death, might not marry any other man whom she pleased? Some were of opinion, that a queen ought to have the same liberty as people of the common order have; while others, on the contrary, affirmed, that the case was different in reference to the heirs of kingdoms, where, at one and the same time, a husband was to be taken for the wife, and a king to be given to the people; and that it was far more equitable that all the people should provide a husband for one queen, than that she, one young, should choose a king for the whole nation.

In the month of July came an ambassador from England, who declared, that his mistress could not help wondering that since they were both equally allied

to her, that they should precipitate so great an affair without acquainting her with it; and therefore she earnestly desired they would defer the marriage a little while, and weigh the thing still more seriously, to the great advantage, probably, of both kingdoms. As this embassy had no effect, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent by the queen of England to tell Lennox and his son, that they had a convoy from her to return on a set day, which was now past, and therefore she commanded them to return; and that if they did not, they should be banished, and their goods confiscated. They were not, however, at all terrified with these threats, but persisted in their purpose; and, in the mean time, the queen of Scots being sensible that it would seem a very incongruous match, if she, who was lately the wife of a great monarch, and besides, the heiress of an illustrious kingdom, should marry a private young man, who had no title of honour conferred upon him, made an edict, proclaiming Darnley duke of Rothsay and earl of Ross. Moreover, the predictions of cunning women in both kingdoms contributed very much to hasten the marriage. These witches, it seems, prophesied, that if it should be consummated before the end of July, it would prove of much future advantage to them both; but if not, much reproach and ignominy would be the consequence. Besides, rumours were spread abroad of the death of the queen of England, and the very day was specified by which she should die. This prediction, however, seemed not so much to divine things, as to declare a conspiracy of her subjects against her. It also added much to the precipitancy of the young queen, but she knew her uncles would be averse to the marriage; and she feared that if it should be longer delayed, they would find out some new obstacle and break off the match, which was upon the point of being concluded. For, when the secret decree and resolution was made, to carry on the holy war throughout all Christendom, and Guise was appointed general of the eagles to extirpate the reformed religion, it made him have high and ambitious hopes; and he therefore determined, by means of his sister's daughter, to trouble the British with domestic tumults, that they should not be able to aid their friends beyond sea. Now Rizzio, who could then do most with the queen, urged that the marriage would be highly advantageous to all Christendom, because Henry Darnley and his father were staunch maintainers of the popish religion, and very gracious in both kingdoms, being allied to great amities, and having large clans under their command. This being long debated, was at last carried; for he knew, that if the marriage was made by the consent of the queen of England and the nobility of Scotland, he should incur no great disadvantages: one, that he should be no longer in such favour as before; and the other, that the reformed religion would be secured: but that if the queen adhered to the council of Trent, then he promised honours, ecclesiastical dignities, much money, and unrivalled power, to himself: so that, turning every stone, he at last succeeded in hastening the celebration of the marriage; though the Scots were not much for it, and the English were much against it.

#### MARY and HENRY STUART.

Henry Stuart was married to Mary Stuart on the 20th of July, 1566, and silence being made, proclamation of it was publicly read, amidst the applause of the multitude, crying "God save Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland!" The day after, they were proclaimed in like manner by a herald at Edinburgh. This affair gave mighty offence not only to the nobility, but to the commons; who alleged that it served no purpose to call a council about constituting a king, without asking their advice, or complying with their authority; and to set up a herald instead of a senate, and a proclamation for a statute of parliament, or order of council. So that it was not, said they, a consultation, but an essay rather, how the Scots would bear the yoke of tyranny. The absence of so many nobles increased the jealousy; the chief of whom were James duke of Castelmorant, Gillespie earl of Argyll, James earl of Murray, Alexander earl of Glencairn, Andrew earl of Rothes, and many others of rich and noble families. Heralds, indeed, were sent to call them, but they disobeyed the summons, and, for so doing, were banished, upon which most of them went into Argyll, and their enemies were recalled to court. The king and queen having

gathered as many forces together as they thought were sufficient to subdue the rebels, came with four thousand men to Glasgow. But the insurgents lay at Paisley, where various consultations were held, according to the disposition of the parties. The king and queen sent a herald at arms, demanding to have the castle of Hamilton surrendered to them; which not being done they prepared themselves for hostilities. The contrary faction was at variance one with another, and divided their sentiments. The Hamiltons, who had the greatest power in those parts, were of opinion, that no firm peace could be made, till the king and queen were both taken out of the way; for as long as they were safe, nothing could be expected but new wars, continual plots, and a pretended peace, which was worse than open war. "Private men," said they, "may forget injuries offered them, being weary of prosecuting them; yet, sometimes they are recompensed with great advantages; but the wrath of princes is not to be extinguished, except by death alone." Murray and Glencairn, however, perceiving that their discourse was not founded on the good of the public, but on their private advantage only; as, on the queen's death they were the next heirs to the crown,—equally resented the idea of the prince's death, and of Hamilton's government, which last they had so lately experienced to be both avaricious and cruel. They were therefore for milder counsels; and, in regard it was a civil dissension, in which, as yet, there had been no blood shed, the disputes having been hitherto managed by votes, and not arms, they thought at last, if possible, to end it by an equitable agreement. They thought that many in the king's army would hearken to such a proposal, as being desirous of peace, and that they would not be wanting to plead for those, who, in defence of their liberties, were compelled to take up arms. With respect to the king and queen, as they were still young, they might not perhaps be so provident; however, they had not yet so far transgressed, as to endanger the commonwealth. As for private vices, which affected their own names and reputations only, it was fitter to cure them by other remedies than death: for they remembered it was an old caution, transmitted to them from their ancestors, for their observation, that hidden offences ought to be overlooked in the lives and manners of princes; and that those which would bear a double construction, ought to be taken in the best sense; and even the open ones borne with, if they did not endanger the safety of the public. This opinion pleased the most, and the rest of the Hamiltons acquiescing in it, resolved to be quiet. James, however, the chief of the family, with sisters, horse, remained with the nobility, but they being lessened by the accession of the other Hamiltons, were not able to give battle to the enemy, nor yet to break through, each to his own clan; and therefore they complied with the necessity of the times, and the same night went to Hamilton castle, from whence, on the day following, they came to Edinburgh, to consult how to manage the war. But as the castle, which commanded the town, continually played upon them, and their friends could not come in so soon from remote parts as was requisite; and, moreover, the king and queen were reported to be near them with their forces; they, by the earnest persuasions and promises of John Maxwell and Herries, directed their course towards Dumfries. The king and queen then returned first to Glasgow, leaving the earl of Lennox, their lieutenant in the country towards the south-west. Afterwards they went to Stirling, and thence into the middle of Fife; where they made the greatest part of the nobility take an oath, that if any commotion arose from England, they would faithfully oppose it; but the refractory were punished, some by fine, and some by banishment. The goods of those who fled into England, wherever they could find them, were seized upon, and courts of oyer and terminer were appointed to be held in all the counties, to inquire into and punish the authors of the rebellion.

On the 9th of October, they drew out their army from Edinburgh, and marched towards Dumfries. Maxwell, who till that time had pretended to be deeply engaged with the party against the king, went out to meet them, as if he would have interceded for a general pardon. He, accordingly, so contrived as to get part of his father-in-law's estate, which he had a great wish to recover. They looked upon him as an active subtle man, fit for council and business, and granted his request. Then he returned to the rebels, and told them he

could do them no good, and therefore they must shift for themselves; that England was near at hand; and if they would retire thither, after he had settled his affairs at home, he would follow them, and live and die with the party. In the mean time, he obtained one thousand pounds from Murray, upon the account of money which he said he had expended in enlisting some horse; for, being commanded to raise some few troops of cavalry, he caused all his domestics to appear, as if they had been soldiers formally mustered. The rebels were thrown into an universal consternation, on the appearance of the king and queen, and at the revolt of Maxwell; so that the royal party did what they pleased. They drove away most of the leaders of the faction, and the rest were paralyzed by the sense of their danger; so that, about the end of October, they returned to Edinburgh, and all things were quiet in Scotland till the beginning of the ensuing spring.

A convention of all the estates of the kingdom was summoned to be held in March, that so the goods of those who were banished might be confiscated, their names struck out of the roll of the nobility, and their coats of arms and trophies of honour torn in pieces; neither of which the kings of Scotland can lawfully do without an act of parliament. Meanwhile, Rizzio, perceiving the court to be quite empty of nobility, and thinking it an opportunity to shew and declare the excessive reach of his power, put the queen upon severe counsels, daily pressing her to cut off some of the chief of the faction. "If a few of them (said he) were executed, the rest would be quiet." And, as he thought the queen's guard, being Scotsmen, would not easily consent to the cruel murder of the nobility, he was very intent to have them thrown out of their places, and to introduce foreigners in their room, a project that is commonly the beginning of all tyranny. First, mention was made of sending for some Germans over for this service, because that nation was remarkably loyal to its princes. But when Rizzio considered the matter seriously with himself, he thought it would conduce rather to his interest to have Italians; first, because, being his countrymen, he presumed they would be more at his devotion; and next, that being men of no religion, they would be fitter to excite disturbances; so that he thought they might be the more easily brought to venture upon any design, right or wrong. For, being wicked and indigent persons, born and bred up under tyrants used to war, and far from their own home, they would not care what became of Britain, and therefore seemed the most proper instruments to attempt innovations. Then soldiers of fortune were to be privately sent for out of Flanders, and other countries of the continent; but they were to come over by degrees, as it were one by one, and at several times, that the design might not be detected. "It would be more dangerous," said he, "to offend any one of those ruffians, than the queen herself."

But as Rizzio's power and authority with the queen daily increased, so the king grew daily less in esteem with her; for as she had been rashly precipitate in making the marriage, so she as soon repented, and gave manifest tokens of an altered mind. For though, immediately after the marriage was celebrated, she caused him to be publicly proclaimed king by a herald, without the consent of the estates; and afterwards, in all her mandates, till that time, the king and queen's name were expressed,—she now began to change the order, placing both names in, but setting her own first. At length, the queen, to deprive her husband of all opportunity of shewing favours to any, found fault with him, that whilst he was busy in the sports of the field, many state matters were unseasonably carrying on, or else were wholly omitted, and therefore it would be better that she might subscribe her name for them both, which means he might enjoy his pleasure, and yet no public business be retarded. He was willing to gratify her in every thing, and yielded to be dismissed upon such frivolous grounds, that so, being remote from the council and knowledge of public affairs, the obligation of all favours might redound to the queen herself. For she thought with herself, that if her husband's name could do no good offices for any, and his anger proved formidable to none, would by degrees fall into the universal contempt of all. In the mean while, to increase the indignity, Rizzio was invested with an iron seal, to impress the king's name to proclamations. Being thus fraudulently cheated out of public business, lest he might likewise prove an interrupter of their pleasure, in a very

sharp winter the king was sent away to Peebles, with a small retinue, far beneath the dignity of some private persons, for a prey rather than recreation. At the same time there fell such a quantity of snow, that, the place not being very plentiful, and besides, being infested with thieves, he, that was always bred up at court, and used to a liberal diet, would have been in great hazard of wanting necessities, had not the bishop of the Orkneys casually come thither; who, knowing the scarcity of the place, brought him some wine and other provisions for his use.

The queen was not content with raising Rizzio out of obscurity, and to shew him to the people, but she devised another way how to clothe him with domestic honour; for whereas she had, for some months before, permitted more company than was usual to sit at her table, that so in the crowd his place might be less envied; by this face of popularity she thought that such an unusual sight would be in some measure rendered more familiar through the multitude of guests, and daily usage, and so men's high minds be gradually insured to bear any thing. At last it came to this, that none but he, and one or two more, sat at table with her; and, that the smallness of the room might take off something from the envy of the thing, sometimes she would eat in a small parlour, and sometimes at Rizzio's own lodgings. But the way she thus took to abate did but multiply the general reflections; for it sounded suspicious, and gave occasion to strange discourses. Men's thoughts were now inclined to the worst; and what served to inflame them was, that he exceeded even the king himself in household furniture, apparel, and the number of noble and stately horses, so that the matter looked the worse for this because all this ornament, instead of doing him credit, made him odious and ridiculous.

But the queen, not being able to amend the faults of nature, endeavoured, by heaping wealth and honour upon him, to raise him up to the degree of nobility, that so she might cover the meanness of his birth, and the defects of his body, with the lustre of dignity and promotion; and by qualifying him to sit and vote in parliament, be better able to give such a turn as she pleased to the debates of that assembly. But he was so to be advanced by degrees, lest he might seem to be a poor mercenary senator. Therefore, first she attempted to get him a piece of land near Edinborough, which the Scots call Melville. The owner of this land, his father-in-law, and others, who were best able to persuade him, being sent for, the queen negotiated with the present proprietor to part with his possessions. She also desired his father-in-law and friends to persuade him to it; but this matter not succeeding, the queen took the repulse as an affront to her; and, what was worse, Rizzio resented it very heinously also. These things being noised abroad, the common people bewailed the sad state of affairs, and expected that things would grow worse, if men eminent for their nobility and reputation should be turned out of their ancient patrimonies, to gratify the lust of a beggarly variety, nor many of the more ancient among them called to mind, and related to others, the circumstance of Cochrane's wickedly slaying the king's brother, and even a stone-cutter being made earl of Marr; which raised up such a fire of fury, that could not be extinguished but by the death of the king, and almost the destruction of the realm.

These things were spoken openly, but in private men went further to their mutterings, as is commonly the case in matters not very credible; yet the king would never be persuaded to believe it, unless he saw it with his own eyes; so that, one time hearing that Rizzio was gone into the queen's bed-chamber, he came to a little door, the key of which he always carried about him, and found it bolted on the inside, which it never used to be. He knocked but no one answered; upon which, conceiving great wrath and indignation in his heart, he could hardly sleep a wink that night. From this time forward he consulted with some of his domestics, of whom he could trust only a few for many of them were corrupted by the queen, and put upon him rather as spies of his actions than attendants on his person, how to rid Rizzio out of the way. They approved his design, but could not find a proper way to effect it. The consultation went on for some days, when others of his servants, who were not admitted to it, suspected the design, and these being

evident tokens of it, they acquainted the queen with it, and told her, they would shew her the cabal; and they were as good as their words. Watching their opportunity, when others were shut out, and the king had only his confidants with him, they informed the queen, who, as if she were passing through his chamber to her own, surprised him with his partisans, and inveighed against him most bitterly, at the same time highly threatening his domestics, telling them that their plots were in vain; for she knew all their minds and actions, and would take care to notice them in due time.

Matters being brought to this pass, the king acquainted his father with his unhappy condition. Both concluded, that the only remedy for the present malady was, to reconcile those of the nobility who were present, and to bring together such as were at a distance; but great haste was required in the concern, because the day was near at hand wherein the queen was resolved to condemn the absent nobles, having called a convention of the estates for that purpose, against the advice of the French and English ambassadors, who interceded in the case; for they knew that the accused had committed no very heinous offence; and besides, they foresaw the danger that would ensue.

About the same time, the queen of England sent her a long and obliging letter, full of prudent advice, in reference to the present state of Scotland, endeavouring, in a gentle and loving way, to bring her kinswoman from a wrathful to a reconcileable temper. The nobility knew that such letters were come, and they guessed what the contents were; and thereupon the queen counterfeited a more civil respect to them than ordinary, and began to read the particulars in the presence of many of them. As she went on, however, Rizzio stood up, and ordered her to cease, saying that she had read enough, and should stop. This carriage of his seemed to them rather arrogant than civil; for they knew how imperiously he had carried it towards her before; and that sometimes he would even reprove her more sharply than her own husband ever durst presume to do.

At that time, the cause of the exiles was warmly disputed in the parliament-house: some, to gratify the queen, would have the sentence due to traitors passed upon them; while others contended, that they had done nothing to deserve so severe a treatment. In the mean time, Rizzio went about to all of them, one by one, in order to sound what each person was inclined to do with the proscribed, if he should be chosen speaker by the rest of the convention. He told them plainly, that as the queen was resolved to have them condemned, it was in vain for any one to contend against it; and that whoever did, he would be sure to incur the royal displeasure. His design in this was, partly to confound the weaker spirits betwixt hope and dread, and partly to exclude the more resolved out of the number of the judges to be selected, or lords of the articles; but, at all events, to make sure that the major part should be of such a character as would please the queen. This audacious act of so mean a fellow, was feared by some, and hated by all. Upon which, the king, by his father's directions, sent for James Douglas and Patrick Lindsay, his kinsmen, one by the paternal, the other by the mother's side, and they advised with Patrick Ruthven, an able man both for counsel and execution; but he was so weakened with a long and tedious sickness, that for some months he could not rise out of his bed. However, they were willing to trust him, amongst some few others, in a matter of such mighty moment, both by reason of his great prudence, and also because his children were cousin-germans to the king. These persons remonstrated with the king on the serious error he had already committed, in suffering his kinsmen and friends to be driven from court, to leave such a base miscreant as Rizzio; nay, that he himself had, in effect, thrust them out from thence with his own hand, whereby he had advanced such a contemptible mushroom, that now he was himself despised by him. They had likewise a great deal of other discourse concerning the state of the realm. The king was quickly brought to acknowledge his fault, and to give his promise that he would do nothing for the future without the consent of the nobility.

But those wise and experienced counsellors thought it not safe to trust the verbal promises of an uxorious young man, as believing that he might in time be enticed by his wife to retract this engagement, which would be their certain

ruin. Therefore they drew up the heads of the contract in writing; where he was very willing, nay forward, to subscribe. The heads were, "For the establishing religion, as it was provided for at the queen's return to Scotland: to restore the persons lately banished, because their country could not be well without their service; and to destroy Rizzio; for, as long as he was alive, the king could not maintain his dignity, nor the nobility live in safety." They also set their hands to this schedule, wherein the king, professing himself to be the author of the homicide, they resolved presently to attempt the fact, both to prevent the condemnation of the absent nobles, and also lest delay might discover their design. And therefore, when the queen was at supper, in a narrow private room, the earl of Argyle's lady and Rizzio sitting with her, as they were wont, and only a few attendants, for the room would not hold more, James Douglas, earl of Morton, with a great number of his friends, were walking in an outer chamber, their faithful friends and vassals being commanded to stay below in the yard, to quiet the tumult, if any should occur. The king then came out of his own chamber, which was below that of the queen, and went up to her by a narrow pair of stairs, that was open to none but himself; while Patrick Ruthven followed him armed, with only four or five companions at most. They entered into the parlour where the party sat at supper, and the queen, being somewhat moved at this unusual appearance of armed men, and also perceiving Ruthven baggard and lean by reason of his late disease, and yet in his armour, asked him what was the matter? For the spectators thought that his fever had disturbed his head, and put him beside himself. He, without answering, commanded Rizzio to rise, and come forth; for the place he sat in was not fit for him. The queen presently rose, and sought to defend him by the interposition of her own person; but the king took her in his arms, and bade her take courage, for that they would do her no hurt, as it was only the death of that villain that was resolved on. While this passed, Rizzio was drawn out into the next, and then into the outer chamber; where those who waited with Douglas despatched him at last, after giving him many wounds; which was against the mind of all those who at first conspired his death, for they had resolved to have hung him up publicly, as knowing that such a sight would be a grateful spectacle to all the people.

There was then prevalent a report, that one John Damiot, a French priest, who was reputed a conjurer, told Rizzio once or twice, "That now he had feathered his nest, he should be gone, and withdraw himself from the envy of nobles, who would otherwise be too severe for him;" and that Rizzio answered, "The Scots were greater threateners than fighters." He was also told, a little before his death, "That he should beware of a bastard;" to which he replied, "That as long as he lived, no bastard should have so much power in Scotland, as to give him occasion to fear." For he thought this danger was predicted of Murray; but the prophecy was either fulfilled, or eluded, by George Douglas giving him the first blow, who was a natural son of the earl of Angus. After he had once begun, then every one struck him in order as he stood, not excepting the prince, either prompted by his own just resentment, or to come in for a share of the public vengeance. Hereupon a tumult arose all over the house; and the earls of Huntly, Athol, and Bothwell, who were at supper in another part of the palace, were rushing out; but they were kept within their chamber by those who guarded the courts below, and had no harm done to them. Ruthven went out of the parlour into the queen's bed-chamber; where, not being able to stand, he sat down, and called for something to drink. This made the queen fall upon him with such words as her present grief and fury suggested to her, calling him a perfidious traitor, and asking him, "How he durst be so bold as to speak to her, sitting, while she herself stood?" He excused it, as not done out of pride, but weakness of body; advising her, "that, in managing the affairs of the kingdom, she should rather consult the nobility, who had a concern in the public welfare, than to bestow her confidence on vagrants, who could give no pledge for their loyalty, and who had nothing to lose, either in estate or credit. Neither," said he, "was the fact, then committed, without a precedent; for that Scotland was a kingdom limited by legal bounds, and was never wont to be governed by the will and pleasure of one man, but by the rule of the law, and the consent of the nobility; and that

if any former king had acted otherwise, he would have smarted severely for it; and that the Scots were not at present so far degenerated from their ancestors, as to bear not only the government, but even the servitude of a stranger, who was hardly worthy to be their slave." The queen was now more enraged at this speech than before; whereupon, the confederates departed, first taking care to place guards in all convenient places, to hinder the rising of any tumult.

In the meantime, the news of what had happened was carried all over the town, and was received as suited every one's disposition, right or wrong. The populace took up arms, and went to the palace; where the king shewed himself to them out of a window, and told the multitude, "That he and the queen were safe, and that there was no cause for their tumultuous assembly. What was lost," he said, "was by his command; and what that was, they should know in due time. For the present, therefore, every one should go to his own house." Upon this declaration, they withdrew, except a few who staid to keep guard. The next day, in the morning, the nobles who had returned from England, surrendered themselves to take their trial in the town-hall, being then ready to plead their cause, as that was the day appointed; but nobody appearing against them, they openly protested that it was not their fault, for that they were prepared to submit to a legal adjudication, and so every one returned to his own lodging. The queen now sent for her brother, and, after a long conference with him, gave him hopes, that ever after she would be advised by the nobles. Then the guards were lessened, though many thought that her clemency pre-  
judged no good to the public, especially when they saw that she assembled the soldiers who had been about her person formerly, and went through a back-gate by night, with George Seton, attended by one hundred horse, first to his own castle, and next to Dunbar. She carried also the king along with her, who was forced to obey, for fear of his life. There she gathered a force together; and, pretending to be reconciled with those who had lately returned from banishment, she turned her fury upon the murderers of David; but they, yielding to the times, shifted for themselves; and so, as if all had been safe and peaceable, she relapsed into her old foibles. She, first of all, caused the body of Rizzio, which had been buried before the door of a neighbouring church, to be removed at night, and deposited in the sepulchre of the late king and his children; which being a most unaccountable action, gave occasion to evil reports. A stronger confession of an adulterous connexion she could not indeed well have made, than, as far as she was able, to make the funeral of an obscure fellow, who was neither liberally brought up, nor had deserved any confidence from the public, equal to what had been bestowed upon her father and brothers. But, to increase the indignity of this affair, she put the miscreant almost into the arms of Magdalene Valois, the late queen. As for her husband, she threatened him with many dark insinuations, while she endeavoured to deprive him of all authority, and rendered him as contemptible to the public as she could.

At this time, the process was very severe against the murderers of Rizzio. Many of the accused were banished, some to one place and some to another; and several were fined; while they who, being the most innocent, had the least cause for apprehension, were put to death; for the principals of the faction had fled, either to England, or the highlands. Those who were but the least suspected as connected in it, were deprived of their offices and employments, which were bestowed upon their enemies. But that which excited laughter amidst all this sorrow, was a proclamation, purporting, "That no man should say the king was a partaker in, or so much as privy to, the death of Rizzio." This commotion being a little settled, after the 13th of April, the earls of Argyll and Murray were received into favour. The queen herself, being far advanced in pregnancy, now retired into Edinburgh castle; and on the 19th of June, 1566, a little after nine o'clock at night, she was delivered of a son, afterwards called James the Sixth.



## BOOK XVIII.

THE queen, after her delivery, received all other visitants with much kindness, suitable to the occasion of a public joy; but when her husband came, she and her attendants behaved in such a manner, in speech and countenance, as if they were afraid of nothing so much as that he should not understand that his presence was disdained, and that his company was unacceptable to them all. On the contrary, Bothwell alone was the man in favour, who managed all affairs the queen being so inclined to him, that she would have it understood, no aid would be obtained from her, but by his mediation; and as if she was afraid her favours to him were but trifling, and not sufficiently known, on a certain day she took one or two with her, and went down to the harbour, called Newhaven; where, her attendants not knowing whither she was going, she went on board a small vessel prepared for her reception. William and Edmund Blackadder, Edward Robertson, and Thomas Dickson, all the creatures of Bothwell, and pirates of known rapacity, had previously fitted up the ship: and with this guard of robbers, to the great wonder of all good men, she ventured to sea, taking none of her honest servants along with her. She landed at Alloa, a castle of the earl of Marr; where she so demeaned herself for some time, as if she no longer remembered either the dignity of a queen or the modesty of a matron.

The king, when he heard of the queen's sudden departure, followed her as fast as he could by land. His design and hopes were, to be with her, and enjoy mutual society as man and wife. But, on his arrival, he was, as an importunate disturber of her pleasures, ordered to go back from whence he came; time being hardly allowed for he and his servants to refresh themselves. A few days after this, the queen returned to Edinburgh; and because it seems, she would avoid the crowd of people, she went not to her own palace, but to the house of a private person in the neighbourhood; from whence she removed to another, where the annual convention, called the exchequer-court, was then held, not so much for the largeness of the mansion, or the pleasure of the gardens, as that one David Chalmers, a creature of Bothwell, dwelt near it, and whose back-door was contiguous to the royal garden, by which the latter might pass in and out to her as often as he pleased. In the mean time, the king finding no place for favour with his wife, was sent away with insult and reproaches; and though he often tried to soothe her spirit, yet by no offices of observance could he obtain admittance to conjugal familiarity; in consequence of which he retired in discontent to Stirling. Some time after this, the queen appointed to go to Jedburgh, to hold a convention: and about the beginning of October, Bothwell prepared an expedition into Liddesdale; where he conducted himself, neither according to the place which he held, nor the dignity of his family, nor the expectation of any man. While there, a wretched highwayman, whom he had taken and almost despatched with a leaden bullet unawares, wounded him, and so he was carried to Haddington castle, in great danger of his life. When the news of this came to the queen at Borthwick, though the winter was very sharp, she flew in haste, first to Melrose, and next to Jedburgh. There, though she received certain intelligence that Bothwell was alive, yet, being impatient of delay, and not able to forbear, notwithstanding the severity of the season, the difficulty of the way, and the danger of robbers, she hastened her journey, accompanied by such attendants as hardly any honest person, even of a mean condition, would have trusted with his life and fortune. From thence she returned again to Jedburgh, where she was exceedingly diligent in making great preparations for Bothwell's being brought thither; and, when he came, their conversation together was little to the credit of one or the other. At last, the queen herself, either having fatigued nature too much by her continual toil and watching day and night, or else being particularly destined to it by the secret providence of God, fell into such a dangerous illness, that hardly any person expected, or could hope for, her life. When the king heard of it, he went that very

Jedburgh, with the utmost expedition, both to give her a visit, and to testify his observance by all the good offices he could; and also to incline her to a better course of life, hoping she would repent of what she had done, as people are wont to do when they are in imminent danger. But she, on the contrary, instead of shewing the least sign of reconciliation, gave orders that none should rise and salute him when he came in, and she even forbade them to give him so much as one single night's entertainment. Suspecting, moreover, that Murray, whose disposition was courteous and civil, would receive the king, he desired his wife to make haste home, and feign herself sick, and go immediately to bed, that so, on the pretence of illness, the monarch might be excluded even from thence. Thus she made it her business to force him to be gone, for want of a lodging: which he would have done, had not one of the family of the Homes, out of mere shame, pretended a sudden cause for his departure, and so left his apartment free for the king.

The next day, in the morning, he went back again to Stirling; and his return was the more reflected upon, because, at the very same time, Bothwell was carried out of the place where he lodged, to the queen's apartments, in the face of all the people; and though neither of them was well recovered, he from her disease, or he from his wound, yet they travelled together, first to Kelso, then to Coldingham, and next to Craigmillar, which is a castle two miles from Edinburgh; both quite indifferent and careless as to the reports that were spread of them by the way. The queen, in all her discourse, protested that she could never live, unless she obtained a separation from the king; and said that if she did not gain that point, she would lay violent hands on herself. She would every now and then speak of a divorce, and affirm that it might be easily effected, if the pope's bull was but recalled, by which a dispensation had been granted them to marry contrary to the canonical laws. On this matter, however, was not like to succeed as she expected, because these things took place in the presence of many of the nobility, she left off all other methods, and contrived nothing else in her mind, but how to despatch him out of the world at once.

A little before winter, when the ambassadors from France and England came to be present at the baptism of the infant prince, the queen strove, as far as money or industry could, to make Bothwell appear the most magnificent personage amongst all her subjects and guests at the entertainment; while her lawful husband was not allowed necessaries for the ceremony, and as even forbid to come in sight of the ambassadors; his servants also, that were appointed to be his daily attendants, were taken from him, and the nobility received an intimation not to take any notice of him. But this her invariable carriage towards him, which the nobles noted both now as they had before, moved them to have the greater compassion upon him, when they saw him so young and harmless used after this reproachful manner; and not only bear it patiently, but even endeavour to appease the rage of his wife, by the best servile offices he could perform, in order, if possible, to gain some degree of favour. As for the poverty of his dress, she laid the fault upon the emmenderers, goldsmiths, and other tradesmen, though it was a false and scandalous excuse, for every one knew that she herself was the occasion of it; and that, for fear Bothwell should not have ornaments enough, she wrought many of them with her own hands. Besides all this, the foreign ambassadors were desired not to enter into any discourse with the king, though they were in the same castle together the most part of the day.

The young monarch being thus uncourteously treated, exposed to the contempt of all, and seeing his rival honoured before his face, resolved to go to his father at Glasgow, being, as some thought, sent for by him. The queen drew her usual hatred at his departure; for she took away all the silver plate which he had used ever since he was married, and put pewter in their stead; besides which, she gave him poison when he went away, that the evil might be more secret, if he died when absent from court. But the poison wrought sooner than those who gave it supposed it would; for, before he had gone a mile from Stirling, he felt such a grievous pain all over his body, that was very apparent his disease was not casual, but the act of fraud and malice. As soon as he came to Glasgow, the mischief manifestly

discovered itself; for blue pustules broke out all over him, and put him into great pain and anguish, that there were little hopes of his life. James Abernethy, a learned, faithful, and experienced physician, being consulted about his disorder, answered immediately that he had taken poison. Upon this, he was sent for the queen's domestic physician; but she would not suffer him to do so, for fear he should have skill enough to cure him: and besides, she was not willing that many should know the nature of his malady. When the baptismal ceremonies were over, and the company had gradually departed, the queen remained in private with Bothwell, having hardly any other company at Drummond and Tullibardine, the houses of two noblemen, where she spent a few days about the beginning of January, and so returned to Stirling, pretending daily that she intended to go to Glasgow. But expecting to see every day of the king's death, to prevent the worst, she resolved to have the child in her own power; and, that her design might excite no suspicion, she began to find fault, that the house in which he was kept was inconvenient; and that in a moist and cold situation, he might be subject to rheumatism; but the true cause of his removal was very different; for it was plainly apparent, that the place he was carried to was far more obnoxious on these accounts, as it was in a low marshy soil, with a mountain rising betwixt it and the morning sun. Upon this, the child, though scarcely seven months old, was brought, in the sharp winter, to Edinburgh. When she heard there that the king was recovered, and had overcome the poison, by the vigour of his youth, and the strength of his natural constitution, she renewed her plot to destroy him, acquainting also some of the nobility with her design. In the mean time, news came to her, that the king designed to fly to France or Spain, and that he had spoken about it with the master of an English ship, which was then in the frith of Clyde. Upon this, some thought that a fair occasion was offered her to send for him, and if he refused to come, to despatch him out of the way; nay, some offered to be agents in the act; while all of them advised that the bloody deed should be privately committed, and that it should be hastened before he was perfectly recovered. The queen having already secured possession of her son, that she might also have her husband in her power, though not as yet agreed in the design how he should be disposed of, resolved to go to Glasgow, having, as she thought, sufficiently cleared herself from his former suspicions, by the many kind letters which she had lately sent him. But her words and actions did not at all agree; for she hardly took any persons in her retinue, except the Hamiltons and others, who were in a manner the hereditary enemies of the king. In the mean time, she intrusted Bothwell with doing what most contributed to the design at Edinburgh, so that was the place which seemed most convenient to them, both to commit, and likewise to conceal, so great a wickedness; for, there being a great assembly of the nobles, it was thought that the suspicion might be easily transferred from one to the other, and so be divided among many. When the queen had tried all the ways she could to dissemble her hatred, at last, by many arts and upbraiding complaints and lamentations which passed betwixt them, she, though with difficulty, made him believe that she was reconciled to him. The king, who was yet scarcely recovered from his disease, was then brought in a litter to Edinburgh, to the place designed for his murder, which Bothwell, in the absence of the queen, had undertaken to provide. This was a house that had been uninhabited for some years, near the walls of the city, in a low, and solitary place, between the ruins of two churches, where no noise or company could be heard. Thither he was hurried with a few attendants only, the most of them, being those whom the queen had put upon him, rather as upon than servants, were gone out of the way, because they knew that danger was at hand; while those who remained, could not get the keys of the doors from the persons who prepared the lodgings.

That which the queen was most intent upon, was, to avert the suspicion from herself; and she proceeded so far in the art of dissimulation, that the king became fully persuaded there was a firm reconciliation betwixt them. So that he wrote letters to his father, who remained sick at Glasgow, in which he gave him great hopes, and almost an assurance, that his wife was now almost attached to him: at the same time commending her many good offices toward

him, and promising to himself that all things would change for the better. As he was writing these letters, the queen came in suddenly, and on reading them, gave him many embraces and kisses, telling him that the perusal mightily pleased her, for that she now saw there was no cloud of suspicion hovering over his mind.

Things being thus well secured on that side, her next care was to contrive, in as much as possible, how to cast the guilt upon another; and therefore she sent for her brother Murray, who had lately obtained permission to go to St. Andrew's to visit his wife, then lying there, as he heard, dangerously indisposed; for, besides the danger of her pregnancy, she had pustules, which rose all over her body, with a violent fever. Mary pretended that the whole cause of her detaining him was for no other end, but that she might honourably dismiss the ambassador of the duke of Savoy, who came too late to the baptism of the prince; and, though this seemed a mean pretence to take him off from a just and necessary duty, he readily obeyed. Meanwhile, the queen made her visits to the king every day constantly, and reconciled him to Bothwell; whom she, by all means, desired to keep entirely unsuspected. She made her husband also large promises of her affection for the time to come; which over-solicitous carriage, though it created general suspicion, yet no man was so bold as to advise the king of his danger, because he had a habit of telling the queen whatever he heard, to insinuate himself the more into her favour; only Robert, the queen's brother, moved either with the execrable horror of the deed, or with pity for the young man, had the confidence to acquaint him with his wife's plot against him, but it was on this condition, that he should keep it to himself, and provide for his safety the best way he could. The king, instead of following or rejecting this counsel, revealed it to the queen, according to his custom; upon which Robert was called for, but he stoutly denied it, so that they gave one another the lie, and were laying their hands on their swords. The queen being glad to see that her designs were likely to have so good a conclusion, and that so near at hand, without her trouble, called for her other brother, James, as if to decide the dispute; though her real intent was, that he might likewise be cut off on the same occasion. There was no person present but Bothwell, who was so far from keeping them from fighting, that he could rather have killed him that had the worst of the combat himself, as plainly appeared, when he said, "There was no reason James should be sent on in such haste, to keep those from duelling, who, whatever they might pretend, had no great inclination to it." This dispute being ended, the queen and Bothwell were wholly intent how to perpetrate the murder, and to do it with all imaginable privacy. The queen, that she might feign both love to her husband, and a forgiveness of past offences, caused her bed to be brought from the palace, into a chamber below that of the king, where she lay, after she had sat up late with him in discourse for some nights.

In the mean time, she contrived all manner of ways to cast the odium of the act, when committed, upon her brother James and the earl of Morton; for she thought, if those two, whose real worth and authority she much feared and hated, were taken out of the way, every thing else would correspond with her wishes. She was likewise incited to this by letters from the pope, and from Charles, the cardinal of Lorraine. For, the summer before, having by her uncle desired a sum of money from the pontiff, for levying an army to disturb the state of religion in Britain; his holiness more cunningly, but the cardinal openly, advised her to destroy those who were the greatest hinderances to the restitution of popery, and they took care to name these two earls particularly; saying, that if they were once taken off, she should have money sufficient to carry on the war. The queen thinking that some distant tidings of this matter had come to the ears of the nobility, to clear herself from suspicion, or the least inclination to such a thing, shewed them the letters. But these designs, so cunningly laid, as they seemed to be, were somewhat disturbed by frequent messengers from the lady of Murray, stating that she had been carried, and that there were small hopes of her life. This message was brought to him on the Lord's day, as he was going to sermon; whereupon he returned back to the queen, and desired leave of absence. She urged him very much to stay one day longer, to hear more certain news, alleging, that if he

made over so much haste, his coming would do his wife no good, and that if her disease abated, that then the next morning would be time enough. Notwithstanding these arguments, he was fully bent on his journey, and accordingly departed. The queen, who had deferred the murder till that night, in order to seem perfectly easy in her mind, would needs celebrate the marriage of Sebastian, one of the musicians, even in the palace; and while the evening passed in mirth and jollity, she went, attended by a numerous train, to see her husband with whom she spent some hours, and was more cheerful than usual, often kissing him, and giving him a ring, as a token of her affection. After the queen was gone, the king, and the few servants that were about him, recollecting the proceedings of the day, and the conversation which had passed, were troubled at the remembrance of a few words; for she, whether from an inability to contain her joy, arising from the hope that the murder would be soon perpetrated, or that it fell from her by chance, uttered this sentence: "That David Rizzio was killed the last year, just about the present time." Though none of them were pleased with this unseasonable mention of the event, yet, because the night was pretty far spent, and the next morning was designed for sports and pastimes, they retired speedily to repose. In the mean time, gunpowder was placed in the room beneath, to blow up the house, and the whole was cautiously and craftily enough transacted; notwithstanding which, one thing there was, though trifling in itself, that gave sufficient proof of the wicked conspiracy. For the bed in which the queen used sometimes to lie, was taken from thence, and a worse one put in its place, as while they were prodigal enough of their characters, they wished to be saving of their money. In the mean time, one Paris, a Frenchman, a partner in the conspiracy, entered into the king's bed-chamber, and there stood about yet so that the queen might see him, and that was the sign agreed on between them, that all things were in readiness. Immediately on seeing Paris, as Sebastian's marriage came into her mind, she blamed herself that she had been so negligent, in not attending to dance that night at the wedding, according to promise, and to put the bride to bed, as the manner is; upon which she presently started up, and went home. Being returned to the palace, she had some discourse with Bothwell; who, when dismissed, retired to his chamber, changed his clothes, put on a soldier's coat, and, with a few companions, passed through the guards into the town. Two other parties of the conspirators came by different ways to the appointed place, and a few of them entered into the king's bed-chamber, of which they had the keys, as I have already said, and whilst he was fast asleep, they took him by the throat, and strangled him, and so they did one of his servants who lay near him. When the two were murdered, they carried their bodies through a little gate which they had made on purpose, in the walls of the city, into a garden near at hand; and then they set fire to the gunpowder, which blew up the mansion from the very foundation, with such a noise, that it not only shook some of the neighbouring houses, but even those persons who were sound asleep in the farthest parts of the city, were awakened, and frightened at the loudness of the report. After the deed was done, Bothwell was conducted out by the ruins of the city walls, and so returned to the palace, through the guard, quite a different way from that which he came. This was the common rumour about the king's death for several days. The queen, who had sat up that night to wait the event, hearing the tumult, called together those of the nobles who were at court, and Bothwell among the rest; by whose advice, she went out to know what was the matter, as if she had been ignorant of all that was done. They who went to inspect the body, found the king had only a bare skirt on the upper part of his body, while the rest of it lay naked; with his other clothes and slippers close beside him. The common people came in great crowds to see the spectacle, and many conjectures there were; yet they all agreed, which was very afflicting to Bothwell, that the body could never have been thrown out of the house by the force of the gunpowder, as there was no part either broken, bruised, or discoloured, which must necessarily have happened in case his death had been occasioned by the explosion. Besides, his clothes, which lay near him, were not so much as singed with the flame, or covered with ashes; so that they could not have been thrown thither by any

casualty, but must have been placed there by the hand of some person on purpose. Bothwell, upon this, returned home, and, as if he had been struck with astonishment, brought the news to the queen; who immediately went to bed, and lay soundly asleep a great part of the following day.

In the mean time, reports were spread abroad by the regicides, and carried into the borders of England by the next day, that the king was murdered by the emissaries of Murray and Morton; yet every one thought privately within himself, that the queen must needs be the author of the bloody deed. Neither was the bishop of St. Andrew's free from suspicion: for there were strong conjectures against him, as bitter enmities had subsisted between their families; neither was the prelate ever well reconciled to the queen before she designed this wickedness in her mind; but of late, when he accompanied her to Glasgow, he was made privy to all her counsels. It also increased men's suspicions of him, that he had but just retired to the house of his brother, the Earl of Arran, which was near that where the king was slain; whereas before, he always used to live in some eminent part of the city, for the convenience of receiving visits, and ingratiating himself with the people by feasting them. Besides, those who dwelt in the upper part of the city, saw watch-lights in his house all the night; but when the explosion was heard, they were all put out, and his vassals, many of whom watched in their arms, were forbidden to go out of doors. But the real fact became public some months after, and gave occasion to people to look upon those things as certain indications, which before had been but suspicions only.

When the deed was committed, messengers were presently sent into England, who were to report that the king of Scots was cruelly murdered by his subjects, and chiefly through the contrivance of Murray and Morton. The intelligence being immediately brought to court, so inflamed all the English, and made them have such a perfect abhorrence of the whole nation, that for some days no Scotchman durst walk abroad, without running the hazard of his life; and though many letters passed backwards and forwards, discovering the secret contrivances of the plot, yet the people there could hardly be appeased. After the royal corpse had been left a while as a spectacle to be gazed upon, and a great concourse of persons continually flocked thither to see it, the queen ordered that it should be laid on a bier, and carried by porters into the palace. There she herself viewed the body, which was the first of that age, and yet her countenance discovered not the secret emotions of her mind in any way. The nobles who were there present, decreed, that a stately and honourable funeral should be made for him; but the queen ordered it so, that he was carried by private bearers in the night-time, and buried without the least state; but what increased the indignity the more, was, that his grave was made near that of David Rizzio; as if she had designed to sacrifice the life of her husband to the manes of that vile wretch.

Two prodigies happened at this time, which are worth relating. One of them occurred only a little while before the murder, and it was thus: a gentleman of Fife, named John Landin, having been long sick of a fever, about noon, the day preceding that on which the king was killed, raised himself up in his bed, and, as if he had been astonished, cried out to those that stood by him, with a loud voice, to go and help the king, for that the regicides were just then assassinating him; and shortly after, he called out with mournful tone, "Now it is too late to help him, for he is already murdered!" and he himself lived not long after he had uttered those words. The other circumstance took place just at the time that the murder happened. Three of the familiar friends of the Earl of Athol, the cousin of Darnley, and who were all men of reputation for valour and estate, had their lodgings not far from those of the king. When they were asleep about midnight, a certain man seemed to come to Dugald Stuart, who lay next the wall, and draw his hand gently over his beard and cheek, as if to awaken him, saying, "Arise, they are offering violence to you." He awoke, and while considering within himself what the apparition could be, another of them cried out presently in the same bed, "Who kills me?" Dugald answered, "Perhaps it is a cat, which used to walk about in the night." Upon this, the third, who was not yet awake, rose instantly out of his bed, and stood upon the floor, demand-

ing, "Who it was that had given him a box on the ear?" As soon as he had spoken, a person seemed to go out of the house by the door, and that without some noise. Whilst they were debating on what they had seen, and seen, the noise of the blowing up of the king's house put them into a terrible consternation.

When the murder was committed, people were variously affected with according to their love or hatred of the king; but all good men concerned detesting the deed. He that took it most to heart, was John Stuart, earl of Athol, for many reasons, but particularly because he was the chief contriver of the match between his unfortunate relative and the queen. The night after the catastrophe, armed guards watched the palace, as is usual in such occurrences, and they hearing the outside wall of the earl of Athol's lodging make a noise or crack, as if some persons were secretly digging at the foundation, raised the family, which went no more to bed that night. The next day the earl took lodgings in the town, and, a little after that, he went home, for fear of his life. The earl of Murray also, at his return to court from St. Andrew's, was not without danger, for armed men walked about his house at night; but he was not well, and his servants were accustomed to sit up and watch over him, the villains could not attempt any thing against him privately, and dared not attack him openly. At length, Bothwell, who would willingly have been without the trouble of it, resolved to perform the wicked deed with his own hands. Accordingly, about midnight, he asked his domestics how Murray did? They told him that he was sadly afflicted with the gout. Then said he, suppose we go and see him; and presently he rose up, and made the best of his way to the house. But as he was going, he was informed by Murray's domestics, that their master was gone to his brother Robert's, to be at more freedom and ease, and out of the noise of the court; upon which he said no more, but grieved inwardly that he had lost so fair an opportunity, and returned home. Meanwhile, the queen put on very demure looks, and expressed great sorrow, thinking thus to reconcile the people to her; but this succeeded as ill with her as the rest of the conspiracy. For whereas it had been the custom, time out of mind, that queens, after the loss of their husbands, should abstain several days, not only from the sight of men, but even from seeing the light, she acted a kind of fictitious sorrow, while her real joy excelled it, that though the doors were shut, yet the windows were open and throwing off her widow's weeds, in four days she could well enough bear the sight of the sun and air. Not only so, but before twelve days were over being hardened against all that people could say, she went to Seton, about seven miles from the town, and never suffered Bothwell to be one moment from her side. There her carriage was such, that though she changed her habit a little, yet she did not seem at all to mourn within. The place was full of the nobility, and she went constantly every day abroad to the usual sports, though some of them were not so proper for the female sex; but the coming of M. de Crocq, a Frenchman, who had often before been ambassador in Scotland, did in some little degree disturb their measures; for when he told them how infamous the matter sounded amongst foreigners, they returned to Edinburgh. But Seton had so many conveniences, that though the further hazard of her credit lay at stake upon it, yet the queen was not easily deterred. She returned thither again, where the main spring of the consultation was, and Bothwell might be acquitted of the king's murder. There was a design before to try and acquit him; for immediately upon the king's death, Bothwell and some of his accomplices, came to the marquis of Argyle, who was the hereditary capital judge in criminal cases, and first, pretended they were wholly ignorant of what was done, and wondered at it, as a new, unprecedented, and incredible thing; then they proceeded to examination; in which they summoned some poor women out of the neighbourhood; but they were scarce betwixt hope and fear, uncertain whether they should speak out, or be still silent; but, though they were very cautious in their words, yet uttering more than was expected, they were dismissed, as having spoken nothing upon any certain grounds; and their testimony was considered as only a matter to be despised. Upon this, some of the king's servants were sent for, who had escaped the fire. They, when asked how the assassins could enter the ca-

rance; replied, that the keys were not in their power. And when it was loosely put to them again, in whose hands they were? they answered, in those of the queen. The farther inquiry was then deferred, as the examiners presumed, but indeed it was quite suppressed; for they were afraid, that if they proceeded, the secrets of the court would be all publicly made known.

Notwithstanding this, to put a gloss on the matter, a proclamation was published, and a reward offered to those who should discover the author of the king's murder. But who could be so bold as to venture on impeaching Bothwell, since he was not only the accused, but would be the judge, examiner, and exactor of punishment? Yet this fear, which stopped the mouths of several single persons, could not restrain the freedom of the multitude. For libels were published, pictures made, and hawkers went by night about the streets, crying papers, by which the parricides might easily understand that the whole matter was discovered, as well those who planned the wickedness, those who assisted in its execution; and the more prohibitions were laid on the commonalty, the louder did their grief make them clamorous. Though the conspirators seemed to despise these things, yet they were inwardly so visibly affected by them, that they could not dissemble their resentment; and therefore, omitting the examination about the king's death, they fell on another method that was still more severe; and this was, against the authors of libels, or, as they phrased it, against the calumniators of Bothwell. This prosecution was so rigorously enforced, that no pains or cost were spared; for all the painters and writing-masters were called together, to see either, by the pictures and libels, they could discover the authors; and they then added a clause, suitable enough to the edict, which made it capital, not only to sell these offensive pieces, but even to read them when they were sold. But they who endeavoured to check the discourse of the people, by threatening them with condign punishment, were not satisfied with the king's death, for they carried their hatred against him to his grave. The queen gave his husband's goods, arms, horses, clothes, and household furniture, either his father's enemies, or to the murderers themselves, as though they had forfeited to her exchequer. These things were transacted in the broadest of day, which made many publicly inveigh against them; and one of the persons employed in altering some of the king's clothes for Bothwell to wear, was so bold as to say, "Now he saw the old country custom verified; that the executioner had the clothes of those persons who suffered by his hand." They were under another great difficulty, how they should get the castle of Edinburgh into the possession of the queen. John, earl of Marr, was governor of it, but it was on condition that he should deliver it up to no person, except by the special order of the estates. Now, though such a convention was not to be held within a month, yet her majesty was so earnest, that every delay seemed to her insupportably tedious. Therefore she dealt secretly with the earl's friends and relations, for he himself lay then very sick at Stirling, to surrender the castle to her; pretending, as the chief cause, that the tumults of Edinburgh were so tumultuous, there being then a commotion against them, that she could not keep them within the bounds of their duty, as she had that fortress in her hands. She also offered in that case, as an earnest of her great affection to John, that she would put her only son, the prince of the kingdom, into his hands, to be educated by him; which office of guardianship his ancestors had discharged to their great commendation in the case of so many other princes, of late times, and particularly in the education of her mother and grandfather. Though the earl understood and saw clearly through the tendency of these promises and flatteries, yet he complied with the request. The queen, then, finding him more easy than she had hoped, sent her next endeavour not only to be possessed of the castle with the convenient opportunity, but to keep her son too. Finding that he would bearken to this, she set upon him by another wile, and proposed that he should come to Linlithgow, in the mid-way between Edinburgh and Stirling, and there, on the appointed day, receive the prince, and surrender the castle. But this project being suspected of fraud, it was at last agreed that the prince should be delivered at Stirling, to Erskine, who, in the mean time, should give the chief of his family in hostage for yielding possession of the castle



These things gave some trouble to the parrioides, but they were most of all perplexed with the daily complaints of the earl of Lennox. That nobleman would not venture to come to court, on account of the exorbitant power of Bothwell; and therefore he earnestly solicited the queen by letters, that she would confine him, as being beyond all doubt the author of the king's murder, to-day should be appointed for bringing him to his trial. She, after declining the demand by many stratagems, finding that the examination of so enormous a crime could not be avoided, endeavoured to have it carried on in this manner.

As the assembly of the estates, to be held on the 13th of April, drew near, she was desirous before that time to have the matter tried, that Bothwell, being absolved by the votes of the judges, might next be fully ratified by the suffrages of the whole parliament. Owing to this precipitancy nothing was carried on regularly, or according to custom, in the judicial process. For the accusers, as is usual, ought to have been cited, with their relations, namely, the wife, father, mother, or son, either to appear personally or by proxy, within forty days, which is the time limited by the law. But however, the father was only summoned to appear on the 13th of April, without any notice being taken of his friends, excepting his own family, when at that time was in a low condition, and reduced to a small number: while on the other hand, Bothwell, on the other hand, flew up and down the town, with his whole troops at his heels. Under such circumstances, therefore, the earl of Lennox thought it most prudent to avoid coming into a city which was his enemies, and where he had neither friends nor vassals to protect him, nor where besides, even though there should be no danger of his life, it was certain there would be no impartial investigation. Bothwell in consequence boldly appeared on the day appointed, and entered the town-hall, as both plaintiff and defendant. There the judges of the nobility were cited, who were all of them his friends, and none on the other side dared to except against them; only Robert Cunningham, a member of the family of Lennox, put a stop to the proceedings, by craving liberty to speak, and declaring that the process was neither according to law nor custom, where the accused person was so powerful that he could not be brought to punishment, and the prosecutor was absent for fear of his life; so that whatsoever should be determined there, as being against law and equity, was null and void. Notwithstanding this objection, the business went forward without delay. Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, who was chosen one of the judges, rather for the sake of form, than that he should do any good, desired to be excused, and offered likewise to the forfeiture usually exacted of those who declined sitting; but in that instant of time a messenger brought him a ring from the queen, with a command that he should sit in his judicial character, or be committed to prison. When this threat did not prevail, she sent a second messenger, to tell him, that if he persisted in his refusal, he should be punished as a traitor. Being terrified by such means as these, all the judges were forced to attend; and agreed thereto, the issue of the session was, that they declared they saw no reason to find Bothwell guilty; but that if any man hereafter could lawfully accuse him, this judgment should be no hindrance to the prosecution. Some thought the proceeding with great wisdom in bringing it to such an issue; for the sentence was framed in such language, that the severest judges could never be found Bothwell guilty, it being stated that the murder was committed on a ninth instead of the tenth of February.

Thus Bothwell was acquitted of the fact, but not of the infancy. Suspicion instead of being cleared, increased upon him, and his punishment seemed to be deferred; but any pretence whatsoever, though a shameful one, seemed good enough to the queen, who was in great haste to marry him. To herself, however, of the imputation with a better grace, there was a chair posted on the most eminent part of the court, declaring, that though Bothwell was lawfully acquitted of the king's murder, yet, to make his innocence appear the brighter, he was ready to decide the matter in a duel, against any gentleman or person of honour that should dare to lay it to his charge. The morning following, there was one who as manfully posted up an answer to his challenge, provided a place of combat was appointed where he might declare his name without danger. Though these things succeeded tolerably well,

the queen, in that parliament, was more uncivil than usual ; for whereas, formerly, she affected great courtesy in her manner, she now plainly discovered an inclination to tyranny ; flatly denying what she had promised at Stirling, in matters of religion, which was, that the laws established under popish tyranny should be abrogated in the first convention, and the reformed religion be strengthened by new statutes. And when, besides her promise, she was confronted by two edicts, signed with her own hand, she eluded them, and commanded the commissioners of the kirk to attend her another time ; but after that, she never gave them any opportunity to appear before her again ; alleging, that those decrees of the estates which were published before her coming into Scotland, by the consent of Francis her husband, fell under the act of oblivion : a speech that seemed to all no less than a manifest profession of despotism. For whereas the Scots had no laws besides acts of parliament, they entertained private thoughts in their minds respecting the kind of life they were to live under a sovereign whose will alone was to be a rule, though her word and promise were never to be believed. This occurred about the end of the convention. At the same time, the queen was very earnest to hasten her marriage, and yet she desired to procure the public consent by any means, that she might seem to act in nothing without the suffrage of the nobility. Bothwell, also, to grace the espousals with the pretence of national authority, devised this stratagem : he invited all the noblemen of the highest rank, who were then in town, and numerous, to supper ; and when they were in the height of their mirth, he requested them to shew the same good affection to him for the future as they had done formerly. At present, he only desired that they would further his suit to the queen, by subscribing a schedule which he had made respecting the affair, as the means of procuring him favour with her majesty, and honour with the people. They all stood amazed at so sudden and unexpected a proposal, and could not dissemble their resentment, though at the same time none of them durst refuse or deny what he required. Upon that, a few who knew the queen's mind, began first ; and the rest, not foreseeing that there was so great a number of flatterers present, suspected one another, and so at last every one of them subscribed. The day after, when they came to recollect what they had done, some of them ingeniously confessed, that they would never have given their consent, unless they had thought the thing had been acceptable to the queen. They also thought that as it carried no great show of honesty, and was also very prejudicial to the public, so there was danger, if any such discord should arise as had already happened in the former alliance, between her and Bothwell, and he should be set off, it might be laid to their charge, that they had betrayed her majesty into a dishonourable union ; and therefore, before they went too far, they resolved to try her mind, and to procure a writing under her hand, to the following purpose, " That she approved of what they had done in reference to her marriage." This writing being obtained with great ease, was, with the consent of all, given to the Earl of Argyll for preservation. The next day all the bishops in town were called to court, that they might subscribe in like manner. This obstacle being removed, there succeeded another, which was, how the queen should get her son into her power ; for Bothwell did not think it safe for him to have a young child brought up, who in time might revenge the murder of his father ; neither was he willing that any other should come between his offspring and the crown. Whereupon the queen, who could now do him nothing, undertook the task herself to bring the child to Edinburgh. He had also another pretence to visit Stirling, of which I shall speak hereafter. When she came thither, the Earl of Marr suspecting what was going on, shewed her the prince, but would not deliver him into her power. The queen, seeing her fraud detected, and not able to contend with him by force, alleged another cause for her journey, and prepared to return. As she was upon the road, either through the too great fatigue of travelling, or owing to the rage she was in, that her design, which the authors thought so craftily devised, had proved unsuccessful, she fell suddenly ill, and was forced to retire into a poor house about four miles from Stirling, till her pain was somewhat abated, and then she proceeded on her journey, and came that night to Linlithgow. From thence she wrote to Bothwell, by Paris, directing him

wha. he should do about the purposed surprise; for, previous to her departure from Edinburgh, it had been agreed between them, that, at the bridge of Almond, he should come suddenly, and, having seized her in returning, carry her where he would, and as it were against her will.

The common people put this interpretation on the matter, that while she could not altogether conceal her familiarity with Bothwell, she could not be well without it; neither could she openly enjoy it as she desired, without the loss of her reputation; that it was too tedious to wait for his divorce from his former wife; and that she was willing to consult her honour, which she pretended to have a mighty regard for, and yet provide for her pleasures at the same time. This made her very impatient, and therefore it was thought a good plan that Bothwell should cover the queen's infamy by his own great crime, and yet stand in no fear of any punishment for it. But there was a deeper view in the project, which afterwards came to light. For whereas the people every where pointed at, and cursed the king's murderers; they provide for their own security, by the persuasion, as it is thought, of James Leslie, bishop of Ross, devised this attempt upon the queen. It is the custom in Scotland, when the king grants a pardon for an offence, that he who saw it out expresseth his great crime by name, while the rest of his misdeeds are added in general words. Accordingly, the king's murderers determined to solicit a pardon for this surprise of the queen by name, and then to subjoin in the schedule, by way of addition, all other wicked facts; in which clause they persuaded themselves, that the king's murder would be included, because it was not safe that they should declare themselves the authors of it in the instrument, as an appendix to a crime which was less in its own nature. Another offence therefore less invidious, but liable to the same punishment, was to be devised, under the shadow of which the king's murder might be disguised and pardoned; and no other occurred to them, but this pretended force laid upon the queen, by which her pleasure might be satisfied, and Bothwell's security provided for at the same time. Accordingly, Bothwell, accompanied with six hundred horse, waited her coming at Almond bridge, as they had already agreed, and took her, not against her will, to Dunbar, where they had free converse one with another; and a divorce was commenced betwixt the earl and his former wife, in two courts. First, she was cited before judges specially appointed to decide such kind of controvertials; and next before the officials of the bishops' courts, though they were interdicted by a public statute from exercising any part of magistracy, or intermeddling with any public business. Lady Gordon, Bothwell's wife, was also compelled to commence a suit of separation in a double court; for while before the queen's judges she accused him of adultery, which was the only just cause of a divorce amongst them; and before the papal delegates, who, though forbidden by the law, were yet empowered by the archbishop of St. Andrew's to determine the controversy, she alleged against him, that, before their marriage, he had so much unlawful or incestuous familiarity with her kinswoman. The witnesses and judges made so little delay in the case, that the suit was commenced, prosecuted, adjudged, and ended, all in ten days.

In these emergencies, several of the honest nobles met at Stirling, and sent to the queen, desiring to know of her, whether she was kept where she was, with or against her will, observing, that, in the latter case, they would levy an army for her deliverance. She received the message, not without smiling, and answered them, that it was true she was brought thither against her will, but was so kindly treated since, that she had little cause to complain of the former injury. Thus the proffer was evaded; but though they were hasty to take off the reflection of abduction by a lawful marriage, there were still two obstacles in the way: one was, that if the ceremony took place when the queen was a prisoner, the contract might not be accounted good, and so would be easily dissolved. The other was, how to have the usual formalities observed, that the banns should be published on three Sundays in the public congregation, of a marriage intended between James Hepburn and Mary Stuart, so that if any one knew a lawful impediment, why they may not be joined together, they should declare the same, that it might be judged of by the church. To settle these points, Bothwell assembled his friends and

dependants, and resolved to bring back the queen to Edinburgh, that so, under a vain shew of her liberty, he might make arrangements for the marriage at his pleasure. His attendants were all armed, but as they were on their journey, a fear seized on many of them, lest one time or other it might turn to their prejudice, to hold the queen a prisoner; and if there were no other ground for it, yet this was enough, that they accompanied her in an armed posture, when things were otherwise in peace and quietness; upon this scruple, they threw away all their spears, and in this apparently pacific posture they brought her to the castle of Edinburgh, which was then in the power of Bothwell.

The next day they accompanied her into the city, and to the courts of justice where she affirmed before the judges, that she was wholly free, and not under the least restraint. But as to announcing the marriage in the church, the rector, whose office it was, absolutely refused to do it; upon which, the elder deacons and ecclesiastics assembled, as not daring to resist, and commanded him to publish the banns according to custom. He was so far obedient as to tell them, that he knew of himself a lawful impediment, and was ready to declare it to the queen or to Bothwell, whenever it pleased them to lay their commands upon him to do so. Accordingly he was sent for to the castle, and the queen remitted him to Bothwell, who, neither by fear nor favour, could make him alter his purpose, while, on his own part, he dared not commit the matter to a debate, but went on to hasten the marriage. The only ecclesiastic who could be found to perform the solemnity, was the bishop of the Orkneys. He alone preferred court favour to truth, the rest being utterly against it, and producing reasons why it could be no lawful marriage with one who had two wives yet living, and who, upon the confession of his own adultery, had been divorced from a third. Yet, though all good men loathed it—the commonalty cursed it—and his relations by letters dissuaded it, whilst he was prosecuting it, and abhorred it when it was done—there were some public ceremonies performed, after a mock kind of manner, and married they were.

Those of the nobility there present, who were very few, and such only as were Bothwell's friends and creatures, the rest being gone to their homes, were invited to supper; and so was Crocq, the French ambassador; but he, though of the faction of the Guises, and also resident near the palace, yet peremptorily refused to come. He thought that it did not suit with the dignity of the personage whom he represented, to countenance a marriage by his presence, which he heard was detested and execrated by the common people, and was disapproved of by the queen's relations in every stage of the proceeding. Moreover, the king of France and the queen of England did, by their respective ministers, protest against the turpitude of the action. Though this was troublesome to the queen, yet the silent sadness of the people so much the more aggravated her fierce disposition, as things that we see with our own eyes pierce us deeper than those of which we only hear from a distance. As they both went through the city, none saluted them with their wonted acclamations: only one said, and that but a solitary instance, "God save the Queen;" upon which another woman near her exclaimed aloud, repeatedly, so that the by-standers might hear her—"May all persons have their deserts!" This incident provoked her still much more against the citizens of Edinburgh, with whom she was already sufficiently angry: and when she saw the disaffection of the people to her, both at home and abroad, she took advice with her cabal, how she might establish her power, and quell any future insurrection. In the first place, she determined to send an ambassador to France, to reconcile the royal family and the Guises to her, knowing how greatly they were offended with her on account of this precipitate marriage. William, bishop of Dunblane, was chosen for this service: and his instructions were given him almost in these very words:—

"First, you shall excuse me to those princes, and to my uncle, that they heard of the consummation of my marriage by vulgar report, before I could acquaint them with my intentions by my own proper messengers. This apology you shall ground on the true narration of the whole life, and especially of the good offices which the duke of the Orkneys hath rendered me even on the very day wherein I thought good to make him my husband. You shall

begin the declaration of that story as the truth is, taking your rise from his very youth. As soon as ever he came of age, after the death of his father, one of the principal noblemen of the kingdom, he wholly applied himself to the service of the princes of this country, being otherwise of a very noble family, both by reason of its antiquity, and also the high offices it held in the kingdom, as by hereditary right. At that time he became principally attached to the service of my mother, who then held the sceptre, and to whom he proved so constant, that though, in a short time, numbers of the nobility, and many towns also, revolted from her, on the account of religion, yet he never once swerved from his loyalty; neither could he be induced by any offers, promises, or threats, nor by any loss of his personal property, to co-operate in lessening her authority; nay, rather than neglect her service, he suffered his family mansion, and all his goods, which were many and valuable, to be plundered, and his estate to be made a prey to his enemies. At last, being destitute not only of our aid, but of all other help, an English army was brought, by domestic enemies, into the very heart of the kingdom, for the express purpose of forcing my husband, then earl of Bothwell, to leave his house and country, and retire to France; where he attended me with all respect, till my return to Scotland. Neither must his military exploits against the English be forgotten: a little before my arrival, wherein he gave such proofs both of his manly valour, and great prudence, that he was thought worthy, though a young man, to command his superiors in age; so that he was chosen general in chief of the army of his countrymen, and my lieutenant, which office he discharged so well, that, by many valiant performances, he established a noble memorial of his fortitude both amongst his enemies, and also his own countrymen. After my return, he employed all his endeavours for the enlargement of my authority; and spared no danger in subduing the rebels on the borders of England, where, having reduced things to great tranquillity, he resolved to do the same in other parts of the kingdom. But as envy is always the attendant of virtue, and the Scots perpetually desire innovations, some of them, in order to lessen my favour towards him, put so ill a construction on his good services, that they caused me to commit him to prison; which I did, partly to gratify those who envied his increasing greatness, and partly to allay the seditious commotions which were ready to break out, to the destruction of the whole kingdom. He however made his escape out of prison, and giving way to the power of those who hated him for his merits, retired into France, where he resided almost two years; during which time, the authors of the former disturbances, forgetting my lenity towards them, and their duty to me, took up arms, and raised an army against their sovereign. Then it was that I commanded him to return, replaced him in his former estate and dignity, and made him captain general over all my forces. It was his conduct that restored me again so far to my authority, that all the rebels were quickly compelled to become fugitives, and seek shelter in England, till, on their humble submission, I received a great part of them into favour. How perditionally I was treated by the exiles that returned, and by those whom I had obliged with greater courtesies than they deserved, my uncle is not ignorant, and therefore I need say little of it: but I must not pass over in silence, with how great diligence Bothwell freed me from the hands of those who held me captive; and how speedily, by his singular management, I escaped out of prison; and how, when the whole faction of conspirators were dissipated and crushed, I recovered my former authority. I must therefore acknowledge his services to have been herein so grateful to me, that I can never suffer them to slip out of my memory.

“ Though these things are really and truly great in themselves, yet he hath made such an addition to them, by his unwearied diligence and anxious care in my behalf, that I could never expect stronger marks of duty and loyalty in any man, than I have found in him, even till after the decease of the king my late husband. Since that time, as his thoughts seemed to grow more aspiring, and to have a higher aim, so his actions were now somewhat uncommon, bold, and daring; and though the matter came to that pass, that I was in a manner obliged to take all things in the best part, yet I was much offended with his arrogance, when he came to think it was beyond my ability to require him

any otherwise than by giving up myself to him as the reward of his services. Besides, I was greatly offended with his secret designs against, and, at length, his open contempt of me, and the force to which he had recourse in order to get me into his power, lest his intents should be frustrated. In the mean time, the whole course of his life was so ordered, that it may stand as an example, how very craftily men who undertake great designs, can conceal their views till they have obtained their ends. For I thought, that this diligence and promptitude in paying obedience to all my commands, proceeded from no other motive than a loyal desire to please me; it never so much as entering into my imagination, that he had any higher wish or object. Neither did I think, that a more gracious countenance, which I sometimes shewed towards my nobles, to engage them to a greater readiness in obeying my commands, would have elevated his mind so far as to flatter himself with the hopes of a more extraordinary courtesy from me; yet he, turning things which were merely accidental, to his own advantage, carried on those devices unknown to me; while, by his wonted observance, he still maintained the former good opinion which I had of him. He moreover courted the friendship of the nobility, as if he was privily ambitious of a new favour; and he was so sedulous in this point, that though I knew nothing of it, yet, when the convention of the estates was held, he obtained a writing from all the peers, subscribed by their hands to make it more authentic, wherein they declared their assent to a marriage between him and me, and promised to venture their lives and fortunes to bring it to pass, and to oppose all who should endeavour to frustrate it; nay, the more easily to gain the consent of the nobles, he led each of them into a full persuasion, that all these things were managed with my approbation. Having in the first place obtained this writing, he next endeavoured by degrees to win my consent, and sought it in the most humble manner; but my answer not suiting his desire, he began to weigh those things with himself which are wont to occur in undertakings of this magnitude, particularly the outward demonstrations of my good-will, the ways by which my friends, or his enemies, might hinder his design; the apprehension lest persons whose subscriptions he had received should revoke their assent, and that many other things might intervene to obstruct his purposes. At length, he formed the resolution to pursue the favour of his present fortune, and to risk the whole business, his life, and all his hopes, upon the hazard of a single moment. Accordingly, being determined to execute this design effectually, after he had waited four days, as I was on my return home from visiting my dear son, he watched a convenient place and time, and on the way, seized me with a strong party of men, and carried me speedily to Dunbar. Every one may easily form a judgment how I resented this, especially in one whom I had less reason to expect such treatment, than from any subject whatever. There I upbraided him with my favours towards him, and how honourably I had always spoken before of his manners and behaviour, and how ungratefully he had carried it towards me. Many other things also I said, to free myself out of his hands; but though his usage was somewhat coarse, his words were fair and smooth, as that he would use me with all honour and tenderness, and do his utmost not to offend me in any thing; and while carrying me against my will into one of my own castles, he craved my pardon for so bold an attempt, alleging that he was forced by the power of me so to do, and that his passion made him forget the reverence and allegiance which as a subject he owed to me his sovereign. He said farther, that was compelled to go thither for fear of his life. Then he began to rehearse me his whole history, and lamented his misfortune, that those whom he had never offended, were his bitter enemies, and that their malice had devised unjust ways to do him a mischief. He mentioned the envious reflections that were made upon him for the king's death, and how unable he was to withstand the hidden conspiracy of those of his adversaries who were concealed from him, because they pretended good-will towards him, both in speech and action; neither, he said, was he able to counteract those treacheries which were within the compass of his own knowledge. Their malignity was so against him, that, at no time or place, could he live a quiet life, unless he was assured of my unchangeable favour towards him; to ensure which,

he knew but of one way, and that was, that I would vouchsafe to make him my husband. He solemnly swore withal, that he did not seek it as the means of pre-eminence, or to be at the height and summit of dignity, but that all that he wanted, was, to be enabled to serve and obey me, as he had hitherto done, during the whole of his life. He dressed up this discourse in all the pomp of eloquence that his cause could require: and when he found that I was not to be wrought upon, either by prayers or promises, he at last shewed me what he had transacted with the nobility and all the estates, and what they had pronounced under their hands. This being produced before me on a sudden, and beyond my expectation, I leave it to the king, queen, my uncles, and the rest of my friends, whether it might not administer a just cause of amercement to me. Upon this, indeed, when I saw myself in another man's power, and separated from those who were wont to give me counsel—nay, when I saw those persons, on whose fidelity and prudence I placed myself and all my hopes, those persons whose power must confirm my authority, that otherwise would be little or none at all; I say, when I saw such men had devoted themselves to gratify his will and desire, and myself left alone as his prey, I pondered many things in my mind, but could not find out a method to extricate myself; neither did he give me any long time to consider of the matter, but pressed his purpose with the utmost eagerness. At last, seeing that I had no hope to escape, and that there was not a man in the kingdom who would stir for my deliverance, because it was easy to be perceived by the scroll which he presented, and by the apathy of the times, that all were drawn over to his party; my anger a little abated, and I applied my mind to consider his request. Then I began to remember his services in former times, and the great hopes which I had that he would constantly persist in the same for the future; and again, how hardly my subjects would endure a foreign prince who was unacquainted with their laws, while at the same time they would not suffer me to be long a widow;—that a people, prone to tumults, could not be kept within the bounds of their duty, unless my authority was upheld and exercised by a man, who was able to undergo the toil of governing the commonwealth, and to bridle the insolence of the disaffected; and that my own strength was so weakened with the weight of those things, ever since I came to Scotland, as almost to be reduced to nothing, insomuch that I could no longer bear the commotions and insurrections which daily arose. Further, on account of these rebellions, I was obliged to create four or more lieutenants, in various quarters of the kingdom: some of whom, under colour of the powers that were granted them, encouraged my subjects to take up arms against me. For these reasons, finding that if I intended to support my regal state, I must incline my heart to marriage, that my subjects would not bear a foreign king; and that there was not any one of my subjects, who, for the splendour of his family, or prudence and valour, and other endowments of body and mind, could exceed, or so much as stand a comparison with him whom I have now espoused;—I therefore prevailed with myself to comply with the universal wish of my estates, of which I have already made mention. When my constancy was subdued by these reasons, he, partly by compulsion, and partly by flattery, obtained a promise from me to marry him; which having done, I could not obtain from him, who feared lest my mind should change, to put off the celebration of the nuptials, that I might have time to communicate the matter to the king and queen of France, and to my other friends beyond sea; but, as he began with the utmost intrepidity and boldness, in order that he might arrive at the height of his desires, he never gave over soliciting me by arguments and earnest entreaties, till at last he obliged me, not without force, to complete the promised engagement, and that at such a time and manner as he thought most convenient for his purpose. And upon this head, I cannot dissemble, but must needs say, that I was treated by him otherwise than I would, or than I had deserved of him; for he was more solicitous to satisfy those by whose consent, though extorted at first, he judged himself to have accomplished his wishes, having deceived them as well as myself, than to please me, by considering what was fit and creditable for me to do, who had been always brought up in the rites and institutions of religion, from which neither he nor any man living shall ever turn or alter me. Though I acknowledge my error, yet I must

confess I much desire that the king, the queen, his mother, my uncle, or other friends of mine, would not, in this point, expostulate with him, or speak of any differences. For now matters being so ended that they cannot be undone, I take all things in the easiest manner; and since he is indeed my husband, I have resolved to look upon him as one that hereafter I will love and reverence; and they who profess themselves my friends, must needs bear the same respect towards him, considering that we are now joined in the indissoluble bond of matrimony. Though in some things he carried himself somewhat negligently, and almost rashly, yet I impute it to his immoderate love for me, and do therefore entreat the king, queen, my uncle, and other friends, to esteem him as much as if all had been managed by their advice, even till this time; and, on the other hand, we promise, in his behalf, that he will gratify them in all things which they can desire."

Such was the remedy provided against the evil reports of the world abroad; but they took precautions also to repress domestic tumults, after securing those by gifts for the present, and promises for the time to come, who were either perpetrators or partisans in the murder of the king, as well as forming a combination of the greater party of the nobility, assured that when they had so done, they might either undervalue the rest, or destroy them if they remained obstinate. Upon this, they assembled many of the peers, and propounded to them the heads of the conditions to which they were to swear: the sum being, that they should maintain the queen and Bothwell, and support all their proceedings; who, on their part, were to favour and countenance the concerns and interests of those of the associates then present. As many were already persuaded, they readily subscribed; while the rest, though they thought it a bad thing to join in the confederacy, yet seeing it was dangerous to refuse, subscribed also. Murray had been sent for, that his authority, which his virtue rendered very great and extensive, might give some countenance to the proceeding. But when he was on his journey, he was advised by his friends to consult his own safety, and not to lodge at Seton house, where the queen and the chief of her party were, but rather to take up his abode with a friend who lived in the neighbourhood. He answered, that this was not in his power, and that let what would happen, he was resolved never to assent to any wicked action; but to leave the rest to God. To those courtiers who were appointed by the queen to debate with him about subscribing the league, he made this reply, "That though it was his duty in all things else to obey her majesty, he could, neither justly nor honestly, co-operate in this measure; that he was indeed reconciled to Bothwell, by the queen's mediation; and that whatever he had then promised, he could strictly observe; but that it was neither equitable in itself, nor beneficial to the commonwealth, that he should make another league or combination with him, or any other man living." The queen spoke to him more kindly than ordinary for some days, and promised to open to him her thoughts in all things; yet she could not speak out for shame, and therefore in the mean time she tried his mind by her friends. They also perceiving his constancy in that which was right, freely confessed what it was they desired: and when it was plain that they could do no manner of good with him by these court intrigues, Bothwell set upon him at last, and after much discourse told him, that what he did was not willingly, nor on his own account alone. Murray on this declaration resumed a frowning countenance, upon which Bothwell, sometimes by serious discourse, and sometimes in terms that were next to downright railing, carried the matter as far as it would go, endeavouring to throw in seeds of discord, to urge him to a quarrel. Murray, however, answered with the utmost moderation, taking care to give no just occasion for a dispute, yet keeping close to his point, and not departing in the least from his resolution. After labouring under these straits for some days, he asked leave of the queen, that since there was no great need of him at court, he might have liberty to retire to St. Andrew's or into Murray; for he was willing to go out of the way, that he might not be suspected as the author of the tumults which he foresaw would soon arise. When he could not obtain this request, and knew that it was dangerous to remain at court, he at last got leave to travel, but was upon condition that he should, without making any stay in England, go



directly through Flanders, either into Germany, or wherever he pleased. To venture into Flanders was the same as to cast himself into evident peril, and therefore, with much difficulty, he obtained leave to pass through England into France, and from thence to whatever place his own choice might lead him. The queen being thus freed from an open-hearted and popular person, endeavoured to remove the other obstacles to her tyranny; she was such as would not willingly subscribe to her wickedness, or not likely to acquiesce very easily in her designs. But she had a particular resentment against those persons who, perceiving her to be no better affected towards her son than to her former husband, made an association at Stirling. This they did, not out of any evil design, but merely to defend the young prince, whom his mother wished to place in the power of his father-in-law who every body knew would make away with the child, as soon as ever he had an opportunity of doing it, lest he should live to revenge his father's death, or prevent the issue of Bothwell from succeeding to the crown. The chiefs of the combination were the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marr, Athol, and Glencairn, besides others of the same order, but next in degree, as Patrick Lindsay and Robert Boyd, with their friends and connexions, who joined their association. But Argyle, out of the same levity of temper with which he came to them, discovered their designs to the queen, within a day or two afterwards, and even Boyd also was, by large promises, brought over to the opposite party. As next to these she suspected the families of the Homes, Kers, and Scots who lived near the borders of England; she sought by all means to lessen their power, and there occurred a fair opportunity to second her design at that point. For, when Bothwell was preparing an expedition into Liddesdale, to repair the disgrace which he had received there the preceding autumn, and likewise to get some reputation by his arms, and extinguish the hatred excited against him on account of the king's death, the queen commanded all the heads of the families in Teviotdale to come to the castle of Edinburgh, that there for some short time they might be secure, as in free custody. The pretence for this was, that they might be excused from taking part in an enterprise, which did not seem likely to be successfully undertaken by men against their wills; but which they, if at liberty, might disturb out of course. The queen thought also, that, in their absence, she might insure the change of the government of others, and so, by degrees, lessen their attachment to their old patrons and lords. But the chiefs, imagining that some deep project was concealed under the summons, returned all home in the night, except Andrew Ker, who was generally thought to be no stranger to the parricide, and Walter Ker of Cessford, a man who, by reason of his innocent life, suspected no harm. Home, though often ordered by Bothwell to come to court, stoutly refused to obey the summons, as knowing how he stood affected towards him. Notwithstanding all this, the preparations for the expedition proceeded during which, the queen staid at Borthwick castle, about eight miles from Edinburgh. In the mean time, those who had combined to defend the prince being aware of Bothwell's intention towards them, thought it necessary to proceed to action, not only for their own security, but also, that by demanding justice upon the author of the king's murder, they might acquit the Scottish name from the infamy under which it lay amongst foreign nations. Accordingly, thinking that the common people would follow their leaders, they privately levied about two hundred horse; of which transaction the queen knew nothing, till Home came to Borthwick castle with part of his army, and besieged her and Bothwell together. But the other body of conspirators not hastening forwards at the time appointed, and Home never having force enough to secure all the passages, nor being so active himself as he should have been, when the rest were diffident, gave an opportunity to Bothwell to effect his escape first, followed soon after by the queen, in male apparel, both going directly to Dunbar. Athol was the cause why his associates did not come in time enough; for he, either amazed at the greatness of the undertaking, or withheld by his own indolent temper, kept the rest at Stirling, till the opportunity of service was lost; yet, that they might seem to have done something, a considerable body was sent to besiege Hainault. James Balfour, who was then governor of the castle, had been put in by Both-

well, because he was a partner in the parricide, and either the author of his schemes, or privy to all his designs ; but when he found that he had no pay for his service, and was not so well respected by the tyrants as he expected, for they had endeavoured to take away the command from him, he drove out those whom he could not trust, and brought the garrison solely under his dominion ; after which, he promised the public vindicators of the murder of the king, that he would do them no hurt ; while, at the same time, he was treating of conditions how to deliver up the fortress. There were then in the town the principal men of the queen's faction, John Hamilton, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, George Gordon earl of Huntly, and John Leslie bishop of Ross. They, having intelligence that their enemies were received into the city, went to the town-house, and there, gathering together a multitude of people, offered to head them, and drive out their foes ; as, however, very few came in to them, they were driven back to the castle, where they were admitted by Balfour, and a few days after were sent away safe by a private passage ; for the governor, having not yet fully agreed with the opposite side, could not cut off all his hopes of pardon from those of the other faction. The town easily joined the combination, for it had been burdened a little before with new taxes by the queen ; and, in the public necessity, the people expected no moderation from her party ; besides which, they were fedded with her tyranny, and, as often as they had liberty to express their sentiments, vented upon the wickedness of the court the most furious execrations.

While matters were thus slowly carried on by the party of the nobles at Perth, the queen and Bothwell, by the neglect of the guards, escaped in the night, and, with a small retinue, went to Dunbar, where they had a well-fortified castle for their security. Hence there followed so great a turn of affairs, that they who were lately in the utmost despair, did now, by the seeking in of some, who were partners in their crimes, and of others, to gain the favour of royalty, became strong enough, as they thought, to cope with and subdue their adversaries. On the other side, the friends of liberty were given to great straits ; for, to their mortification and disappointment, there were but a few who ventured to engage in the important concern ; the heat of the vulgar, as is usual, quickly abating, and a great part of the nobility being very averse, or at least indifferent, to the cause, awaiting the issue of what would befall the rest. Besides, though they were superior in number, yet they wanted artillery for the assault of castles ; therefore, as they perceived their counsels would at present come to no certain conclusion, and that necessity was against them, they thought to return without effecting any thing. In this emergency, the queen decided their doubts ; for she, taking courage from the numbers she now had, resolved to march directly with them for Leith, to try her fortune near at hand ; imagining also, that, at her approach, many would join her standard, and increase her force, while her boldness struck terror into her enemies. The success, likewise, which she had already met with, so elated her spirits, that she thought hardly any man would at this time make a stand, or dare to look her in the face. This confidence of the queen was very much heightened by her flatterers, and especially by Edmund Spenser, a lawyer, who told her, that all things lay open to her valour ; that her enemies wanted strength, and were so much at a stand, that, at the very report of her advance, they would disperse as fast as they could. The next day, however, proved far otherwise, and, in her present circumstances, delay would have been better for her than delay ; for, if she had kept in the castle of Dunbar only three days longer, the patriots, who were destitute of the necessities for war, and found their virtuous efforts frustrated, must have been forced to depart, every one to his own house. However, encouraged by these evil counsels, and animated with vain and groundless hopes, Mary marched from Dunbar, though but slowly, because she distributed arms among the countrymen whom she met by the way. At length, a little before noon, they came to Seton ; and, because they could not be quartered there, she divided their number into two adjoining villages, both called Pres-

From thence a dreadful alarm being brought to Edinburgh before midnight, the inhabitants were roused presently to arm themselves. Accord-

ingly, they rose out of their beds, and made all the haste they could into the neighbouring fields, where, having gathered a good body together by arising, they put themselves in order of battle. Thence they marched to Musselburgh, which village is only two miles from Preston; their object being to pass the river Esk, before the bridge and ford should be possessed by the enemy: but not meeting with any appearance of an enemy, they placed guards and sentinels there, and went to their quarters for refreshment. In the mean time, the scouts sent to watch the motions of the enemy, encountered a few horsemen, whom they drove into the village, but did not drive them farther, through fear of falling into an ambuscade; so that they could bring back no certain news of the army, only that their opponents were upon the march. Hearing this, the confederates for freedom hastened out of Musselburgh, and saw the enemy standing in battle array, upon the side of a hill opposite to them, where they kept their position. As the hill was so steep, they could not come at them without danger, they drew a little to the right both to have the sun on their backs, and likewise to gain an easier ascent, to fight upon more advantageous ground. This design deceived the queen, for she thought they had fled, and were marching to Dalkeith, a neighbouring town belonging to the earl of Morton. She was indeed fully persuaded that the terror of her royal name was so great, that they durst not stand against her; but she quickly found, that authority, as it is got by good actions, may as quickly be lost by bad; and that majesty, destitute of virtue, is soon brought to nothing. In their march, the inhabitants of Dalkeith brought to the patriots all manner of provisions in abundance; and when they had refreshed themselves, and quenched their thirst, which had before distressed them very much, they proceeded till they came to a convenient place, where they divided their army into two bodies. Morton commanded the first, assisted by Alexander Home and his vassals; the second being led by the earl of Glencairn, Marr, and Athol. When they were ready to charge, Cromwell, French ambassador, came to them, and began, by an interpreter, to say that he had always studied the good and tranquillity of the Scottish nation, and that being now of the same mind, he earnestly desired, if possible, the present dispute might be decided to the satisfaction of both parties, without contention or bloodshed; in order to bring about which desirable end, he offered his service. He alleged also, that the queen herself was not averse to peace as a proof of which, and to gain their belief, he told them, she would grant a present pardon, and a general amnesty for what was past, and faithfully promising that they should all be indemnified for taking up arms against the supreme magistrate. When the interpreter had concluded, Morton answered, "That they had not taken up arms against the queen, but against the murderer of the late king, and that if she would deliver him up for punishment, or separate herself from him, she should know that they and their followers desired nothing more than to persevere in their duty to her; but in otherwise no agreement could be made." Glencairn added, "That they came not thither to receive pardon for taking up arms, but to give it." Seeing their resolution, and knowing well that what they spoke was true, that what they desired was just, obtained leave to depart, and went back to Edinburgh. In the mean time, the queen's army entrenched itself within the ancient camp-bounds of the English. It was a place naturally higher than the rest, and fortified besides with a work and ditch; from whence Cromwell shewed himself, mounted on a brave steed, and proclaimed by a herald that he was ready to fight a duel with any of the adverse party. James Murray, a noble young man, offered himself for the combat, from the other side, as he had done before by a placard, though without his name, as I have already related. Bothwell refused him for an antagonist, on the plea that he was not a match for him, either in dignity or estate. Upon this, William Murray, the elder brother of James, came forth, affirming that, setting aside riches, he was as powerful as Bothwell, and even his superior in honour of family and integrity of character. But he also was refused, as being lately made a knight, and of the second rank. Many of the first order offered themselves, especially Patrick Lindsay, who truly desired, as the only reward of all the labours which he had undergone to maintain the

moner of Scotland, that he might be permitted to encounter Bothwell. The latter however excepted against him too; and when it was found impossible to come off with credit, the queen interposed her authority, and, by forbidding him to fight, put an end to the controversy. After this, she rode through the army on horseback, in order to ascertain by her observation how all the soldiers stood affected. Bothwell's friends and relations were eager for the fight; but the rest told her, that there were many brave men in the adverse army, who being well exercised in arms, would render the hazard of a battle very precarious. As to themselves, they were ready, but the common people, of whom they had many, were disaffected to the cause; and therefore it was much sifter, they said, that Bothwell himself should defend his own cause in a duel, than expose so many brave men, and especially the queen herself, to a desperate risk. They added, that if she was fully resolved to fight, it would be best to defer the battle till the next morning; especially as it was reported that the Hamiltons were coming with five hundred horse, and were not far off; and that when they were joined by these forces, they might then more safely advise about the main concern; for, at that time, the earl of Huntly, and John Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrew's, had gathered their clans together to Hamilton, and the day after were coming to the queen. Upon this she bit her lips with anger, shed tears, and, after uttering many reproaches against the nobles, despatched a messenger to the opposite army, desiring that they would send William Kirkaldy of Grange to her, in order that she might consult with him about the conditions of peace, and that, in the mean time, her army should not advance. In consequence of this the patriotic army halted, but stood near at hand, and in a low place, so that the enemy's advance could not annoy them.

Whilst the queen was discoursing with Kirkaldy, Bothwell was directed to wait for himself, for this was what she aimed at in demanding a conference; and his fears made him fly with so much haste to Dunbar, that he commanded his horsemen, who accompanied him, to return again; for so great was the load of guilt upon his mind, that he could not trust his own friends. The next morn'g, when she thought he was out of danger, agreed with Kirkaldy, that the rest of her army should be disbanded and return quietly home; and she came with him to the nobles, clothed only in a mean and threadbare vest, reaching a little below her knees. She was received by the van of the army with the demonstrations of their former reverence; but when, in order to attain whatever she could by fair speeches, she requested they would allow her to meet the Hamiltons, who were said to be on the advance, promising to return again, and directing Morton to undertake that she would be as good as her word, she could not obtain it: upon which she burst out into all the bitterness of language, and upbraided the commanders with what she had done for them. They heard her with silence; but when she came to the second body, there was an universal cry from all:—"Burn the adulteress, burn the parricide." King Henry was painted on one of the banners, lying dead, with his little son by him, calling for vengeance from God upon the murderers. This banner two soldiers held up before her, before her eyes wherever she went. At this sight she swooned, and could scarcely be kept upon her horse; but recovering herself, she repressed nothing of her former fierceness, uttering threats and reproaches, shedding tears, and shewing all the other tokens that accompany female grief. In her march, she made what delay she could, expecting aid to come from others; but one of the company cried out, that she had no reason to look for the Hamiltons, as there was not an armed man within many miles of the place. At last, a little before night, she entered Edinburgh, her face covered with dust and tears, as if mud had been thrown upon it. And while all the people ran out to see the spectacle; she passed through a great part of the city in great haste, the multitude leaving her so narrow a passage that hardly two persons could go abreast. As she was going up to her lodging, one woman of the company prayed for her; but she, turning to the people, told them, besides other threatening words, that she would burn the town, and quench the flames with the blood of the perfidious citizens. When she shewed herself, peering at the window, and a great concourse of people had collected, some

of whom commiserated her sudden change of fortune; the former however again held out to her, upon which she shut the window, and withdrew. After staying there two days, she was sent as a prisoner, by order of the king, to a castle situated in Lechleven: for that of Edinburgh was still held by Balfour, who, though he favoured the assertors of liberty, had not as yet made any condition for the surrender of the fortress.

In the mean time, the bishop of Dunblane, who was sent ambassador to France, to excuse the queen's marriage, being ignorant of all that was then in Scotland after his departure, arrived at that court whilst these transactions were going on, and obtained a day for an audience. The very same morning two letters came to the king and his mother, one from Crocq, his ambassador, the other from Ninian Cockburn, a Scot, who had served as captain of men some years in France; both of them discovering the present posture of affairs in Scotland. The Scottish prelate and ambassador being admitted to the king's presence, made a long and formal speech, partly to apologise for the queen's marriage without the advice of her friends, and partly to condemn Bothwell beyond all truth and reason. In the midst of his harangue a queen of France interrupted the vain man, and shewed him the letters which she had just received from Scotland, giving the information that the queen was a captive and that Bothwell had fled. The bishop, astonished at the sudden ill news, fell into a profound silence; while those who were present, partly frowned and partly smiled at this unexpected circumstance, as there was not one of them who thought she suffered undeservedly.

About the same time, Bothwell sent one of his most trusty servants to the castle of Edinburgh, to bring him a silver cabinet, which once belonged to Francis king of France, as appeared by the ciphers on the outside, in which were found letters, almost all of them written with the queen's own hand. By these, the king's murder, and the things which followed, were clearly discovered; and it was particularly mentioned in almost all of them, that he should burn them as soon as ever he had read them. But Bothwell, knowing the queen's inconstancy, as having had many evident examples of it in a few years, preserved the letters; that so, if any difference should happen between him and her, he might use them as testimonials for himself, and demonstrate by them, that he was not the author, but only a party in the king's murder. Though Balfour delivered the cabinet to Bothwell's servant, he informed the chiefs of the adverse party of the occurrence; upon which they sent a messenger, and found momentous matters contained in the letters, which though before shrewdly suspected, yet could never so clearly be made out: now; when the whole wicked business was plainly exposed to view. Bothwell, being unsuccessful in all his affairs, utterly destitute of help, and losing all hope of recovering the kingdom, fled, first to the Orkneys, and then to the north of Scotland; where being reduced to extreme want, he turned pirate. In the mean time, many dealt with the queen, and desired her to separate herself from that of Bothwell; observing, that if he were punished, she might easily be restored with the good-will of all her subjects. But the fierce woman, bearing as yet the spirit of her former fortune, and enraged at her present troubles, answered, "that she would rather live with him in the utmost adversity, than without him in the most royal condition." Various were the thoughts of the nobles upon this serious subject; those who were far from forgiving the bloody deed, hoped, that as soon as ever their intentions should be made air, and be publicly known, the greater part, if not all, would yield their approbation, and even concur with them in so famous and glorious a purpose. But it fell out differently; for popular clamour being abated, partly through the lapse of time, and partly by the consideration of the uncertainty of human affairs, now turned into commiseration; nay, some of the nobility did no less bewail the queen's calamity, than they had before execrated her cruelty; both which they did, rather from inconstancy of temper, than from any affection to either side; whence it too evidently appeared, that they sought not the public tranquillity, so much as they wished for their own private advantage in those troubled waters. Many, on the other hand, wished for peace and quietness, and they weighed within themselves which side was the strongest, and so were inclined to take part with the most powerful. The

faction was thought to be the strongest, who either consented to the murder, or else, in obsequiousness to the queen, subscribed the impious instrument after it was committed. The chief of these came in to Hamilton, and being very potent, would receive neither letters nor messengers from the contrary party, in order to an accommodation; neither were they sparing in their reproaches, but upbraided them with all the virulence of language; and they were so much the more enraged, because the greatest part of the nobles, who respected rather the blasts of fortune, than the equity of the cause, did not join the vindicators; for they that were not against them, they concluded were for them. Besides, they esteemed it a piece of vain-glory, that the latter party should enter before them into the metropolis of the kingdom, and from thence send for them, who were their superiors, and more powerful in numbers. The other party, though they had not imperiously commanded, but only humbly requested their concurrence, yet, to take away the least colour of arrogance that might be imputed to them, they prevailed with the ministers of the churches to write jointly to them all, and to each in particular, that they should not be wanting to the public peace in so dangerous and critical a juncture; but, setting aside private animosities, consult upon what was most expedient for the public benefit. These letters did no more good with the contrary faction, than those of the nobles had before; they all making the same excuses, as if it had been purposely so agreed between them. Afterwards, the queen's faction met together in many places, but finding no means to accomplish their designs, they all separated, and dispersed in several directions. Meanwhile, the avengers of the public paricide dealt with the queen, whom they could not separate from the concerns of the murderers, to resign her government, on the pretence of sickness, or any other specious excuse, and to commit the care of her son, and the administration of public affairs, to which of the nobles she pleased. At last, with much difficulty, she appointed, as governors to the child, James earl of Murray, (provided, on his return home, he would accept the charge,) James duke of Castleherault, Matthew earl of Lennox, Gillespie earl of Argyle, John earl of Athol, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencairn, and John earl of Marr. Moreover, they sent proxies to see the king placed on his royal throne, and so to enter in the government, either at Stirling, or any other place, as they might think fit. This happened on the 25th of July, in the year of our Lord 1567; a little before which day, James earl of Murray, hearing how matters went at home, returned through France, where he was very nobly entertained at court; though Hamilton was far better received, which was occasioned chiefly by the Guises, who were averse to all Murray's designs, and knew that the faction of the other was more in their favour. After Murray was dismissed, the bishop of Glasgow, who called himself the ambassador of the queen of Scots, told the court, that James, though absent, yet was the chief of the conspirators; and that, as in former times all things were acted by his influence, so now he was sent for to be the head of the whole party. Hereupon they were sent after him to bring him back; but he, having had proper caution from his friends, set sail immediately from the haven of Dieppe, where he was before the king's letters came, and arriving in England, was honourably entertained by persons of all ranks and degrees, and so set out homewards. There he was received with the highest congratulation and joy of all the people, especially of those who were the avengers of the murder, and they earnestly desired him to undertake the government, whilst the king, his master's son, was yet a child; for that he alone was able to manage that great trust with the least envy, because of his propinquity in blood, his known valor in many dangers, his great popularity grounded on his deserts; and, that was still more, at the desire of the queen herself. He, though he knew that they spoke was true, yet desired a few days for deliberation, before he gave in his answer. In the mean time, he wrote earnestly to the heads of the other faction, and chiefly to Argyle, as being his relation, and one whom he was very loath to offend, for the sake of former acquaintance. He told him what posture things were, and what the infant king's party had desired of him, and therefore entreated him, by their nearness of blood, by their ancient friendship, and by the common welfare of their country, to give him an

opportunity of speaking with him, that so, by his assistance, they and the realm might be delivered out of the present difficulties. He also wrote to the rest, according to every one's place and interest; desiring of them all, since matters were in such confusion, that there was no likelihood of coming to any solid settlement without a chief magistrate, that they would agree to meet together, as soon as might be, in a place which they should judge most convenient, and so, by common consent, settle the public affairs and the administration. But being unable to obtain a meeting from the nobles, or to procure any longer delay of a convention from the other, he was at length, with the unanimous consent of all there present, elected Regent.

*JAMES VI. the Hundred-and-eighth King, began his Reign A. D. 1567.*

On the 29th of August, after an excellent sermon preached by John Knox, James, the sixth of that name, began his reign; James, earl of Morton, and Alexander Home, taking the oath for him, that he would observe the laws and promising, in his name, that he would observe that doctrine, and the rites of religion, which were then publicly taught and practised, and oppose the contrary. Not many days after this, Hamilton's partisans began to murmur, that a few persons, and those too who were none of the most powerful, without their consent, and contrary to their expectation, engrossed all things into their own hands. When they had tried the nobility one by one, and found few of their opinion except those who first came in to them, many chose rather to be spectators than actors of what was done; they at length wrote to the royalists, that Argyll was ready to hold a meeting, for a conference with the earl of Murray. These letters being directed to a nobleman, without any higher title of honour, were, by the council's advice, rejected, and the messenger dismissed, in effect, without an answer. Mr. Argyll, knowing that he had offended in subscribing his letters, and trusting to the fidelity of the regent, came, with a few of the heads of his faction, to Edinburgh, where, after he was fully satisfied that it was not out of their choice those noblemen who were absent, but mere absolute necessity, what he caused them to make such haste in choosing a chief magistrate, he appeared a few days after in the public convention of the estates.

## BOOK XIX.

WHEN the king was recognized, and the power of the regent was almost settled, there was some quiet, and a respite from the force of arms; yet no peace stood on a tender and tottering foundation; for the public mind was still in a ferment, and the indignation of the people, which could not be so easily appeased, seemed to portend some sudden mischief. In this great uncertainty of affairs, all men's thoughts and eyes were turned and fixed upon what would be done by the ensuing parliament; the time of whose sitting was on the 25th of August, where the assembly was so numerous, that no one ever before remembered such a concourse. There the authority of the regent was confirmed; but they differed in their opinions about the queen; for it appeared by many testimonies and proofs, especially from her own letters to Bothwell, that the whole plot of the bloody deed was laid by her. Some, moved by the heinousness of the crime, and others, who had been privy to it with her, were for getting rid of her, lest they should themselves suffer the utmost extremity of the law; but the majority agreed that she should be only sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. After the rising of parliament, the winter was spent in settling judicatories, and punishing delinquents. The ambassadors of the French and English courts had each an audience, and both desired to see the queen; but she being a prisoner on a public account, it was denied them. Bothwell alone being now in arms, some were sent with a squadron to take him as he was committing acts of piracy near the Orkneys and the Isles of Shetland. The public stock, however, was at so low an ebb, that they were forced to borrow money of James Douglas, earl of Morton, to repay

the ships; so that his private purse, at that time, bore the burden of the public charge. Bothwell deemed himself in a manner secure there, because the rigour of the weather, and the winter-tempests then raging in those seas, made the islands inaccessible to a fleet; as also, because he knew the treasury, which he had himself exhausted, could not supply money to fit out a naval force. He was, therefore, very near being surprised by the sudden coming of William Kirkcaldy, of Grange, who commanded the squadron. Some of his company were taken, but he escaped himself, with a few more, to the opposite side of the island, amongst the shallows and fords, where great ships could not follow him, and then he sailed to Denmark: where, on his arrival, not being able to give a good account of whence he came, nor whither he was bound, he was taken into custody, and afterwards, being known by some merchants, he was put under close confinement. Here he remained in a noisome prison for the space of ten years, which, with other miseries, made him go distracted; and thus he came to a most ignominious death, suitable to his vile and wicked course of life.

At the beginning of the next spring, the regent determined to make a progress over the whole kingdom, to settle courts of justice, in order to repair and amend what had gone amiss, as well as to restore equity, which was on the point of being turned into a wrong channel, by the tumults of proceeding wars. This proceeding of his was variously interpreted, according to men's several humours and dispositions; the adverse faction declaimed every where against the regent's severity, or, as they termed it, cruelty, which was deemed dreadful enough to those persons who, by reason of the greatness of their offences, could not endure to be regulated by the law, because they had been habituated and bred up to licentiousness in former times. These men, therefore, were anxiously desirous to see the queen at liberty, some for the sake of rewards, and others of impunity. Thus many were drawn over to the opposite faction, and among them even some of those who had served as instruments in her capture and imprisonment.

Maitland, who now favoured the queen's affairs, had been an inveterate enemy to Bothwell, whom he looked upon as a vile and mischievous man, and would have cut his throat; and when he had no hopes of overthrowing him as long as she was alive, he in parliament inclined to those who would have had her punished according to law. James Belfour was in the like case, and imagined Bothwell to be his implacable foe. Yet neither of these two is thought innocent in the matter of the king's death; but when Bothwell was taken, and kept prisoner in Denmark, they applied their thoughts wholly to the deliverance of the queen; not only because they expected an indemnity for their common crime more easily from her; but also because they thought that she who had made away with her husband, would do little better with her son, whose infancy, and the shadow of his royal name, was that on which kept her from the throne. Besides, they judged it also for their security, for fear the son should come to the kingdom, and prove the danger of his father's death. Besides, there were no obscure surmises, that the queen's mind was not much set against such an attempt; as she was to be heard to say, that her son would not be long-lived; for that she had been told by a skillful astrologer at Paris, that her first-born would not live above year; and it is thought that she herself came once to Stirling, with corresponding hopes, intending to bring the child with her to Edinburgh. John Kilmorie, governor of the castle, suspecting her design, not only refused to deliver the child to be taken out of his hands; but made a great part of the difficulty likewise, then met at Stirling, bind themselves by oath to maintain the young prince in safety.

Moreover, the Hamiltons were extremely strenuous for the liberty of the queen; thinking that if her son could be removed out of the way by her means, they should be themselves one degree nearer to the crown; after which, it would be no hard task to take her off also, because, as she was already hated by every one for her crimes, they expected, that having once been stopped in her way, she would afterwards give a greater loose to the reins, and more elasticity to her cruelty. Argyle and Huntly, of whom the one had a daughter and the other a wife of the family of the Hamiltons, cherished these



hopes, and wished them good success; but they had also particular views of their own, to incline them in so doing; for neither of them was considered as wholly ignorant or guiltless of the queen's enmities. William Murray of Tullibardine, also, being quite averse to the regent, both by reason of his different opinion in point of religion, and likewise his having a private grudge against him, though he had been highly servicable in taking the queen; yet did not only revolt from the royal party himself, but drew several of his friends over with him, by the temptation of considerable rewards. These were the principals for the deliverance of the queen: but there were many others who fell in with their party, whom either domestic animosity, private grudges, desire of revenge, hope of bettering their fortune, or the propinquity or obligation to the said leaders, engaged to that side.

In this troublesome state of affairs, the regent was equally immersed against the entreaties of his friends and the threats of his enemies, torn by the public libels which the latter posted up and down, he well knew because of their hatred, and their desire of revenge. Some astrologers, who were acquainted with the plots designed against him, had foretold that he would not live beyond a certain day; notwithstanding which prediction he persisted in his purpose, often saying, "that he knew well enough he would die one time or other; and that he could not lay down his life more nobly or honourably, than by securing the tranquillity of his native country."

In the first place, therefore, he summoned a convention of the estates at Glasgow, whither the people of Lennox, Renfrew, and Clydesdale, were commanded to come; and whilst he was busied there, in the administration of justice, and in the punishment of offenders, the plot that had been so long in agitation for the deliverance of the queen, took effect in the following manner. Within the castle of Lochleven, where the queen was kept, there were Murray's mother, three brothers of his by another father, and several others; yet none were admitted to visit the royal prisoner, but such as were well known, or that came by the regent's order. Out of these domestic attendants the queen made choice of George Douglas as fittest for her purpose. He was the youngest brother of the regent, and a young man ingenuous enough, but owing to his age, apt to be imposed upon by female artifices. He being admitted to some degree of familiarity with the queen, under the pretext of attending her in such sports as courts at idle times refresh themselves with, undertook to corrupt a few of the meaner servants of the castle by gifts and promises; and she having intrusted the management of that point to him, did not deny anything to such a person, from whom she expected her liberty. George then having obtained from her a promise of indemnity for himself and his partisans, and being farther stimulated by the prospect of great wealth and power, did, not without the consent of his mother, as was verily thought, at that ever he could to accomplish the undertaking. Now, though some persons suspected the design, and acquainted the regent with it, yet his confidence in those he had placed there was such, that he changed none of the old guard and only ordered George to leave the island. Upon this he departed to the next village on the border of the loch; where, as he had already corrupted the officers of the castle with money, he in a manner enjoyed a free communication with the queen by letters than he had before. The plot being thus formed, there were not only admitted to a partnership in it, those Scots who stood affected with the present state of things, but the French also, through the intrigues of James Hamilton, who had been regent some years before, and James Beton, archbishop of Glasgow. The Scots, it seems, were to do the work, and the French were to pay the wages.

About the end of April, an ambassador came from France, and, in the name of his sovereign, desired leave to visit the queen, affirming, that if he did so obtain his request, he would presently depart the kingdom. The regent told him, that what he required was not in his power to grant; for that the queen was not made prisoner by him, neither could he determine any thing in the case, without consulting those who had first committed her, and those others who had afterwards confirmed by an act of parliament what was done. Nevertheless, he said that he would gratify his sister, and the king his father as far as possible, for which purpose he would call an assembly of the nobles.

on the 20th of the following month. With this answer the ambassador appeared somewhat pacified, and the regent went on with his courts of judicatory, of which the queen took advantage by bribing the master of a boat, and while her other attendants were absent about small messages, was conveyed out of the castle. Her escape being made known to those who were at dinner in the castle, they made a great stir, but to little purpose; for all the boats were drawn up on the shore, and the holes for the oars stopped up, so that no speedy pursuit could be made. There were horsemen in readiness to receive the queen on the other side of the loch, who carried her to the several houses of the partisans in the design; and on the day after, which was the 8th of May, she went to Hamilton, a town eight miles distant from Glasgow. As soon as her arrival there became known, she was joined by many, some out of distrust of the king's party; others in hopes of gaining the queen's favour; and a third set, though part of them had obtained forgiveness for what had past, were but loose adherents to the regent, and watched eagerly to profit by the turn of fortune. The defection of others was not so much wondered at; but the revolt of Robert Boyd, who till that day had obtained a great reputation for his firmness, gave occasion to general discourse. He was brought up (as hath been already related in the life of king James III.) on the ruins of a noble family, parsimoniously and meanly, under his father, who was a valiant man, and a strenuous maintainer of the ancient frugality. He followed the same course of life as the rest of his relations, namely, that of applying himself to richer families, in order to repair his own fortune, and to restore his noble house, that was so lately flourishing, but now in decay, to its ancient estate and dignity. For this end his father and he first associated themselves with the Hamiltons, who were then at the head of affairs, but on the termination of their regency, and the settlement of the chief magistracy in the queen-dower, and when the controversies about religion first arose, the younger Boyd joined the reformers, to whom the elder bore a mortal aversion. As that faction was accounted the most potent, he adhered to it till the queen came out of France; inasmuch that his great renown for constancy, fortitude, and prudence, endeared him so much to Gillespie, earl of Argyle, that he would scarcely do any thing without his advice. When some of the nobles associated at Stirling, not for any treasonable project, but only to defend the king, he also subscribed the league; notwithstanding which, both he and Argyle, who was guided by his counsel, shewed great inconsistency, in discovering the whole intrigue to the queen, whose cause, from that time forward, Boyd supported in all her designs against his old friends; but though he obtained a great reputation with her party, he was accounted an inconstant man, and a trimmer, and turncoat, by those whom he had deserted. But no sooner was the queen committed to prison, than Boyd made his application to Murray the regent, who respected him so much for his industry and ingenuity, that he admitted him into his cabinet council; and though several reflections were made upon him, yet he rose in high favour with the regent at Glasgow, in his juridical processes. When however he perceived that hostilities were likely to break out, he went off privately to the queen, and sent from thence a letter to the earl of Morton by his son, excusing his departure, and alleging that he might probably do the royalists as much service there as if he had sided with them. This desertion, by reason of the good opinion which many had of his conversation and manners, excited much observation.

In the mean time, the regent had a hot debate with the council, whether they should continue where they were, or else go forward to the king at Stirling. Many were of opinion, that it was not prudent to remain, and they urged arguments for it; as, that the town of Hamilton which lay near them was full of inhabitants; that all the clanships of that most numerous family were circumjacent; that the queen had with her five hundred horse, and that, according to report, great numbers were flocking to her from distant parts; while there were only a few of his own friends with the regent, the rest having gone over to the opposite side, or had privately returned home about their own affairs, as if all things had been quiet. They added, that though the inhabitants of Glasgow were faithful enough, as being provoked by the many and great injuries which they had received from the Hamiltons when in

power; yet that the town, notwithstanding its magnitude, was far from populous, and was accessible in every part. On the other hand, there were some who argued that all depended on the first beginning of things; that their departure would be dishonourable, and have the appearance of running away; and that all suspicion of fear ought to be carefully avoided, because it would encourage their enemies and dishearten their friends. They said, that, on the one side were the Cunninghams and the Semple, two potent families; and on the other, Lennox, the king's peculiar patrimony, from whence the nearest neighbours might come to them within the space of a few hours; and the rest either on the next day, or at most on the following one; till when, and the arrival of further aid, they had strength enough, especially as they could rely on the assistance of the inhabitants. This last advice prevailed with the council.

The French ambassador posted betwixt both parties, rather as a spy than in the character of a peace-maker, which he pretended to bear; for, perceiving that there was at first in Glasgow but a small force, and an appearance of a great multitude at Hamilton, he earnestly urged the queen to risk a battle without delay. The regent had now gathered a party from the neighbourhood, and looked for more from a greater distance, particularly Merse and Lothian. Being joined by about six hundred choice and resolute men, he gave them one day to refresh themselves, and then determined to march out to Hamilton, and engage the enemy immediately; for he knew that precipitation would be soon dangerous to him, and advantageous to the enemy, who had most friends in the remote parts of the kingdom. Two days after, he was informed, about the third watch, that the enemy was drawing together from all places where they quartered. Trusting in their number, which consisted of about six thousand five hundred fighting men, while the regent had scarce four thousand; they resolved to march by Glasgow, leaving the queen in Dumbarton castle, thereby securing the option, either to fight, or lengthen out the war as they pleased. They determined, however, that if the regent should be bold enough to intercept their passage, which they believed he durst not do, they would then give him battle, in full confidence of victory. But he, having already formed the intention of provoking them to combat as soon as he could, drew out his men into the open field before the town, at the very part where he thought the enemy would come, and there waited for them in military order for some hours. But when he saw their troops on the other side of the river, he presently understood their design, and commanded his foot to cross the bridge, and his horse to ford the stream, which they could easily do, it being then low water, and so proceed to Langside, a village by the river Cart, where the enemy had to pass, situated at the foot of a hill, which looked to the south-west. On the east and north the passage was steep, but on the other side there was a gentle descent into a plain. Thither the king's party hastened with such speed, that they gained the hill before the enemy, who aimed at possessing the same place, perceived their object, though they marched thither by a nearer cut. But the royalists met with two advantages, which was a great discouragement to their opponents; one, that Gillespie Campbell, earl of Argyll, who commanded in chief, fell suddenly down from his horse, sick, and by his fall much delayed the march of his party. The other, that as the queen's forces, being placed here and there in little valleys, could never see all their antagonists at one view, they took their number, which indeed was far from great, to be smaller than it really was; and in that belief they both despised the foe, and neglected the advantage of the place. But when the queen's forces drew nigh, and saw the ground, where they intended to occupy, in the possession of the enemy, they moved to another little hill over against them, where they divided their party into two bodies. Their chief reliance they placed in the first division, knowing that if they could overthrow their adversaries there, the rest would be dissipated at their flight, and so retreat without fighting. The king's party also divided themselves into two wings. James Douglas, earl of Morton, Robert Semple, Alexander Home, Patrick Lindsay, each with his clanship, were placed on the right; and on the left stood John, earl of Marr, Alexander, earl of Glencairn, William, earl of Monteith, and the citizens of Glasgow. The ene-

leeters were in the village and gardens below, near the highway. Both armies being thus arranged in order of battle, the queen's cannoneers and foot were soon driven from their positions by the king's forces; but on the other side, the cavalry of the latter, who were inferior in numbers to the enemy by one half, were beaten back. After performing this service, they endeavoured also to break the battalions of foot, by charging directly up the hill, but were repulsed by the king's archers, and by some of those who, after their rout, had rallied again, and joined the rest of their body. In the mean time, the left wing of the enemy marched by the highway, where there was a rising ground lower down into the valley, and though they were galled by the king's musketeers, yet passing through those straits, they opened and ranged in good order. There it was that the two battalions held out a thick stand of pikes, as a breastwork before them, and fought most desperately for half an hour, without giving ground on either side. Such was their ferocity, that they, whose long pikes were broken, threw daggers, stones, pieces of their lances, and whatever they could get, into the faces of their adversaries. At this period, some of the hindermost of the king's forces, whether out of fear or treachery is uncertain, began to run; and their flight would no doubt have much disordered those who stood firm, had not the ranks been so thick, that those in front could not know what took place in the rear. Upon this, the second battalion, seeing the danger of the others, and perceiving no enemy coming to attack themselves, sent some whole troops to wheel to the right, and join the first, which was done so effectually, that the adverse party could not stand the charge, but were wholly defeated and put to the rout. In the pursuit, the victors were so enraged against them, that there would have been a great destruction made of the fugitives, had not the regent sent out the horse in several directions to prevent slaughter. The second squadron of the royalists stood firm, till they saw the enemy scattered and flying in a disorderly manner, when they in like manner broke their ranks, and engaged in the pursuit. The queen, who had taken her station about a mile from the place to see the battle, after the rout, fled with some horse of her party, that had escaped, towards England; but the rest of her adherents ran away, as well as they could, to their respective homes. There were but few killed in the field, but many in the pursuit, for being wearied and wounded, they lay all along the highways and fields. The number of the slain was about three hundred, and more were taken prisoners. Of the king's forces there was not one man killed, and not many wounded; among whom, of the chief commanders were Alexander Home and Andrew Stuart. The rest of the army, except a few horse, who pursued very far, returned joyfully into the town; where, after returning thanks to almighty God, for supporting their just cause against the superior number of their enemies, and for giving them, in a manner, an unbloody victory, they mutually congratulated one another, and went to dinner. This battle was fought on the 13th of May, 1608, eleven days after the queen's escape out of prison.

The French ambassador, who had waited the event of the fight, in eager assurance of a victory on the side of the queen; being thus disappointed of his hopes, laid aside his mask, and, without taking any leave of the regent, to whom he pretended to have been sent, got a party of horse to escort him; and, with what speed he could, made for England. In the way he was robbed by moss-troopers; but James Douglas, laird of Drumlanrig, though he knew him to be one of the enemies' party, had such deference to the honour and title of an ambassador, that he caused his property to be restored. The regent passed the rest of the day of battle in taking a list of the prisoners; some he discharged unconditionally, and others upon sureties; but the chief commanders were retained, especially those of the Hamilton family, and sent to prison. The day after, knowing how much that clan was hated in the neighbourhood, he took only five hundred horse, commanding the remainder of his army to stay in their quarters, and went into the vale of Clydesdale, where he found it places naked and desolate, the inhabitants having run away, being too conscious to themselves of what they deserved, than to confide in the regent's clemency, which they had before experienced. He took the castles of Hamilton and Driffen, which were in fact destitute: and in the former he

only found some of the furniture that had belonged to the household of king James V. The same fear and terror forced the queen into England, either because she thought no place in that part of Scotland safe enough for her, or else that she durst not trust John Maxwell of Herries.

The regent having settled all things as well as he could, now proceeded to summon an assembly of the estates, to be held at Edinburgh; but in the mean time the disaffected party endeavoured by various means to hinder the meeting. Among other things, they spread abroad rumours, of aid from France, nor were these reports altogether groundless; for some troops were drawn down to the sea-coast there, under the command of the count Martignac, a man of the family of Luxembourg. These forces were intended to have been transported with all speed into Scotland; and they would have been so, had not a civil war suddenly broken out in France. This promised assistance to the party of the queen, however, would not have been so prejudicial to the regent as his enemies thought; for it would certainly have alienated England from them, and engaged it on his side. At this time, Argyle, with six hundred of his clan, came to Glasgow, where he had a conference with the Hamiltonians, and other leaders of that faction, for the purpose of preventing the assembly of the convention; but finding no way to effect it, they returned home. Hastily having collected one thousand foot by the day of the sitting of parliament, came as far as Perth, but perceiving that the ford of the river Tay were guarded by William Ruthven, and the neighbouring nobility, who continued loyal to the king, he retired without doing any thing of consequence.

About the same time the adverse party prevailed with the queen of England to send letters to the regent to put off the meeting of parliament. She expressed a wish that judgment might not be hastened concerning the rebels: she should be made acquainted with the whole cause; adding, that she could not well bear the injury and affront which the queen, her neighbour and near kinswoman, complained of having received from her subjects. Though the request was but small of itself, yet the grant of it at the instance of the rebels would have emboldened them to make further advances; and the trifling or delay have encouraged them to take advantage of the apparent weakness, to call a convention in the name of the queen. The regent therefore, being sensible how important it was to have the parliament sitting, since all the power of the enemy had combined against it, resolved to keep the day of appointment. In that session there was a great debate, whether all those who had taken arms against the king, and had not obtained pardon, should be condemned as traitors, and have their goods confiscated. But William Marshall who secretly favoured the rebels, succeeded in limiting the condemnation to a few only at present, as an example to the rest, and in leaving a door of clemency open to others, on their repentance. This procedure wonderfully encouraged the conspirators, and increased their obstinacy: for when they saw their punishment deferred, they flattered themselves with the persuasion that neither Elizabeth of England, who was their own queen's neighbour and kinswoman, nor the Guisea, who were then very powerful in the French court, nor the king of France himself, would suffer this eclipse and degradation to be made of majesty. Nay, so resolute was the party, that they felt confident in case these hopes failed, to be able to maintain their cause without foreign aid, as being superior in number and power to their adversaries. They insisted, in short, that nothing was wanting to the victory, but the empty shadow of the royal name, which was, they said, usurped by force.

In the mean time, the regent attended only to the public tranquillity. Some of the neighbouring offenders he fined in small sums, and then took them into his favour. The earl of Rothes, by the intercession of his friends, was banished for three years. As for the rest, the regent daily, by his agents, solicited them to yield, and come in; but perceiving that many of them continued obstinate, and were bent upon revenge, he levied an army, and marched into Annandale, Nithdale, and Lower Galloway, where he took some castles, and put garrisons into them; others, whose owners were more refractory, he demolished, and in a short time he would have over-run the whole country, had not letters from the queen of England interrupted the course of his victories.

Being persuaded by the exiles, that the queen of Scots had received much injury, and that her ill-affected subjects had laid unjust imputations on her; she declared her resolution not to suffer the royal name to be brought so low, or majesty to be treated with such contempt, as to be exposed to the will of the seditious: that the wrong of this great wickedness redounded only to one, but that the example concerned all; and therefore she desired they would apply some speedy remedy, to put a stop to the dethroning of princes." Having written letters to this purpose, against the avengers of the king's murder, she desired of the regent, "That he would send commissioners to her, with information of the state of the whole matter, and answers to those crimes or reproaches which were alleged against himself." This demand seemed very grievous and offensive, that things already judged should be called again in question, in a new and hazardous trial, and that too before foreign princes, who are oftentimes actuated by jealousy, and their minds prepossessed by adversaries. But it was particularly hard that a man should have, as it were, to plead for his own life before a foreign judicature. Though the case was extremely dangerous and galling, yet there were many reasons to induce the regent to comply with the proposal, however contrary to equity. Abroad, the cardinal of Lorraine, the queen's uncle, ruled all France; and at home, a great part of the nobility were leagued in favour of the queen; and if the English sovereign were disobliged too, then it was clear that the regent would have no force to withstand such mighty difficulties. Thus circumstanced, he resolved to send ambassadors, but could not tell whom to pitch upon, for the chief of the nobility declined the employment. At last, he determined to go himself, and chose proper persons to attend him; amongst whom was William Maitland, who was very reluctant to go; but the regent, knowing him to be a factious person, and inclinable to the queen's party, did not think it safe to leave him behind, whilst things were in such a doubtful condition at home; and therefore persuaded him, by great promises and rewards, to accompany him, having no doubt but that he should overcome his avaricious mind with large presents. Of the rest, who went very willingly, the chief were, James Douglas and Patrick Lindsay of the nobility; of the clergy, the bishop of the Orkneys, and the abbot of Dunfermline; of lawyers, James Macgill, and Henry Balnavey, to whom he added a ninth, namely, George Buchanan. Though the regent found himself in these embarrassing circumstances, yet two things relieved his mind: one was, the equity of his cause; the other, the assurance contained in the last letters he received from the English potentate, that, if the crimes alleged against the queen of Scots were proved, she should judge her unworthy to hold the sceptre any longer. The regent being somewhat heartened by these letters, began his journey, attended by above one hundred horse. Though he had certain intelligence brought him, that the earl of Westmoreland, at the command of the duke of Norfolk, watched to intercept him, before he could reach York, which was the place appointed for the conference; thither he came on the 4th of October, and on the same day, and nearly at the same hour, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, entered the city. The cause of laying the ambush was, that the duke by secret correspondence, had engaged in a matrimonial treaty with the queen of Scots, who, in order to clear away the suspicion of the king's murder, more easily resolved, if the regent could be despatched, to return home, and suppress the letters she had written to Bothwell, which contained a manifest discovery of the whole affair. But, as the duke was so near, she could not accomplish this object without bringing him into danger, and involving him in the infamy of so cruel a murder, and therefore the plot was deferred till another opportunity. Besides Norfolk, there were appointed two other commissioners by the queen of England, to hear and determine the controversy of the Scots; namely, the earl of Sussex, who inclined to Howard's party, as it was commonly reported, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who was an indifferent and impartial person. Within a few days there came messengers from the queen of Scots, complaining of her disobedient subjects, and desiring help of the queen of England, to enable her to return home without delay. These persons, who had their hearing apart from the regent and his attendants, began with a protest that they came not before

the commissioners as to judges possessing a lawful authority over them ; then they made a long harangue about the wrongs which their queen had received from her people ; and concluded with entreating the queen of England to persuade their ungrateful fellow-subjects to submit to their lawful sovereign, or, in case of their refusal, to supply her with an army to enforce obedience. After some few hours the regent was called to a hearing. He stood upon the equity of his cause, and referred it to impartial judges ; pleading, that the royalists had done nothing but what was agreeable to the ancient laws and customs of their nation, and that, too, ratified and approved of in full parliament ; and that he, being a single person, with his few associates, could not abrogate any thing that had been enacted by the common consent of all the estates in parliament. Upon this, the English commissioners told him that they could not be satisfied with those statutes which were made in their parliaments at home, and were now produced, unless the reasons that moved the nobility to pass such a severe judgment against the queen were also brought forward. The regent was unwilling to do this, because he did not wish to divulge the foul offences of the queen, who was besides his sister, and he was particularly reluctant to make such a disclosure amongst foreigners, who were forward enough to hear these charges. He therefore refused to comply, unless upon this condition, that if he made good the accusation against the queen, of having killed her husband, then the queen of England should stipulate and promise to defend the cause of the young king, and take him, as it were, under her protection. But when the English commissioners replied, that they had only authority to hear the complaints on both sides, and then to lay the whole matter before their queen, the regent again urged them either to obtain such a promise from their sovereign, or else to procure for themselves an extension of powers fully to decide the controversy. In that case he pledged himself, if he did not make it evidently appear that the king was murdered by his wife's means, he would submit to the vilest degradation or punishment due to crimes the most flagrant and enormous. The commissioners having written to the queen to know her mind herein, received for answer, " That the Scots of the king's party should send one or more of their number to her court, who might fully acquaint her with the merits of their cause, and then she would consider what was fit for her to do." Upon this, the regent sent William Maitland, of whom many sinister opinions daily arose, and James Macgill, not so much to be his assistant in public business, as to observe his notions. The circumstances which caused Maitland to be suspected were these, amongst many others. Before his journey into England, though he earnestly endeavoured to conceal his designs, yet by his words and actions, and great familiarity with the men of the adverse party, and further, by his letters to the queen of Scots, and which were intercepted, they could not be stifled. In those letters he endeavoured to persuade the queen, that his service might yet be useful to her, using the simile of the lion in the fable, who, being taken in a net, was freed by such mean animals as rats. And even after he came to York, there was scarcely a night that he did not meet the chief messengers of the opposite party, with whom he had consultations, and imparted to them the designs of the regent. The latter did not interpose to prevent these meetings, for he knew that thereby he should do no good, and only make the parties more cautious and secret. Though there were manifest proofs of the treachery of Maitland, yet there now happened an undeniable demonstration of it. Norfolk and he went abroad under the pretence of hunting, where, after a great deal of discourse concerning the whole affair, they came to this agreement between themselves, to protract and delay the business if possible, in such a manner, that while the cause appeared to go on, nothing should be done. By this means it was thought that the regent would be obliged to depart without effecting what he came for : or else be forced to hasten his return in consequence of some intestine commotion ; which procrastination would produce other advantages to Norfolk, who was at this time plotting a civil war, how to take off the one queen, and marry the other.

Maitland communicated this to John Leslie, bishop of Ross, who was intimately acquainted with all the queen's affairs, and he took care to inform his mistress by letter, how the duke would have her write to court what course

to steer for the future ; and that though her cause went on but slowly, yet the delay should not hinder her from expecting a good issue. The queen, having read these letters, laid them by as loose papers, so that they came to be read by others ; and from hand to hand, were at last brought to the regent, who by them discovered the whole of his adversary's designs against him ; but as for Maitland, he had experienced his perfidiousness many times before.

When the ambassadors already mentioned came to the English queen at London, she and her council thought it best that the regent himself should come up and speak in person to the points in question. Upon this, he dismissed part of his retinue, and with the rest proceeded to London. Here however he met with the same difficulty that he had experienced at York : for he refused to enter upon the accusation of his sister, on any other condition than that, if he proved her guilty, the queen of England would take the party of the Scottish king into her protection. He offered, that if she would do this, he would enter upon the accusation immediately, and on the same terms as he had proposed to the delegates at York. Whilst these things were taking place in London, the queen of Scots, by means of James Balfour, endeavoured to raise commotions at home ; and, the more easily to accomplish her designs, she wrote letters to all the exiles, and among the rest to Bothwell's friends, urging them to unite their efforts in harassing the opposite faction by force of arms. Besides this, she nominated lieutenants through all the kingdom, to whom she gave even regal power, and she even caused rumours to be spread abroad, that the regent and his companions were committed prisoners to the Tower of London. Foreseeing, however, that this story could not long be credited, she devised another tale, that the regent had promised to reduce Scotland to a state of submission to the crown of England ; and that, for the accomplishment of it, he was to give up the king as a security. It is thought her design in this was, that having promised the very same things by her commissioners, without meeting with any encouragement from the English, who looked upon it as a vanity in her, seeing she had no power to perform what she offered ; she was now eager to prepossess the minds of the vulgar with an untruth, in order to raise an odium against the regent ; so that if she could not turn the whole reproach from herself, yet at least she might compel her adversaries to bear a part of it with her.

The regent finding himself thus involved in difficulties, resolved to hasten his return ; to which he was also impelled at the earnest solicitation of the English, who wished for more accurate information concerning the proceedings in Scotland, without which they could determine nothing. He was also desirous to give satisfaction to the queen of England, whom at that time he could not offend without great prejudice to his interest ; and he was likewise no less anxious to return on his own account, that he might extinguish the flame of civil war in its beginning, which he could not well do, unless the English queen was his friend, or remained neutral. Induced by these motives, he first entered a protest before the privy-council ; stating, that it was not willingly, but by the importunity of his enemies, that he was compelled to accuse his queen and sister of so horrid a crime before strangers ; that he did not do it from any inclination to impeach her, but out of necessity to clear himself ; that he was very reluctant to discover those things which he wished, if possible, might be covered in perpetual oblivion ; and therefore, that if any reflection should be made on what he did, the approbrium ought to be turned to light upon those who would not suffer him to remain as he had always striven to do ;—that is, to obey his prince cheerfully, when good, and to reprove him or her against his will, when evil. One thing only he desired, that the queen's proxies, who had forced him to that charge, might be present to hear the crimes alleged ; that so, if the same were false, they might disprove them before the council ; and that he himself, in many weighty matters, might also make use of their evidence. The commissioners, because they had little confidence in their own cause, refused their assent to this, and insisted only on one point, that their mistress, who had been deprived and expelled by force of arms, might be restored. Upon this, a day was appointed for the regent to answer why the avengers of the king's murder had taken up arms, while he was himself in France ; and why they had deprived the queen of her



government; with many other things, which till that time they had done. When the regent came, he declared in order all things as they had been acted, and the testimonies made by the partisans of the king's murder, before these deaths: he also adduced the statute of parliament, which many of the regent's accusers had subscribed; and further, the silver cabinet was produced, which the queen received from her former husband Francis, and had bestowed on Bothwell, in which were letters to the latter, written in French with the queen's own hand, and a poem in the same language not indecantly composed. He also recapitulated the manner of the king's death, and what occurred subsequent thereto, namely, the abduction of the queen by Bothwell, and the three contracts of marriage with him; the one before the parson, written with her own hand, in which, as by a bill, she promised to marry him, as soon as ever she should be freed from her former husband; the other prior to the divorce from his former wife, written by Hume's hand; the third was openly made, a little before the marriage. When all these were produced, seen, and read before the council, the whole case was so plainly exposed, that no doubt could be made as to the author of the crime. Still though the queen of England could not refuse her belief of these discoveries she fluctuated in her mind. On the one hand there was emulation, the mutual hatred of the two royal personages to each other; and there were also such flagrant crimes, and evident proofs, that the English queen thought her kinswoman of Scotland deserved no assistance for her restoration; but on the other side, though her mind inclined to what was right, yet it was shaken by the remembrance of her former state, and by the commiseration of her present condition. Besides this, the majesty of royal honour, and a fear lest the example of deposing princes might spread into the neighbouring kingdoms, wrought much upon her; and she had also her apprehensions of France, the peace with which country was not very sure or firm, and especially at that time, when the ambassador of that court daily pleaded the cause of the banished queen. The Spanish minister had been likewise desirous to interpose his mediation; but the foulness of the crime charged upon the deposed queen so deterred him, that he absolutely refused to meddle with it. The queen of England, therefore, that she might leave a door open for satisfaction, if matters should not succeed in France, and that she might avoid an open breach, gave a middle answer, so tempering it, that at present she said there appeared no proof to the contrary, but that all things had been acted according to the law and justice of Scotland. Yet, as if she deferred the complex decision till another time, she desired, that, seeing intestine tumults troubled the regent, he would leave her one of his retinue in his stead, to make answer to those crimes which might be charged against him in his absence. But the regent, who saw in this delay a design on the part of the queen to adopt such measures for giving sentence to her own advantage, and according to the state of foreign affairs, left no stone unturned, that he might have the cause fully and immediately determined; accordingly, he desired, as most just and equitable, that if his enemies, who had long studied to accuse him, had any thing to allege, they would now do so, and not watch for an opportunity to condemn him in his absence, seeing they refused to appear face to face. As he was well aware of the rumours which his opponents would come to be spread amongst the people; and knew what they had already said to some of the council and the French ambassador; he therefore earnestly desired of the council, to command them not to hold private consultations, but to declare openly what they had to say, for that, though he wanted to make haste home, he would gladly clear himself first, let his own or the public interest suffer what it would by his absence. Upon this the commissioners of the banished queen were sent for, and told, if they had any thing to advance against the regent and his associates, in reference to the king's murder, they should produce it. Their answer was, that they had nothing to say at present, but that they would bring forward their charges whenever they should be commanded by their queen so to do. The regent answered, that he was ever ready to give an account of all his actions, neither would he shun either time or place for that purpose. But as the queen had begun the crimination of him, he desired of his accusers there present, that, if any of them had the least thing to allege against him,

they would then declare it; for that it was much more honourable to produce it before so illustrious an assembly, than in private cabals to sully his fame in his absence. But this they also refused, and when the whole council reproached them loudly for it, they, one and all, were compelled to confess, that they knew nothing, of themselves, why Murray, or any of his friends, should be accused of the king's murder. Then, after a long dispute on both sides, the council was dismissed, and from that time no more mention was ever made of accusing the regent, or any of his companions.

Whilst the regent was thus necessarily detained in England, on the public account, the queen's faction tried every way, both at home and abroad, to raise disturbances; but without effect. James Hamilton, the regent in former years, being dissatisfied with the state of things in his native country, had gone into France, where he lived privately, with a servant or two to attend him, free from the hurry of all public business, and keeping little company. The escape of the queen of Scots from prison, her defeat in battle, and exile in England, produced a great emotion in the French, who being disappointed in their attempts to gain Murray over to their party when he passed through their country to his own; and not having the means of raising disturbances in Scotland by sending thither men and money, owing to their own intestine dissensions, turned their attention to Hamilton, as a fit competitor with the regent, especially at that time, when the latter with part of the nobility was absent. Accordingly, Hamilton was drawn out of his privacy, and accommodated with a small pecuniary supply, and many large promises. In his return through England, his friends persuaded him, that since the queen of the Scots, with her faction, favoured him, and the queen of England was not against him, he should apply to the latter, to exert her influence in getting Murray to resign the regency to him, on the plea that the office, by the law and consent of almost all nations, and especially by the custom of their own country, was due to him, as the next in blood. To prove this claim, they said was not necessary to make a laborious search into the records of ancient times; in which he might easily find, that princes, when minors, had always governors appointed for them out of the next of kin; as when Robert III. died, in the absence of James I. his uncle Robert managed the government, and his son Murdoch succeeded him:—that of late times, John duke of Albany was made governor to king James V. whilst he was under age; that even Hamilton himself had been regent some few years before Mary, the present queen, was of age fit either to rule or marry; that his exclusion from the office was not by any suffrages of a legal assembly, but unjustly by an act of rebellion; which indignity was increased by its being done in contempt of royal blood, and the setting up of a bastard in his room. It was further served, that the restoration of the honour to him would have the effect of settling the domestic troubles in a short time, and of placing the queen on her throne again without bloodshed. To all this the king's ambassadors answered, "That what Hamilton desired was in direct opposition to the laws and customs of their ancestors; but that, settling the legal question aside, it was absolutely unjust in itself; for our ancestors, (said they, taking into consideration the murder of princes by their kindred, about thirteen hundred years ago, did wholly change the method of their assemblies in electing a king. Thus in the family of Fergus, our first monarch, after the king's death, it was not the next of blood, but he who was found most fit, was chosen to succeed by suffrage. Kenneth III. that he might hinder all plots against princes by those of their own line, and also prevent the cruel and deadly dissensions of their kindred amongst themselves, made the decree of succession in force, for the next of blood to be substituted in the room of the deceased sovereign. When, however, men by experience found, that, in so great an inconstancy of fortune, it was scarcely possible but that sometimes the right of chief magistracy would fall on a child, or else on one unable to govern; therefore they decreed, that he who preceded others in power and arms, should undertake the administration of the government in the mean time; and our ancestors, by observing this course for almost six hundred years, have transmitted a kingdom safely down to ourselves. Thus, when King Bruce died, there succeeded regents chosen by most voices, as Thomas

Randolph earl of Murray; Donald earl of Marr, Andrew Murray, John Randolph, and Robert Stuart. Sometimes a single person, and at others more than one, were chosen by our public conventions to this office; as, when James II. was a child, Alexander Livingston obtained the appointment of governor, though he was in no degree related to that king in blood, neither was he so much as a nobleman, but a knight only, and more eminent for his wisdom than his family. And if any say, that it was for want of sense of the king's line, the excuse will not hold; for, at that very time, there was John Kennedy, the chief of his family, and his nephew by the sister of James I. a man very wise and virtuous; and there were also his uncles, James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, the most eminent person for virtue in the whole kingdom; together with his brother, Douglas earl of Angus; and also Archibald, earl of Douglas, not far removed from the royal stock, and as power almost equal to him, or at least superior to all others. Yet none of these ever complained of the injustice of our assemblies in choosing Livingston for guardian. And not long after, James III. had four tutors or guardians assigned him, who were not chosen on the account of their kindred, but elected by vote. And of late, John duke of Albany was sent for by the nobles out of France, to govern Scotland in the minority of king James V. and when he came, he was settled in the regency by a public statute, enacted in a convention of the estates, which was not done on the account of proximity of blood; for he had Alexander an elder brother, one perhaps inferior to him, yet of far greater merit than James Hamilton, who for a time affected that dignity. In the absence of James I. Robert his uncle managed the kingdom.—but by what right? Was he assigned that office on account of consanguinity? No. Was he elected by the people? No, nor that either. How was he then created? We will tell you. When king Robert III. was neither in body nor mind fit to discharge the royal functions, he set up Robert his brother in his stead, and commended his children to his care. This brother starved David the eldest son to death; and would have murdered James the younger, and had he not saved his life by flight. Being thus settled in the possession of the government, the king his brother dying for grief, he kept it without the consent of the people in parliament, and transmitted it to his son Murdoch. How Robert the preceding king stood affected towards his brother, is very plain; for, when he lay on his death-bed, he abominated and cursed him as the murderer of his children; wherefore it is plain, that if he had been in his right mind before, he would not have appointed him their guardian. But we are reminded, it seems, of that time, wherein, after the death of James V. Hamilton was made regent, as if all things done by him during that period had been legal. Now when cardinal Beton endeavoured by fraud to seize the chief magistracy, Hamilton crept into the vacant office rather out of the enmity which the people had to that prelate, than love to himself. Having gained the place, he ruled with great cruelty and avarice; and, not many years ago, he actually sold both that very post which he had procured by force, and the queen too, who had been committed to his care. In this we shewn what affection the people bore to him, when they preferred the government of a woman and a stranger, before that bitter slavery which they had suffered under him. From hence you cannot, as we suppose, but see, that this request of Hamilton is contrary to the laws of our country, and to the institutions of our ancestors. Nay, so repugnant is it thereto, that, for want of arguments to maintain it, he supports it only with falsehood. But even if there could be imagined any custom of this kind, all men must see how unjust it would be: for what can be more so, than to commit the innocent and weak age of the prince to the care of one, who either daily expects, or waits for, the death of his pupil;—to one, the whole of whose lineage hath borne, and still bears, great and lasting enmity to the reigning family? What safeguard, it may be asked, can there be here, in nearness of blood, against ancient hatred, griping avarice, and a strong propensity to the tyranny of which he hath already tasted? Laodice, queen of the Cappadocians, is reported to have slain her sons as they came of age, thus purchasing to herself a short enjoyment of supreme dominion, with the innocent blood of her own children. Now if a mother could thus destroy the fruit of her own womb,

only to reign a little longer, what shall we think old enemies will attempt, or rather, what will they not venture upon, when inflamed to cruelty by the stings of avarice, against a child, who is the only obstacle to their hopes of perpetual sovereignty? If this example seem old, obscure, and far-fetched, I will add some more striking ones nearer home. Who is so ignorant of modern history, as not to know how Galeacius Sforza\* was slain by his uncle Lodovico, though he was of age, and married, and the son-in-law, too, of a most powerful king? Who doth not know the calamities that followed upon that inhuman parricide? The beautiful country of Italy was almost made a wilderness; the family of Sforza, from whence so many valiant men had proceeded, was extinguished; and the barbarians were introduced into the pleasant country about the Po; which they completely ravaged and despoiled by their avarice and cruelty. Besides, who is there of the inhabitants of Great Britain, that hath not heard of the cruelty of Richard III. king of England, against his brother's children, and with how much blood that parricide was expiated? If men who in other respects were remarkable for their wisdom, did not fear to commit such things against their nearest in blood, excited only by an ambitious desire of sovereignty, what can be expected from him, whose inconstancy is already well known to all, and whose ill management of the government hath already cost us so much blood; whose family, not content with the murder of the present king's great-grandfather, always acted traitorously against his grandfather by the mother's side, as long as he lived; and then they could not kill the grandfather by the father's side, drove him, poor, out of the kingdom; next brought forth the father as a sacrifice to be slain; and sold to strangers the queen his mother, and the kingdom, because they could not enjoy it themselves. And afterwards, when, by the providence of God, she was delivered from that bondage, they cast her into those traits in which she is now involved. What judgment the subjects had of these things, may appear from this, that men seemed to themselves delivered from the prison of a most miserable bondage, and to taste the sweetness of liberty, when the Hamiltons disposed of the government, which they were no longer able to manage, to a woman and a stranger."

Upon hearing this oration, the queen of England, by her council, told Hamilton, that his demand was unjust, and she would not assist him in it. He further said, that she was desired, by the king's ambassadors, not to suffer him to depart, since he plotted nothing but sedition, till they also went; which request, as appearing very equitable, she had given her assent; and therefore charged him not to leave the country before that time. The banished queen at the same time encouraged her friends with the hopes of her speedy return; for some of her letters were intercepted, wherein she desired them to seize upon as many castles and fortified places as they could; and to spread the war as far as they were able: telling them, that they had no need to be alarmed by the report of a truce or accommodation; for that, if matters were so concluded in that manner, all previous offences would be forgiven, under the blessings of peace; but, if it should break out into open hostilities, the garrisons they had, the greater would be their opportunity of annoying the enemy.

When the regent had settled matters as well as he could in England, and obtained leave to return, he received several letters from Scotland, lately intercepted from queen Mary, wherein she complained, to her friends, that she was not treated by the queen of England according to her expectations, and the promises that had been made to her; which conduct she attributed to some courtiers, who were the cause of her not returning with an army, as she had been led to hope by the assurances of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding this, she trusted shortly to obtain a good issue by other means, (alluding to the negotiations carried on between her and Howard for a marriage,) and, therefore, she desired them not to be discouraged, but to increase the strength of her party, make a general disturbance, and, by all the arts they could, pre-

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This was Giovanni Galeasio Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, who was poisoned by his uncle Lodovico Sforza, called the Moor, in 1494. The usurper died in prison at Lyons, 1510.

vent the regent's return into Scotland. These letters transpiring, affected people differently. The queen of England took it amiss that she was accused of breach of promise; as also, that the conditions of the truce, which had been made by her means, were not kept; and therefore, being angry and enraged, she remitted much of her former favour to Mary, and was more inclined to equity than before. The English, however, who wished well to the regent, were afraid that his enemies would cut him off in his journey; for, the castles through which he had to pass, were, for the most part, inhabited by Roman Catholics, or thieves who infested the borders of both kingdoms, and were all excited to entertain hopes of a sudden change. It was so plain that these people had been tampered with to waylay him in his return, that several English courtiers offered to accompany him, for his security: but he was contented with his own retinue, and, about the thirteenth of January, began his journey. The queen of England, however, judging it to be for the national credit and honour that he should return in safety, had, of her own accord, written to the commanders and wardens of the marches, directing them, that when he came to places suspected, or noted for robbery, they should take care to ward off all danger. To these orders they paid strict attention, for strong guards of horse and foot were placed along the route, so that he arrived safe at Berwick; and the day after, which was the second of February, he was conducted into Edinburgh, to the great joy of his friends, who had assembled there in considerable numbers. At first his return was hardly believed by his enemies, false reports having been spread that he was a prisoner in the Tower of London; but when it was known for a certainty that he was actually in Edinburgh, those who had beset the highways to intercept passengers, liberated their prisoners and shipped away hence, so that, from a turbulent tempest, there immediately succeeded the greater calmness and tranquillity.

A few days afterwards the nobility of the king's party had a great meeting at Stirling, where the transactions with the queen of England were opened and highly approved, by the consent of all present. About the same time James Hamilton, the chief of his family, came out of England, having by a new and unaccountable pretence and arrogance, been adopted as her father-in-law by the queen of Scots, and made lieutenant of the kingdom. He announced this commission, and forbade the people to obey any but those who were of his appointment. Upon this the royalists disbursed sums of money to raise forces, and make preparations for a conflict, if necessity should require it; for which purpose, on an appointed day, they met at Glasgow. But seeing the people did not join Hamilton, according to his expectation, terms of agreement were proposed, by the mediation of some of his friends. Accordingly, he was commanded to come to Glasgow, to acknowledge the king as chief magistrate; on doing which it was stated that the rest would be easily accommodated; but if he refused that test of obedience, it would be in vain for him to come. He, by the advice of his friends who were with him, finding himself forsaken by his clanships, and terrified by the near approach of the royal army, resolved to comply with necessity, and promised to do all that was required. Yet he secretly determined, that when the forces of the royalists should be disbanded, he would consult his advantage at his leisure. When Hamilton came to Glasgow, a day was appointed, in which he and his friends should profess their allegiance to the king, and so recover their old rights and honours; but in the mean time, they were to remain in prison, as to some of their kindred as hostages for their appearance. It was also added to the conditions, that all of the same party might come in, if they pleased on the same terms. Argyle and Huntly refused to subscribe these articles either out of anger against Hamilton, for having surrendered himself into the hands of the enemy, without asking their advice; or, that they expected to obtain for themselves easier terms of peace, from respect to their power; or else, they were encouraged to follow the bent of their wishes by the epistolary correspondence which they actively kept up with England. For whilst these things were transacted in Scotland, letters came from the queen, containing large promises, and bidding them not be terrified with such threats, for that she should shortly meet them with a great army. Thus

quads were ready to receive this news; and so much the rather, because the queen was kept with a weaker guard than ordinary; and there was daily talk of her marriage with Howard. When Hamilton came to Edinburgh, on the day appointed, he eluded his promise by several excuses; pretending, that he rest of his party should meet together, and so be all comprehended at the same time in one agreement; further, that it was requisite to send to the queen to know her mind: for which purposes, he desired to defer the matter till the tenth of May. To this obvious trifling, his opponents replied, that it was to no purpose for him to expect Argyle and Huntly, as they had declared their resolution to manage their concerns apart. With regard to the queen, they asked, if she did not approve of the capitulation, what were they to do? Then Hamilton answered, with more frankness than prudence for the occasion, that he was compelled to those conditions by the force and terror of an army, and that if he were left free to himself, he would not subscribe at all. Upon this open disclosure, the regent committed Hamilton and Maxwell to the castle of Edinburgh. All the contest that now remained was with Argyle and Huntly. The former whilst the regent was in England, came to Glasgow, to consult about public affairs, with about fifteen hundred men in his company; and thither also resorted many of the same faction from the neighbouring countries, but they here differed in their opinions, and agreed nothing, except in the disturbance of the public peace. The people of Hamilton desired of Argyle, that as the inhabitants of Lennox were firm to the king's cause, he would harass them, by driving away their cattle, that he might the better draw them, though unwilling, over to his party; or else impoverish them, as to render them unable to be of much advantage to either side. When Argyle communicated this matter to the council of his friends, there was not one of them who favoured the design; for they could not but remember, that, during many years, the people of Lennox had been much attached to Argyle, and that there were many alliances between themselves, said they, why are the Argyle men nearer than the people of Hamilton to those of Lennox, who lie in the middle between them both? or why should the one lay a burden upon the other, without leaving themselves any part of the odium? Since it was principally their own affair, they said, let it appear first in it, and then those of Argyle ought not to be backward; he should be a companion, and not a leader, in such an expedition. When the assembly had met some days it was dissolved, without doing anything; and Argyle returned through Lennox, which was his nearest way, about doing the country any hurt; an act of moderation that not only earned him the commons and chiefs of the opposite faction, but facilitated pardon.

Huntly, after endeavouring in vain to break through Mearns, Angus, and Athearn, in the regent's absence, plundered the country, took castles, ravaged the neighbouring places, and appointed Crawford and Ogilvy his tenants about the Dee; thus usurping, as it were for a time, all the power of the king; which conduct made his reconciliation the more difficult. For the heads of these two men, seeing their concerns were different, a council was appointed to meet at St. Andrew's. Thither Argyle came first; and he was easily reconciled, because for that year and the former he had committed nothing of hostility; and besides, he was the regent's kinsman, and had from his childhood been his great acquaintance and familiar friend; so that nothing was required of him than an oath of fidelity to the king for the future; an imprecation upon himself, if he failed, to fall under the severest punishment of the law, and to be accounted utterly infamous. The rest were admitted into favour upon the same oath, but on far different conditions. Huntly's case was long debated in council before his arrival.

To account for this, it is necessary to state that in England the marriage of the exiled queen with Howard was still negotiating, and their coming into Scotland was privately designed, which gave great confidence to their faction, and encouraged the rebellious to disobedience. They thought that if they could once be thrown into confusion, the new husband of the queen would have an easier entrance to the possession of the kingdom. For this reason, when they knew that the regent could not be persuaded to betray the

king, as being his guardian and uncle, they endeavoured by all means to abridge his power. Besides those who had openly appeared in arms against the king, there were many of the counsellors who had hitherto favoured him in secret, and now took his part publicly. They pleaded strongly for him that he should be indemnified for what was past, alleging, that this was not only the safest and readiest way to a pacification, but that it was more creditable for the state to heal civil breaches without violence, and to avoid proceeding to the forfeiture of goods or loss of life. By this lenient course, they said, peace might be obtained at home, and renown abroad; but that if hostilities were adopted, they would have to fight with a man, who, by reason of his ancient power, great alliances, and many clanships, was very formidable; that if even he were overcome, (which was very uncertain,) he would still be the highlands and mountainous deserts, or to foreign parts, where, out of a small spark of disgust, a mighty flame of war might in time be kindled. The other party said, that the contest would not be so formidable as some imagined; for that his father, though he had the report of being a very prudent person, had yet been easily subdued, even whilst his forces were entire; and therefore that this young man, whose power was not yet established, and who, besides, was discouraged by the recent calamity of his family, could never stand against the united power of the kingdom and the majesty of the royal name; and that if he were defeated in battle, or in distrust of his forces, he should fly to the mountains, there were some hopes for the same largesses by which he had attached them to his service; that if greater, might be induced either to kill, or betray him to the regent; the faith of mercenaries is changed with fortune; they follow the prospering, and forsake the afflicted. As for foreign princes, they esteem men according to their power; neither are they concerned for the misery of another, but only their own advantage. And if there were any powerful king of distant temper, so generous as to entertain a fugitive and mendicant; the times were now such as to leave no room to fear on that account: for England and all Europe, was the country which enjoyed a flourishing peace, and that Scotland favoured the royal cause. As for other neighbouring states, they were engaged in domestic dissensions, as to have no time to look abroad, and even if they had leisure to do so, there was some ground of hope, that they would prevail more with them, than liberality towards exiles, who were more true to their own government, and faithless to the sovereigns of other nations. The argument, that an indemnity would be a proof of clemency, was repeated, saying, that it would rather be an instance of culpable negligence; for by avoiding a just combat through fear, war would be imprudently nourished under a pretence of peace, and such a one as would elevate the crest-fallen spirit of the rebels, and depress the cheerful exertions of the king's best friends. If (said these advocates,) how will both parties stand affected, when the one sees that all is lawful for them, without fear of punishment, and they hope to be so for the future; and the other, that their perfidious enemies are rewarded for their atrocious crimes, while themselves are entirely robbed of their goods, vexed with all the calamities of war; and, instead of meeting the reward for their faithfulness and constancy, are to be treated with severity for the love they have shewed to their king and country? therefore, if matters shall hereafter come to the extremity of being decided by arms, which of necessity they must do, unless the fire be now quenched before the flames break forth, who can doubt but that the strongest party will be that which thrives by its wickedness, and may do all things with impunity, rather than the other, which must suffer all injuries offered to them with patience? But (it was added) even though these inconveniences should follow this vain show of clemency, still neither the regent, nor the king could lawfully grant such a pardon, as to give away the goods of the dead to their plunderers. Were they to do that, they must lay down the rights of rulers, and take upon themselves the title of robbers too; and if such a condition should be granted, it would be much more cruel for the property of their estates by kings, the dispensers of indemnity, than to deprive inveterate enemies who had wronged them." After many things were been canvassed, and alleged to this purpose, on both sides, these were the

to Huntly's indemnity were outnumbered by a few voices; and the regent declared, that, for the sake of peace, he was very willing to pardon the private wrongs done to himself and the king; but that for the injuries offered to particular persons, he neither could nor would pass over them. He said, however, that if Huntly, and his remaining adherents, could make some terms of agreement with the persons they had plundered, he was very willing, with the consent of both parties, to appoint arbitrators, who might adjust the value of the losses.

Peace, as it was thought, being settled on these conditions, there arose no other dispute, which, though seemingly trivial, was conducted with still greater vehemence. The question was, whether pardon should be granted to all of Huntly's party promiscuously, or whether every man's cause and desert should be considered separately? Some were of opinion, that because they ought Huntly had been dealt hardly with, in being forced to pay damages to the sufferers, it was but equitable to indulge him in this, and not press with extreme severity upon his followers also. On the other side it was alleged, that the chief aim in such kind of wars, was to dissolve factions; and that it could not well be done, any otherwise than by placing the judgment of pardon or punishment wholly in the breast of the prince. As all men must know, how unjust it was to impose the same fine on those whose crimes were unequal; therefore to leave the apportioning of the punishment in this case to Huntly himself, would be preposterous, since it was probable he could exact the lightest mulct from the greatest offenders, and lay almost the whole burden upon such as were least criminal. In the infliction of fines, he would not so much weigh each man's merit, as the attachment borne to his service; so that in proportion to the activity and cruelty shown in the war, would be the degree of the chieftain's favour; while, on the other side, the worst offenders would be most severely punished, and they who were inactive in wickedness, would be fined for their moderation and loyalty towards the king. These reasons weighed so strongly with the council, that they refused to consider every man's case distinctly; but, that they might seem to satisfy Huntly in some things, his domestics were left to his adjudication, and he was to lay a fine on them himself as he pleased. The thing, however, which he most earnestly desired, that the regent should not come with an army into the northern parts, was absolutely refused.

Things being thus settled with Huntly at St. Andrew's, the regent, attended by two companies of soldiers, and a great number of his friends, went first to Aberdeen, then to Elgin, and at last to Inverness; where the people dwelling in those places were commanded to appear before him at a time appointed. They obeyed the summons; some paying down the money imposed on them as a fine, and others giving sureties: among which last were Huntly and the chiefs of his clanships, who delivered up hostages. Thus, having cleared the country towards the north, and being highly extolled by all good men through the whole of his circuit, the regent returned to Perth, where an assembly of the nobility was summoned, on account of letters which Robert had brought to him out of England, he being then at Elgin. Some of the letters were public, but the rest were private, from certain English courtiers, concerning a relation of Howard's conspiracy, which was so strong and cunningly managed, that they thought no force or policy could withstand it, though all the military power of Britain should be united together for the purpose. In the letters the friends of the regent exhorted him not to mingle his own flourishing fortune with the desperate condition of others, but to provide separately for himself and his concerns, which were as yet unimpaired.

The state of affairs in England compels me here a little to digress; because, at that time, the good and ill of both kingdoms were so conjoined, that the one cannot well be explained without the other. The Scots, having for years before been delivered from French bondage by the assistance of the English, did in consequence adopt and subscribe the same religious opinions and ordinances with them; and this sudden change of things seemed to promise an universal repose and freedom from domestic feuds to all Britain. Immediately upon this, the pope, with the kings of France and Spain, threatened a war, and privately combined to give another turn to affairs.



The pope was not wanting, by his exhortations and promises, to stir the minds of those who were already enraged; but the two kings were not altogether agreed between themselves, and their forces were so exhausted they rather wished for a war, than had the ability to undertake it. Besides, there was a jealous spirit between them; the one could not well endure the other should have so great an accession of power as the conquest of England would give to his dominions. But they were also disturbed by divisions among their own subjects, which drew their attention off from the foreign ambition, though the novelty of a woman's reign, and she too, young, unmarried, held out a flattering encouragement, especially since she was ill affected to her, said that she was the offspring of Henry VIII. by an unlawful marriage; that the former differences about the kingdom and religion were rather stifled than extinguished; and further, that the sparks of contention glowed still so strongly in men's minds, that in a short time they would certainly break out into a flame.

In the mean time, the English catholics had made many efforts to shake the government; but failed in all of them, and were soon quelled: notwithstanding which, and though their designs never succeeded, yet as foreigners so: them with vain hopes, instead of real supplies, they still persisted in the same resolute design, wanting rather a commander for their numbers, than power or courage to assemble. The common people of that profession had in view of all the nobility, and found none worthy of their confidence, to whom they might intrust their lives and fortunes; for many of the most distinguished had been cut off in the civil wars; many had gone over to the other party; and many were so old, that they were either unfit for public business; or else the vigour of their minds, as well as the strength of their bodies, was so debilitated, that there was nothing they more desired than a tolerable tranquillity. There was only one man, who for valour and power seemed fit to undertake so great a concern. This was Thomas Howard, who of himself was inclinable to quietness, but there were some causes which moved him to study innovation: his father and grandfather, though they had been highly eminent both in war and peace, yet, in the storms of an unstable court they had been so used that their highest glory was balanced with as great a disgrace. His father had been condemned for treason, and was publicly beheaded; and his two queens, who were both his kinswomen, had been also put to death. In these distressing circumstances he was liberally brought up, and thus his family preserved from utter extinction. In his very youth he gave signs of great prudence, and within a few years, by the death of his father and new marriages, he grew so rich, as to be inferior only to the queen in the power created by wealth and discretion, the rest of the nobility were inferior to him; but as for his skill in military matters, he had yet given no proof of it. In the controversies of religion, he steered himself so cautiously and ambiguously, that though he favoured popery in his heart, he exerted such an influence over the opposite party by his liberal patronage, that none of them made sure of him in their thoughts, as being entirely on either of their own side.

At this period the army of Mary was routed at Langside, and she fled to England, when she wrote letters to Elizabeth, stating the cause of her arrival. In reply, the Scottish queen was desired to retire to the borders of the Lord Scroop, warden of the marches, till her demands should be considered by the council. Scroop's wife was Howard's sister, and by this means a treaty of marriage was secretly begun between Mary and a nobleman; the opportunity seeming to be offered by God himself, for his third wife had but lately died, and he was now a widower. Though the design was concealed, except from a chosen few, yet it was whispered about among the common people; for narrow spirits cannot hide great hopes, and joy will give them vent, and so they spread. The matter was so far advanced, that the flame of civil war seemed ready to burst forth; nor were they so confident of success, after they had considered the strength of the parties, that they thought Howard might easily do what he pleased, without employing any force at all.

Things were in this posture when the Scottish nobles had a great meeting

at Perth, to hear the demands of the two queens, for both of them had written letters to that assembly. Those of the English potentate proposed one of the three following conditions: The first absolute—that the queen should be restored to her former throne and dignity; but, if this could not be granted, then, that she might reign jointly with her son, and thereby enjoy regal honour in letters and public acts; the administration, however, in the mean time, to remain in the hands of the present regent, till the king attained the age of seventeen. If none of these terms could be obtained, then the third condition was, provided the queen gave her assent, that she should live privately at home, content with those honours which, saving the authority and majesty of the king, might be granted to her. This last proposition was easily agreed to, if the queen would accept it, but the other two were peremptorily refused: for the best and uncorrupt part of the nobility were resolute in this, that they neither could nor ought to determine any thing which might diminish the king's authority, especially as he had been lawfully crowned. But the first two conditions tended to lessen the king's honour, say, and even exposed his life to danger as a child, unless it could be thought that his mother, who was known to have been not only cruel to her husband, but ill-affected towards her son, and now, exasperated by her banishment, would be kinder to him than ever she had been before. The letters also from the queen of Scots were read, wherein she desired that some judges might be appointed to consider of her marriage with Bothwell; and, if it was found contrary to law, that she might be released from him. These epistles highly provoked the king's party, because she still designated herself as queen, and commanded them as subjects. Some would not have had them answered at all, as being derogatory to the rights of the king, and an arrogant assumption of power on the part of the exiled queen. But her partisans in the council expressed their surprise that the very persons who had the last year strongly urged the separation of her cause from that of Bothwell, should now, when it was freely offered, hinder it as eagerly as they had before earnestly desired it. A word or two in the letters displeased them, that fault might easily be amended; and some there were who went so far as to engage, provided the matter of divorce might be discussed in the mean time, to procure a commission from the queen, expressed in any terms that should be proposed. On the other hand, the adverse party urged, that they saw no new cause for such great haste; that the period of sixty days was but a lawful time for Bothwell, who was out of the kingdom, to appear; within which time a new commission might be sent. This delay, they said, ought not to seem long, especially to one who had passed over so great a matter in silence for two years, and had not sent letters, which were of themselves such an hinderance, that even those who might be willing to gratify her, could not comply with them. They observed, that if she seriously desired a divorce, it was easy to be obtained; for her only write to the king of Denmark, desiring him to punish the murder of her former husband, in which case, on his death, she might marry whom and where she pleased; in spite of all the opposition of her adversaries; but that if she declined this, then it was plain, she spoke not in the sincerity of her heart, but only made a counterfeit pretence of divorce, in order, when married again, to live in a questionable and uncertain state of matrimony, even with her next husband. Of this there was a strong suspicion, and hence she desired such judges to determine on the divorce who had no power in the case, for what authority could the regent have over exiles, with whom he had nothing to do; and who, unless they themselves chose, might refuse to stand to his judgment; or how could they, who had not the disposal of themselves, submit to the decision of another? It being therefore very evident that there was some secret fraud in the case, and a judgment was not hastily to be concluded, it was deemed expedient that the queen of England should be acquainted with it, in whose power it was, either to promote or hinder the business. Hereupon a young nobleman, of the regent's friends, was sent to the English court, to acquaint Elizabeth with the acts of the convention. One may perhaps wonder, that since greater matters were transacted with contentions, there should be such difficulty made about the divorce. But the cause was this. Howard had privately negotiated, through the mediation

of his friends, concerning his marriage with the queen of Scots; and the conspiracy became at length so formidable, both at home and abroad, that a rumour was spread about among the populace, of a design to take off both reigning sovereigns, in order to unite the two kingdoms by this alliance. The place, time, and circumstances of this design, were so ordered, that all things seemed secure against any force whatever. Meanwhile, the conspirators were most forward and urgent to remove all obstructions to the marriage, thinking, that if this were once accomplished, every thing else would be facilitated. On the other hand, the adherents of the king made it their business to throw obstacles in the way of the projected union, in order that the delay might enable them to unravel many secret contrivances, and to secure the two princes from the conspiracy.

Such was the posture of affairs, when the decree of the council was brought to the queen of England; but she professed herself dissatisfied with the messenger and said, that the messenger did not seem to her a fit person with whom to confer in so dangerous a time, and upon concerns of that moment; wherefore she desired to be better informed by the Scots of those matters. Upon this, there was another assembly of the nobility, held at Stirling, where they drew up the answer: "That as for the third of her majesty's late propositions, it might admit of a consultation, in order to an agreement; but that the second was one which could not even be discussed at all without manifest wrong, since it would not only diminish, but even extirpate, the royal authority. For hence the danger resulting from partnership in the supreme magistracy, it was observed, how could two be equally joined in authority, of whom one was a child scarcely out of his infancy, and the other, a woman in the prime of age, and of a crafty wit, who had passed through a variety of fortunes? It would, as soon as ever she could, wind herself into part of the government: either by the strength of that faction, which, though she had been removed from the administration, still strove to restore her, not by treaties, but threats; or else by corrupting the king's friends; or lastly by the aid of foreign soldiers, whom she was now busy to procure, and by whom means she would soon engross the whole power to herself? How, it was asked, would she endure, that an infant should be equalled with her, who would not admit to share the rule even with her husband? Further, if she should expect some powerful person, and a matter of that nature was then on foot, her strength would be doubled, and her husband, as of necessity he must, would partake in the government, and would be very unwilling to allow that his own child should be kept from the succession by the issue of a former marriage; in which case, what a situation would the royal child be placed in! What, said they, her friends, as most men are inconstant, should prefer a present benefit to future hopes, and so join the strongest party? What was to be apprehended for an infant, when thrust down into the second, and then into the third place, but ruin? As for other things, they said they would rather leave them to her majesty's private thoughts to meditate upon, than to hazard a premature conjecture, of what an angry woman, when possessed of power, and prompted by imperious counsels of her uncles, who had evinced such cruelty towards her husband, and was also exasperated by her banishment, would attempt against a child, stripped of all the aid of nature and fortune, and exposed as a sacrifice to her rage? And as to his friends, what could they expect but vengeance from one, who must think herself to have been grievously injured by them? Breach they observed, what would be the state of religion, when she could vent her rage, which in former times her fear had concealed, especially if a husband known arrogance, should add stimulants to her innate cruelty? How could the young king's adherents be destroyed when he should be cut off or again, how soon might he be dethroned, after losing his friends? These were the reasons why the queen could not be admitted into a part of the government, without evident destruction to the king; and such being the state of circumstances in that respect, there was no necessity for a discussion of the first part of the proposed demand.

Robert Pitcairn was appointed to carry this answer to England, a man no less prudent than loyalty; and he came to that court at the very critical time, when the conspiracy to kill the queen, and to seize on both kingdoms

The plot was so deeply laid, that the queen of England did of herself; and even after she had sent Howard to the queen, she durst not proceed to punish the queen of Scots, but to send her home by sea to the regent; though when the storm came, that intention was laid aside.

At this time, the regent at Stirling, perceiving that the power of the queen increased greatly, sent for William Maitland, who was a main part of the conspiracy, to come to him from Perth; but he, being consulted, though he had witnessed the regent's lenity to all his greatest offences, delayed his journey till he had assured his correspondents that no evil design was formed against him. He then went with the earl of Athol to go with him, that, if necessary, he might be an intercessor. While he was sitting in council at Stirling, a dependant of the earl of Lennox, accused him of having been concerned in the murder of the earl; whereupon he was commanded to be kept close in the chamber of the castle; whilst persons were sent to apprehend those who were then absent. The wiser sort would have had them against according to law, as the authors of all the tumults that had happened in some years; and as having been not only privy to the murder, but the leaders of the faction against the present regent. The lenity of the regent overcame all consideration of public good, and proved calamitous to his country, and fatal to himself. Balfour, one of his friends, obtained pardon for his share in the conspiracy, which was but lately formed; and Maitland was brought to Edinburgh not far from the castle. Some horsemen were appointed, under the command of Alexander Home, a young and able man, but William Kirkaldy, the governor of the castle, about ten days before, brought him counterfeit letters purporting to be in the hand of the earl of Murray, and commanding him to deliver Maitland into the hands of Alexander, knowing in how great favour Kirkaldy was with the regent; and thus Maitland was carried into the castle by him who had all along been secretly of the enemy's party. The regent was greatly exasperated, and appeared doubtful whether they should punish his enormous offence to Kirkaldy, or to the regent himself, as he was not ignorant of his audacity; and the matter would in all probability have produced a sedition, if the sanctity of his whole life had not been a counterpoise to the imputations of reproach. It is true, Kirkaldy, who was hitherto borne the reputation of fidelity, and as he had received great favours from the regent, so he had been lately advanced by him to the government of the castle, in preference to his other friends and kindred; however, persons of penetrating judgment, who did even then prize integrity; but such was the indulgence of the regent towards those whom he once esteemed, that he could not be severe to them, though they had just acted against him. The next day, the regent sent for Maitland, but he refused to come; and the hour was very unlucky, for as Howard and the queen were daily expected, the circumstance raised the spirits of the regent to a considerable height. Strange reports were industriously abroad, that the regent was forsaken by his intimate friends; and that the castle being shut against him, he was now at the mercy of his enemies, which example would in all likelihood be followed by others; so that, on the removal of the governor, the interests of the regent would be delivered up to those punishments which cruel tyrants could devise. The regent, however, was not to be moved by such speeches, but the next day went to the castle, and spoke to Maitland with an unchanged countenance, as if he had been reconciled to him. He then set out on the expedition he had undertaken against the robbers. Through March, he turned aside, according to his custom of doing, to visit Alexander Home, the chief of that clanship. There, as usual, he was surrounded, and had been drawn off by great promises to the confusion of his good reception from his wife, who, being an arrant coquette, ridiculed him to his face. Thence he proceeded to Teviotmouth, where he came with a small retinue, and little more than his ordinary

guard. The thieves, admiring his valour and magnanimity in the absence of his friends, having received the public faith for their return, came to him in great numbers, that they equalled, and sometimes exceeded, those of his attendants. Notwithstanding, this he remitted nothing of his former greatness of mind, but answered them as became the dignity of the public and his own also, so that in all probability he would have brought them to order and force, had not some of the neighbouring nobility, who were well affected to Howard, and ready to take arms, hindered his design. His friends came to him at the time appointed, and then he marched into the territory of the Throes, though some of the neighbourhood endeavoured to dissuade him, telling him of the difficulty and danger of the expedition. He however passed with his army through Liddesdale, Ewsdale, and Eskdale, and received hostages not only from them, but from those more remote; only some, who, by reason of the greatness of their offences, despaired of pardon, were outlawed. The expedition not only procured him the favour of the people for settling them in security, but raised their admiration also, that a man who was forsaken by his intimate friends, and extremely unprovided with necessaries, should accomplish that in a few days, which the most potent of our kings, in full power and with numerous forces, could hardly effect in a long time.

Whilst these things were occurring, he received information that the English conspiracy was detected, that Howard was committed to prison, and that the Scottish queen was more strictly guarded than ever. Robert Fraser having performed his embassy with good success, had now returned, and acquainted the regent that his proceedings were very acceptable to the queen of England, particularly in his having quieted the borders, and caused the earl of Northumberland, one of the conspirators, who had fled into Scotland, to be imprisoned; and in his pursuing all the rest as his enemies. He was also given to understand that orders had been sent to the governor of Berwick, to offer him assistance freely on all occasions; and that the queen had, in requital of his services, promised further to support him in whatever danger might befall him, with all the strength of her kingdom.

Yet, during the whole course of this expedition, the regent had daily intelligence brought him by his faithful friends, of a great conspiracy having been formed against him at home. As in all these communications the governor of the castle of Edinburgh continued to be an object of accusation; the regent (old courtesies and ancient acquaintance not being yet quite worn out of memory) wrote to him plainly, and sent him a copy of all the charges in answer to the crimes alleged, was so cold, that he became now more secreted than ever, for he contented himself with simply saying, that no man could shew his subscription to any engagement relating to that conspiracy.

In the mean time, the day of Maitland's trial drew near; for after he was carried to the castle, to put a bold face on a bad matter, he expressly commanded an investigation; being fully persuaded, that the power of the conspirators, of whom he was one of the chief, was so great in England, and so in Scotland, as to render an acquittal a matter of certainty, where law and equity must bend to circumstances. For in trials of life and death, there was to be a great influx of friends and vassals, according to the faction, favour or rank of the accused, and this happened now to be the case. The chief of the party against the king, namely, the earls of Hamilton, Gordon, and Arran, gathered all their forces against that day; hoping, that if the judgment was disturbed by arms, as it was easy to do, they might end the conflict as skirmish, as being superior in numbers, advantage of place, and the materials of war. The regent had no idea of a contest by arms, but relied on law, and had therefore made no military preparation on his side. In an emergency, being unwilling to put things to the utmost hazard without an urgent necessity, and also anxious to save the majesty of government from being lessened by a conflict with his inferiors, he adjourned the time of trial and on the day following, which was about the first of January, having sent the earl of Northumberland to a prison in Lochleven, he went to Stirling.

Thus the adverse faction experienced another disappointment, and perceived that the authority and power of the regent, instead of diminishing on the increase, and that, besides his popularity at home, he was also

English government. This inflamed them to such a degree, that by revenge, and partly stimulated by the large promises of the Scots, who, by letters, informed them that the French and Spanish were presently with them, they proceeded to accomplish what they had long designed, that of cutting off the regent. As long as they knew their projects could not take effect, and therefore they sent messengers to the chiefs of their faction in every part of the kingdom to a league to that effect. To this league the Hamiltons readily assented, as also did those, who were either prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, or their children in confinement. The governor himself was privy to it, and that which followed increased the suspicion; James Hamilton, son of the sister of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, procured an instrument, and endeavoured to find a fit time and place to execute the deed. Hopes having been held out to the regent, about this season would surrender upon conditions, he went thither, but without success. Hamilton, who was watchful on all occasions, had first at Glasgow, and then at Stirling, but without success; he then fixed upon Linlithgow as the place fittest to execute his purpose, as it was in the clanship of his family, and the archbishop, his uncle, was there, not far from where the regent used to lodge. In order to the murder, he closely concealed himself. The regent had been apprized of this design, and, particularly, that very day; his informer for more surety adding, that the murderer was at a distance of three or four houses from his lodging; that if he could get a full party with him, he would pull him out of his hiding place, and execute the whole design and order of the plot. Instead of altering his resolution, the regent only determined to leave the town by the same gate he had taken, and to take another route in his journey. Yet even this resolution was not taken; either because he undervalued such dangers, as believing in the hand of God, to whom he was willing to render it when he should die, or because the multitude of horse, that waited for him, stopped him. When he got on horseback, he thought to ride swiftly by the back-door, and so avoid the danger; but the pressure of the crowd hindered him also; so that the murderer, out of a wooden balcony, purposely covered with linen, as if for another use, shot him in the head, which entered a little below the navel, and came out behind, killing the horse of George Douglas, who was beyond him. The regent escaped by a back-door or passage of the garden, which he had used for that purpose; and, mounting a swift horse that had been lent him by James Hamilton, abbot of Aberbrothick, to carry him off after the deed, he rode to Hamilton, where he received the gratuity; who waited to bear the result of his atrocious enterprise, and rewarded him highly, and rewarded him profusely, as if the kingdom had been justly translated into their own family.

James Hamilton of Linlithgow being startled at the suddenness of the explosion, and when he was wounded, and, as if he had not felt it, leaped from the window and went on foot to his lodging. Those who were sent for to dress the wound, pronounced, that it was not mortal; but the pain increasing, and he was not disturbed, he began seriously to think of death. The regent observed, that this was the fruit of his own lenity, in sparing notorious offenders, and among the rest his own murderer, condemned for treason. To whom he returned a mild answer, in his usual custom, saying, "Your importunity shall never make me repent of my clemency." After this he settled his domestic affairs, and having made his will, he king to the nobles then present, without speaking a reproachful word, he departed this life before midnight, on the 23d of June. His death was lamented by all good men, especially the common people, who loved him when alive, and lamented his loss, as that of the public enemy; for, besides his many other noble achievements, they called him a traitor, not a year before, he had so quieted all the troublesome nobles of the kingdom, that a man was as safe on the road, or at an inn, as in his own house. Even they who were disaffected to him when living, unaf-

sectedly praised him when dead. They admired his valour in war, which was ever accompanied with the desire of peace; and his celerity in business was always so successful, that divine providence seemed to shine on all his actions; and his clemency was as great in punishing, as his equity was conspicuous in legal decisions. When he had any spare time from war, he would sit all day in the college of judges; into whom his presence struck such a reverence, that the poor were not oppressed by false accusations, nor tried out by long attendances, neither were their causes put off to gratify the great. His house, like a holy temple, was free, not only from impiety, but even from wanton words;—after dinner and supper, he always caused a chapter to be read out of the Bible; and, though he had constantly a learned man to interpret it, yet if, as was frequently the case, there were eminent scholars present, whom he always respected, he would ask their opinions of it; not for ostentation, but with a desire of knowledge, and to conform himself to its rules. He was in a manner too liberal; bestowing his bounty to many, not that often; his alacrity in giving, enhancing the value of the gift; knowing which, that he might spare the modesty of those whom he assisted, he commonly relieved them very privately with his own hand. In a word, he was honest and plain-hearted to his friends and domestics: and when any of them did amiss, he reprov'd them more sharply than he would strangers. His manners, deportment, and innocency of life, made him dear and venerable not only to his countrymen, but even to foreigners, especially the English; whom, in all the vicissitudes of providence throughout his life, his virtues were more known than to any other nation.

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## BOOK XX.

ALL the time which immediately followed the death of the last regent, though free from bloodshed, was yet embroiled by the various attacks of the factions. Before the murder, the Hamiltons had met in great numbers at Edinburgh, under the pretence of prevailing with the regent to reward James, the head of their clan or tribe, who was still kept a prisoner in the castle. But after the perpetration of that crime, they sent some from among them to the rest of the Hamiltons, under the pretext of dissuading them from joining or sheltering the public parricides; though, as great numbers were suspected, it was in reality to order them to be prepared, and ready for all occasions. Accordingly, on the very next night after the murder, Walter and Thomas Ker of Ferniehurst, entered England, ravaging all places of fire and sword; and that too with even more cruelty than had been practised in former times. It was not so much the desire of booty or revenge, that moved them to this unusual barbarity, as the effect of what had been before resolved by the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the rest of the heads of the faction, to incense the English against the Scots; and if they could not provoke them no other way to take up arms, then by injuries to draw them, though unwillingly, into a war. The governor of the castle, although suspected and reflected upon for many reasons, so that all men's eyes and course were intently fixed upon his conduct, still continued in his counterfeited loyalty to the king. It was through his influence that William Maitland was delivered out of prison; for after he had, with great courage, pleaded his innocence before the council, the nobles present declared that they would not appear with any certainty to them, that he was guilty of the crime ascribed to his charge, that of having been privy to the murder both of the king and the regent, and also of being the author of the civil war lately raised in the land; so upon this he was at last dismissed, although not altogether acquiescing in the matter was deferred till another time, rather than absolutely determined. He likewise made a protestation of his innocence upon oath, and promised to appear whenever the king's relations should appoint a day for his trial. After this, in a consultation about the state of the kingdom, it was agreed, that of those whom the queen, before she abjured her government, had nominated tutors to the king, he that would undertake it, provided he

of afterwards revolted to the adverse faction, should have the chief administration of affairs. Maitland, who was ever contriving the disturbance of affairs, now brought it so about, as to get it intimated to the absent lords, at they might, if they pleased, be present in the parliament of the regent, be assembled on a certain day, lest they should afterwards complain that great an affair had been too hastily concluded without them. Athol, and few others, consented; and the remainder did not decline it, that they might deprive their enemies of all occasion of detraction and calumny, rather than from any hope that this delay of the parliament would be of any service to the public.

Shortly after this, Thomas Randolph, the English envoy, had an audience. Elizabeth, while the regent was alive, had sent ambassadors to demand the English exiles, who, after the detection of Howard's conspiracy, and his execution, had for fear of the consequences escaped out of Scotland. The regent, in giving these ambassadors an audience at Stirling, referred them to council at Edinburgh; but as, after his death, things were in a great confusion, they returned home without any answer. In the convention that followed about choosing a regent, Randolph, who had a great reputation among the nobles and men, and by having some years before been in Scotland, was thought well acquainted with the public affairs and leading characters of that country, where his embassies had proved advantageous to both nations, was introduced. Being introduced, he declared how great the good-will of his queen had been towards the Scots; and that, as she had not formerly been wanting in their disturbances, so she would not fail them now. Then he touched their incursions into England, the slaughters, rapines, and burnings that had recently committed; but added, that the queen knew well enough, that these deeds were done by the public counsel; and therefore her kind friendship towards them remained unchanged; so that although she was in the highest manner, and without any cause, provoked, yet she did not think she might justly do, enumerate particular grievances, or require an open punishment, nor, for the fault of a few, seek the punishment of all: that indeed she was not ignorant how greatly the state of public affairs was disordered; and that she entertained no doubt of the good-will of honest lords herself. For the sake of these, the queen was willing to exclude people from all share in the guilt; but declared that if the disorders continued, and the disturbers of the peace could not be reduced to obedience, she would join her forces with the upright party, that so, by common force they might exact punishment of those violators of leagues and treaties. The ambassador, in the name of his royal mistress, then went on to say that if the royalists of Scotland were not able to do this, she would repair their injuries with her own forces; that her army should pass peacefully through the country, without the least damage to it: and that none, who had been guilty of the crimes alleged, should be involved in punishment.

The remaining heads of the embassy contained admonitions to attend to all legal assemblies, but which, in the present posture of affairs, was peculiarly necessary, as, "That they should, in the first place, be diligent and vigilant, have regard to religion, which alone teaches us our duty to God and man; that seeing no commonwealth at discord within might subsist, they should bend their chief endeavours, and strive with the most force, to maintain a religious observance of peace and harmony among their fellow-subjects and countrymen at home; and that since the Creator, the framer of the universe, had indulged them with a government, it became them duly to honour and obey their kings, to show them all reverence and obedience; that tranquillity, unity, and concord among all men, as much as possible, are not only most acceptable to God, but also to the public good, which is a wickedness especially detestable to the divine Being: that in fact increase the riches of all in general, and render a people more amiable to their enemies:—That justice is the preserver of the public good, and the principal part now required, is, the punishment of offences, and that treason is most hateful to every lawful government, its abettors, and that the part of the earth soever they may retreat should have neither



them, they might draw the citizens, of whom they always made great account over to their party. This seemed to be no hard matter, since they had already gained William Kirkaldy, the governor both of the city and castle to their side; but because they understood that watch and ward was kept there, and that the common people were more inclined to their adversaries, they thought fit to send to the citizens first, to know whether it was their pleasure that they should meet there? The answer which the citizens returned was, that they would exclude no person who respected the public peace, nor was obedient to the king; but that they would admit neither the English exiles, nor the Hamiltons, into the city, lest they should either thereby displeasure the queen of England, with whose subjects they had great trade, or seem to countenance those who were guilty of an atrocious murder. They added also, that it was their resolution not to endure the proposal of any new edicts, which would tend to lessen the regal authority; or compel the soldiers, as the old custom had been, to take up their arms at the sound of a drum. Though these conditions appeared very severe, the party next morning standing came into the city, in the expectation of gaining upon the great multitude by degrees, and thinking that by soothing them with fair speech they might at last win them over to their side. But, in spite of all their efforts, they could not prevail upon the citizens to deliver up their keys, or to forbear their usual watch, though Kirkaldy, the governor of the castle and city, seconded the endeavours of his friends for the same purpose.

During this time, they visited Maitland, who either really was, or pretended to be, afflicted with the gout, every day, in such numbers, that his house was commonly called a school, and he a preceptor. Athol, meanwhile, incessantly passed from one place to another, that he might draw to of the contrary faction to this assembly at Edinburgh; but they once refused to come before the first of May, which was the day fixed upon for general agreement, unless any satisfactory reason should be assigned for their meeting before that time. In that case, they proposed that, if anything of moment happened, which would admit of no delay, the earl of Morton should be made acquainted with it, who was at his house but four miles off, and he would intimate it to the rest. Athol at length appointed a town on which some of either faction should meet at Morton-hall, near Dalkeith; but this was disagreeable to the queen's party, not that they dreaded treachery, but out of an idea, that it would be an undervaluing of their authority to go to Morton, instead of his coming to them. On this account, after many attempts, and finding nothing done to their satisfaction, they were forced to break up the meeting; for, being desirous to rid the city of their adversaries, and seeing they could not prevail with the inhabitants to assist them in that object, they resolved to call in a great number of their friends who lived nearest to them, that, in spite of the people, they might bring all things into their own power. The governor of the castle facilitated the design very much, by setting at liberty the persons whom he had in custody, and who were almost all of them the heads of the queen's faction. By a sudden rumour that the English army was come to Berwick, shook all their resolutions. Alexander Home and John Maxwell, who had been lately out of prison, without any public authority, betook themselves to their own homes, to look to their domestic affairs; the former having part of the money that had been gathered to raise soldiers, given to him to fortify his own castle. Thomas Ker and Walter Scott, who, by the instigation chiefly of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, had made incursions into England, and forebore, from the beginning, that a war would be kindled between the two kingdoms, being deserted by their neighbours, and doubtful of their own strength, sent to the heads of their faction for aid; or, if that could not be given, desired them at least, to come as far as Lauder, a neighbouring town, and from thence make a show of hostilities. But as they could neither obtain this request, nor any share of the money that had been provided for the common use, they became heartily incensed, to be betrayed by those very men who had occasioned the war. In consequence of this, they went home to consult their own safety, finding that the hopes and expectations which they had formed were blasted, and that the most unexpected accidents were taking place.

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About the same time an accident happened, in their opinion, very advantageous to their affairs, because they hoped it would both make the English less forward, and at the same time terrify the populace of Scotland. This was the arrival of a certain Frenchman, of a mean condition indeed, but who, as being Lansack's menial servant, was, for his master's sake, entertained at that court. This man brought many letters, all of the same purport, from the French king, not only to the heads of the queen's faction, but likewise to many who had not declared themselves for either side. In these epistles, great thanks were given to every one of them, for having hitherto taken the queen's part; and the king desired them constantly to persist in the same course, promising them that he would send them much greater assistance than what they had desired of him, as soon as he could do so with convenience. The messenger also who brought the letters, added, as on his own knowledge, "that all things were now quiet in France; for that Gaspard Coligny, and the other rebels, were reduced to such terms, as to promise to leave the kingdom, lest their presence should be a hinderance to the public peace; and that he doubted not, but the soldiers who were to be sent to assist the Scots, would all be raised before his return." The more sagacious, though they knew that these things were, for the most part, nothing but vain reports, yet permitted the lower classes to be deluded by them. But when, by these means, the minds of many people were elated to a great degree, their joy was lessened by the unsuccessful return of their ambassadors out of England; for Sussex could not be prevailed upon to think it advantageous to the interests of his nation, to maintain an army only to idle their time away in truces, and wholly to desist from action, without any conditions being offered on the part of the Scots. And the letter which they wrote to the queen, being opened by Sussex, as she had commanded, to prevent the delay of waiting for her answer, discovered the fraud. For as it contained nothing but vain boasting, which the English well knew, being acquainted with every thing that was doing in Scotland; their ambassadors were almost driven away, and copies of their letters sent to the king's party at home. In this state of disappointment, alarmed by the sudden advance of the English army, while their own forces, upon whom they relied, had gone to defend their own habitations; having also little confidence in the citizens, and knowing that their enemies would come to Edinburgh on the first of May, they left the place for Linlithgow. That town they judged to be very convenient for the arrival of those of their party from the most distant places of the kingdom; as also for intercepting the journeying of others who were going to the assembly; and for

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bringing about those other things which were lately discussed at their consultations. From this place, the Hamiltons, with their friends and vassals made the whole road leading to Edinburgh very unsafe for passengers; and hearing that John Erskine, earl of Marr, was to come that way, they placed themselves on the neighbouring hills to impede his progress; but he knowing how the way was beset, passed the river about two miles above; and as, on the 20th of April, in the evening, came safe to Edinburgh. After that day, the king's party kept the capital, and the queen's remained at Linlithgow, mutually charging one another with being the cause and rise of these civil combustions. The royalists at Edinburgh told their opponents, that they were willing to come to an easy agreement upon other heads; and that, if they had done any one wrong, they would give him such satisfaction as indifferent arbitrators should award, provided only that the king's authority should be secured, and that both parties would join to revenge the murder of the last monarch, and that of the regent. To this proposal, the party at Linlithgow, instead of giving a satisfactory answer, made an edict, that all subjects should obey the queen's commissioners; while the three earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntly, summoned an assembly to be held at Linlithgow on the third of August. Whereupon, the other party sent Robert Pym as their ambassador to the queen of England, to treat with her for the suppression of the common enemy; and to shew how well affected the Scots stood towards her, he was directed to inform her majesty, that they could choose such a regent as she should please to recommend or approve.

Thus, whilst the two parties were opposing the designs of each other, the English entered Teviotdale, where they spoiled the towns and villages belonging to the families of the Kers and Scotts, who had violated the peace by making predatory excursions across the borders, wasting and burning the country and giving harbour to such fugitives as fled to them for shelter. The earl of Sussex, the English general, besieged Home castle, where the owner of it had laid up much provision, and into which fortress all the neighbourhood had brought in their best goods, as into a place of safety. It was vigorously defended by the garrison; and the English, the next day after, were about to raise the siege, when letters were brought to the soldiers within, written a little before by Alexander, owner of the castle, which disturbed all their measures. For by these letters he enjoined them to obey the orders of William Drury, an English knight, and to perform whatever he should command them, without any dispute. Drury acquainted Sussex therewith; whereupon the castle was surrendered and plundered, and the earl, placing in it a garrison of English, returned with a great booty to Berwick. Thus Howard, who was so far from being afraid of the English, that he rather thought from his best friends, as knowing that Drury and Sussex did both secretly favour the cause of Howard, almost ruined himself by his own credulity; for at last, being forsaken by all his friends and relations, who were mostly royalists, he came, with one or two in his company, to Edinburgh, and shut himself up as a recluse in the castle.

On the other side of the borders, Scroop, an English commander, entered Annandale, and ransacked the lands of one Johnston, who also had made incursions into England. Johnston himself, however, with a few of his companions, being well acquainted with the passes of the country, made a shift to escape from the horse that pursued him; for John Maxwell, who had gathered three thousand men in the neighbourhood, durst not venture to come to his aid, but only stood upon his own defence. Shortly after this the English at Berwick having received hostages, and thinking that the agreements would be faithfully observed, sent in three hundred horse, and one thousand foot, under the command of Drury, against the common enemy. Upon the rumour of their march, the Hamiltons went to Glasgow, resolved to demolish the castle of the archbishop there, that it might not be a receptacle to the earl of Lennox, who had but just returned out of England, and the country be made the seat of war. Knowing that it was kept but by a few raw soldiers, that the governor was absent, and that it was unprovided with necessities, they thought to surprise it by a sudden advance. Accordingly they rushed into the town in such haste, that they shut out a good part of

the soldiers of the garrison, from entering the castle ; but being disappointed of their hopes, they began to batter and storm it with the utmost violence. They were, however, as vigorously repulsed ; for the soldiers within, though but twenty-four, so warmly received them for several days, that they slew more of the assailants than their own number, and the rest were beaten off very much wounded ; while on their own side, they lost but one man, and none of the rest received so much as a wound. But the Hamiltons, hearing that the English were already at Edinburgh, and that John Erskine was come as far as Stirling, with a design speedily to relieve the castle, though they received some additional force, even from the remote parts of the kingdom ; yet, toward evening, they raised the siege, and in great fear hastened away. Hamilton and Argyle posted into the country of the latter ; but Huntly went home, over mountains which were almost impassable ; while the rest shifted for themselves, and ran off in several directions, to save their lives.

The English, two days after their arrival at Edinburgh, went to Glasgow, and, in their passage through Clydesdale, wasted all the lands of the Hamiltons, and of those persons who had consented to the death of the regent. They also ravaged the possessions of those who had harboured the English fugitives, by which means they carried away a great booty, and made a general havoc in all the country. While the engines to break down the castle, which was situated near a village called Hamilton, were bringing to Stirling, Drury, who privately favoured the rebels, had almost rendered the whole expedition fruitless ; for the English having mutinied on account of their pay, he took no measures to pacify them ; so that they threatened immediately to lay down their arms. Many suspected that Drury was himself the instigator of this mutiny ; but the soldiers were soon appeased, upon receiving their pay ; and the great guns being planted, and playing against it, the castle was surrendered in a few hours. Some persons discovered and recognized among the booty, the apparel and other property of king James V. of which the owner of the castle, on resigning the regency, had solemnly sworn he had none in his possession. The castle was left half demolished ; and the town, as well as the stately mansion of the Hamiltons, was burnt by the common soldiers to the ground, against the will of their commanders. Upon this the army marched back, the English to Berwick, and the Scots each to their own homes. Drury interceded for the garrison, that they should go away in safety ; but, in their route, they took by force Robert Semple, the chief of his family, out of the house of his son-in-law ; he being then quietly returning home, thinking the service had been ended. This action greatly increased the general suspicion that had been formed of Drury.

These matters were scarcely finished, when Pitcairn arrived from his embassy in England, bringing this answer : " That the queen wondered they should never have made her acquainted with the state of their affairs till the present time, which was four months after the death of the regent ; and that, by reason of this delay, she was uncertain how to estimate them. In the mean time, she said, that she had been often importunately solicited by the French and Spanish ambassadors, in the name of their sovereigns, and that she was even tired out with the daily complaints of the queen of Scots herself ; that she had promised them an audience ; but it was upon condition that Mary should write to her party for a cessation of arms, till the conference was ended. The queen further said, that those innovations which they had attempted by their public edicts, they should revoke by other decrees, different from the former, and let things stand as they were when the regent was murdered. She also required, that the English exiles should be given up without exception ; and added, that if matters were accommodated between them, hostages and other pledges should be given on both sides, for the faithful performance of the agreements entered into. Upon these conditions she promised that a conference should be held, and said that having bound herself to this obligation, she could not join with them in their design of making a new regent, lest she might seem to condemn their queen without a hearing ; but in general, she professed to have a great affection for their welfare. In the mean time, she desired that they would refrain from hostile operations, as well as from any change of government, assuring them that the short delay should be no damage

to them." This answer being reported to the Scots, produced various emotions. On the one hand, the necessity of the time required them to regard their counsels in such a manner as might be pleasing to the queen of England; while on the other, they knew of what importance it was to the people that a chief magistrate should be appointed, to whom all complaints might be made; as, through the neglect of creating one some months before, the enemy had improved the delay to gather forces, to make new courts of justice, daily to set forth new edicts, and to usurp all royal offices. On the other side, the royalists were dejected, and the multitude being without a person to exercise authority over them, could not be long kept in obedience. After the ambassador's return, news came that a fresh insurrection had broken out in England, and that, in London, the pope's bull was fastened on the church doors, exhorting the people to cast off the unjust yoke of the queen's government, and return to the popish religion. In all this, the queen Scots was suspected to have a concern.

Now, though they knew from the letters of the earl of Sussex, that, notwithstanding these things, all was quiet in England, and also that sir Thomas Randolph had, in their presence, confirmed it, yet they could hardly be restrained from choosing a regent. But at last a middle course prevailed, and, that they might have an appearance of a chief magistrate, they set up a limited deputy or viceroy, to continue till the 12th of July, in which time they expected to be further informed of the intentions of the queen of England. They grounded their belief that she was not averse to their undertaking chiefly upon her having put it into the articles of the capitulation, in which they should give up all the English who were exiled for rebellion; in consequence of which, they understood that the hearts of the papists in England would be alienated from the queen of Scots; and if it were denied, then the commerce, or treaty, would break off, and the suspicions which made the commonalty dissatisfied, would daily increase. They saw that other matters would not easily be agreed upon, when a greater danger threatened the English than the Scots, by the deliverance of their queen. They also knew that if other things were assented to, yet that the queen of England would never let Mary go without such hostages as she was not able to procure. These considerations gave them some encouragement, so that they proceeded to create Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, grandfather to the king, vice-regent for the time.

Whilst this new viceroy, by the advice of his council, was busied in settling matters, which had been disordered in the late tumults, letters came reasonably from the queen of England, on the 10th of July, wherein she expressed much of her affection to the king and kingdom of Scotland, and freely offered them her assistance. She desired them to refrain from naming a regent as being a title invidious of itself, and of no good example to them; so that, if they were resolved, and asked her advice, she thought none would be preferred to that high office before the king's grandfather; there being none of greater fidelity to the prince, who was yet a minor; and that it was undoubtedly he was entitled to the prerogative before all others. Encouraged by these letters, with the joint suffrages of all the estates, they gave the office of regent to the viceroy; who, as soon as he was elected, and had taken an oath according to custom, to observe the laws and customs of his country, began by commanding that all who were able to bear arms, should appear at Linlithgow on the second of August, to hinder the convention which the Scots had appointed to be held there in the name of the queen. Then the regent summoned a parliament in the name of the king, to be held on the 10th of October; and he also sent to the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, who still pretended great friendship to the royal party, though his words and actions did not correspond, commanding him to forward some brass cannon, carriages, and other articles of military service. This he did, rather to the governor's fidelity, than in any expectation of obtaining what he demanded. The other promised very fair at first; but as the day approached when the parliament was to meet, and he was desired to perform his engagements, he presumptuously refused, alleging, that his service should be always ready to make up an agreement between, but not to shed the blood of his countrymen.

Nevertheless, the regent came with five thousand armed men in his company, at the day appointed, to Linlithgow, where he received information that the enemy remained quiet, and that Huntly had only stationed one hundred and sixty soldiers at Brechin, from whence he issued orders to the people of the country, to send provisions for some thousands of men by the second of August. As this garrison not only robbed the inhabitants, but waylaid all travellers who passed the roads thereabouts, the regent, by the advice of his council, resolved to march thither, and seize the place, which would be of great advantage to him, before Huntly could arrive, or there to fight him ere he should be reinforced. The defeat of this party of musketeers, which was all he had at present, it was thought would be the means of securing some of the leaders of the faction, as the earl of Crawford, James Ogilvy, and James Balfour, who, according to report, were at Brechin. The regent allowed up this plan, by commanding Patrick Lindsay and William Ruthven, chief officers, and James Haliburton, governor of Dundee, to take what soldiers they could raise at that place and Perth, and march with such speed to Brechin, as to prevent the news of their coming. These orders they obeyed with the greatest alacrity, and for more expedition, on the following night procured horses to mount their infantry. When, however, they drew near the place, they proceeded slowly, to get some refreshment before they charged the enemy, so that the alarm reached Brechin that the enemy was coming. Upon this, Ogilvy and Balfour, who were then there, immediately got the soldiers together, and, encouraging them as well as they could for the time, told them, that they and Huntly would return again in three days; and so mounting on horseback, they hasted away over the mountains to their own people. The soldiers who were left took what they could find, and while about twenty of them got into the tower of a neighbouring church, the rest fled to the house of the earl of Marr, seated on an adjacent hill; and which, like a castle, commanded the town. James Douglas, earl of Morton, with eight hundred more, by taking a circuitous route, did not arrive till the following day. In the mean time, the regent sent home the people of Lennox and Renfrew, to guard their own country, lest Argyle should attempt any thing against it, and then set out himself, but it was three days before he overtook the others whom he had sent to Brechin. At the announcement of his advance, the neighbouring nobility came in, so that now he mastered seven thousand effective men; whereupon, they who were in the tower of the church, surrendered themselves prisoners. The rest, after stoutly defending the house for a few days, and killing and wounding some who were unwary in their approaches, upon hearing that brass cannon were planted against it, and that Huntly had forsaken them, surrendered also unconditionally to the mercy of the regent; who hung up thirty of the most desperate, many of whom had been before taken and released; the rest being very feeble, he dismissed. Huntly was then about twenty miles off, endeavouring, but in vain, to gather more forces; for most men, when they were at liberty to declare themselves, abhorred so iniquitous a cause. Upon this, he found himself obliged, through fear, to provide for his own safety, and accordingly with a small party retired into the more distant provinces.

After this, the regent returned to Edinburgh, to meet the parliament that had been summoned; and, by their advice, to settle the existing disturbances. The rebels, perceiving that the union which prevailed among all the estates, left them no hope, especially to such of them as were guilty of the king's murder, and of the death of the regent, endeavoured to make a friend of the queen of England; and therefore, after reminding her of the promise which she had made to the French and Spanish ambassadors, to hear both parties, and compose things as she could, they desired that no new decree might be made in the mean time. The requested delay was obtained, and the only thing done in that assembly was the confirmation of the regent's election. The rebels, meanwhile, increased soliciting the French and Spaniards to send forces into Britain, to restore their queen; and because they affirmed that the restitution of the papal or old religion depended on her, they had recourse also to the pope; who, though far remote, might yet help them with money. Accordingly, he sent an agent into Scotland, to inquire into the present state of affairs in that country; but when he gave an account, that the popish party



there was very weak, and that even all the rebels were far from being unanimous in the restoration of the Romish faith, he refused to intermeddle in their affairs. Knowing, however, that he still had a strong faction in the land, the pope continued his exertions to raise a rebellion there, by his thesmas or bulls of excommunication, which were affixed in the night to the doors of churches; and also by his indulgences, and his promise of indemnity for what was past. The regent, having appointed the parliament to be held on the 25th of January, within which time he hoped to prevail on the foreign ambassadors to compose things legally and judiciously, as well as could be done, returned to Edinburgh. But though he had renewed the truce, by name of the queen of England, till the agents of both parties should have been before her; yet, contrary to the peace desired by themselves, the other party were very busy in attempting alterations, encouraged, as it is thought, by the favour of the earl of Sussex, who then commanded the English army in Northumberland. For that nobleman, either not altogether despairing of the duke of Norfolk's interest, or else induced by the promises of the queen, of whose return he had great hopes, was somewhat inclinable to the rebels; which the Scots taking notice of, were more sparing in communicating counsels with him. The winter being passed in the revival of the treaty, the parliament that had been summoned for the 25th of January, was deferred till May. In the mean time, the Hamiltons having in vain solicited the king to kill the regent, at last seized the town of Paisley, and drove out the soldiers there in garrison, thinking they might do so with impunity. The king's men's minds were employed on greater objects. The regent appointed, in consequence, the earl of Morton, Robert Pitcairn, and James Macgill, as ambassadors to England, to lay this aggression before the ambassadors of the foreign princes. They were sent away on the 5th of February; and the regent marched himself to Paisley, where he summoned the neighbouring nobility, who were of his party, and attacked the castle; which, by being deprived of water, was forced to surrender. After this, being informed that Gilbert Kennedy annoyed the royalists, by his plundering excursions in Carrick, there he went to Ayr. But as soon as Kennedy heard of the approach of a few troops, and being also afraid of his own clanship, which had been always loyal to the king and his party, he gave his only brother as a hostage, and appeared to come to Stirling, and subscribe the stipulated capitulation. Hugh Montgomery, earl of Eglinton, and Robert Boyd, followed his example; and those surrendering themselves to the regent, were received into favour. During all the time that the regent was thus quelling the seditious, and Morton was absent on his embassy in England, they who held Edinburgh castle were freed from the fear of their enemies near at hand, ceased not to collect soldiers in order to put garrisons into the most convenient places of the city, and to send away provisions which the merchants had brought to Leith, and to provide all things necessary for a siege till the arrival of the expected relief from foreign parts.

Meanwhile, the regent, being very much bruised by a fall from his horse, returned to Glasgow, where a common soldier came to him, and gave him hopes of surprising Dumbarton. This man had been one of the garrison of the castle, and his wife coming often to visit him, had been accused, and whipt for theft by Fleming, the governor. Her husband being extremely fond of his wife, and judging her to have been wrongfully punished, deserted; and that day forward, employed all his thoughts how he might do Fleming a mischief. He accordingly imparted his thoughts to Robert Douglas, the chief man of the regent, and promised him, that if he would place under his directions a small party, he would shortly make him master of that castle. He acquainted John Cunningham with the design, who was to inquire directly of him, how so great an attempt could be accomplished. The man, being a blunt rough soldier, perceiving that they hesitated at his proposal, because he could not well make out how to execute what he had promised them,—"Since you do not believe my words, I will be myself the first in the service: if you will follow me, I will make you masters of the place; if your hearts fail you, then let it alone." When this was said to the regent, though the thing itself, from its magnitude, elated the spirits of the party,

and made them willing enough to have it effected ; yet the projector, without impeaching his integrity, did not seem a fit instrument to bring about so great an undertaking. But when Thomas Crawford, a bold man, and a good soldier, was made acquainted with the proposal, it was agreed between them, rather to try the hazard of so great an action, than idly to neglect the opportunity. Upon this, a few days were allotted to provide ladders and other necessaries, and the design was to be put in execution on the first of April ; which was the day when the truce granted to the rebels, by the mediation of the queen of England, would expire. In the mean time, the meditated enterprise was kept a profound secret.

Before I declare the event of this piece of service, give me leave to describe the nature and situation of the castle of Dumbarton. From the confluence of the rivers Clyde and Leven, there is a plain champaign of about a mile, extending to the foot of the adjoining mountains ; and in the very angle where the two rivers meet, stands a rock with two heads or summits. The highest, which is to the west, has on the extremity a watch-tower, from whence opens an extensive prospect to all the adjacent parts of the country. The other, being lower, looks towards the east between these ; and the side which turns towards the north and the fields, hath stairs ascending obliquely up the rock, cut out by art, and so narrow as hardly to admit a single man at a time. The rock is very hard, and scarcely yields to an iron tool ; but if any part of it be broken off, or falls down of itself, it emits a smell like sulphur. In the upper part of the castle is a vast piece of rock, of the nature of loadstone, but so closely cemented and fastened to the main body, that no signs of a junction appear. Where the river Clyde runs past to the south, the rock, which is naturally steep in other parts, has a circular direction ; and, stretching out its arms on both sides, takes in some firm land, which is so enclosed, partly by the nature of the place, and partly by human industry, that, in its cross or transverse sides, it affords sufficient space for houses ; while the river affords a road for ships. This place is very safe for the inhabitants, by the protection of the castle ordnance ; but it is of course equally perilous to an enemy ; and small boats may come up almost to the very castle-gate. The middle part of the rock, by which you go up, being full of buildings, makes, as it were, another castle, distinct and excluded from the higher one. Besides the natural fortification of the rock, the two rivers, Leven to the west, and Clyde to the south, make a kind of trench about it. On the east side, when the tide is in, the sea washes the foot of the rock ; and when it is out, the place is not sandy, as shores usually are, but muddy, the soil being principally composed of clay. This outlet is also intercepted, and cut by many torrents of water, which rush down from the adjacent heights. The other side looks towards the country. The castle has three fountains in it, which are always well supplied ; besides springs of running water in many other places. The ancient Britons, as Bede says, called the place *Alcuith* ; but the Scots, who were previously severed from those people by the river Leven, because the fort was built on the borders of the Britons, called it *Dumbarton*, now *Dumbarton*. There is a little town near it, of the same name, upon the bank of the Leven, and about half a mile distant from the confluence of the two rivers.

This castle was considered impregnable ; and, in all foreign and civil wars, it was deemed of great advantage to those who held it, and equally prejudicial to their enemies. At this time John Fleming was the governor, by a commission from the banished queen ; and though he did not assent to the murder of the king's father, yet, not having a sufficient force to defend himself against the royalists, he assisted the parricides, and for the last four years had kept up the garrison at the charge of the king of France ; having persuaded him that almost all the Scots had secretly confederated with the queen of England. He also made his boast to him, that he held, as it were, the fetters of Scotland in his own hands ; and that whenever the French should have leisure from other wars, if they would only send him a little assistance, he could easily bring the whole country under their power. The French king, on his side, was not wanting in feeding the vanity of Fleming, for he sent him some military stores by one Monsieur Verac, whom he commanded

to remain, and to give him an account of the affairs of Scotland. Besides the insolence of the governor was increased by the treachery of the soldiers who were garrisoned in Edinburgh castle; and had lately revolted from the king. He was also animated by the sickness of the regent, who was not only severely hurt by a fall from his horse, but troubled with a fit of the gout. In addition to all this, the governor derived encouragement from the treaty which the queen of England had obtained for his party till the end of March. These considerations made him and the men of his garrison so secure and careless that they went frequently into the town to make merry, and lay there all night as if they had been lulled to rest in the very bosom of peace.

Affairs being in this state, and preparations completed for the expedition as much as the present case would permit, John Cunningham was sent forward with some horse, to stop all passengers, that the enemy might have no intelligence of their coming. Thomas Crawford followed after with us foot; and both parties were ordered to meet at Dumbuck, a hill about a mile from the castle, at midnight. At that place, Crawford, according to his instructions, told the soldiers what the design was upon which they were going, and how they were to effect it; he also pointed out to them who was to be their leader, and who had promised to scale the walls first; while he, and the officers whom he should name, were to follow. The soldiers were easily persuaded to obey their leaders; and accordingly the ladders, and other arms to storm the castle, were prepared, and the foot, towards the break of day, marched on towards the place. But the cavalry were commanded to wait behind, to wait the event. As they were approaching the castle, they encountered two impediments; one in the breaking down of the bridge over the brook which runs between the fields; and the other in the sudden appearance of a fire near the same spot. This last occasioned a suspicion that the bridge had been broken down on purpose to stop their advance; and that the fire was kindled by the soldiers of the garrison, to discover and prevent their approach. But these fears were soon dispelled, by repairing the bridge as well as they could in great haste, and making it passable for the foot soldiers; while the scouts who were sent to the place where the light had been seen, could observe no appearance of any fire; so that in reality it was found to be a mere *ignis fatuus* of a meteorous nature, like that of flames which are kindled in the air, and sometimes pitch on the ground, and presently vanish. But they had a greater cause of dread, lest the sky, which was clear and starry, and the dawn of day, should discover them to the sentinels who kept watch above. All at once, however, the heavens were overcast with a thick mist, yet so that it reached not below the middle of the rock whereon the castle stood, while the upper part was so dark, that the guards of the castle could see nothing of what was doing below. But if this seasonable misfortune had almost ruined the whole design; for many ladders being necessary in order to get up that high rock, the first proved unmanageable on account of their length, and not being well fastened at the bottom in a slippery soil, they fell suddenly down with the overloaded weight of those who got upon them. This accident cast them into a great consternation for the present; but when they found that no one was hurt by the fall, they rallied their almost despairing spirits, and, as if the Almighty had favoured their design, they went on in the dangerous attack with greater alacrity, setting up the ladders again more cautiously, till they came to the middle of the rock, where they might stand conveniently. Here they found an ash tree, casually growing amongst the stones, which did them great service; for they tied ropes to it, and by them down, by which means they drew up their fellows who were left below, so that at one and the same time, some were drawn up by cords to the middle of the rock, and others, by setting fresh ladders, got up to the top. But here again they met with a new and unexpected misfortune, which had almost destroyed all their measures; for one of the soldiers, as he was in the middle of the ascent, was suddenly taken with a kind of fit, or apoplexy; so that he stuck fast to the ladder, and could not be taken from it, thereby stopping the way of those that followed. This danger was also overcome by the diligence and cheerfulness of the soldiers; for they tied him fast where he was, so that

when he recovered out of his fit, he could not fall; and then with great silence, turning the ladder, all the rest easily mounted. When they came to the top of the rock, there was a wall to which they had to fix their third ladders, to get over it. Alexander Ramsay, with two common soldiers, first got upon it, which the sentinels perceiving, gave the alarm, and cast stones at them. Alexander being assaulted with this unusual kind of battery, and having neither stones to throw again, nor shield to defend himself, leaped down from the wall into the castle, and there was set upon by three of the guard. He fought bravely with them, till his fellow-soldiers, being more concerned at his danger than their own, jumped down after him, and quickly despatched the three sentinels. In the mean time, the rest made what haste they could, so that the wall being old, loose, and overcharged with the weight of those who made haste to get over it, fell to the ground; and by its fall, as there was a breach formed for the rest to enter, so the ruins made the descent more easy through the rock, which was very high and rugged within the castle; where they entered in a body, shouting vehemently, "For God and the king!" and often proclaiming the name of the regent. In the confusion, the guards being astonished, and unable to fight, fled, every one shifting for himself as well as he could; and some kept themselves within, till the first fury of the victors should be over. Fleming escaped by slipping down the oblique rock, having only one man with him, who was knocked down; but the governor descending a by-way, was let out at a postern, and got into a vessel on the river, which, as the tide was in, came up to the walls, and thus he fled into Argyle-bire. The sentinels of the lower castle, and twenty-five more of the garrison soldiers, who had been drinking and wenching in the town all night, though they took the alarm, never offered to fight, but fled every one which way he could. There were taken in the castle, John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's; John Fleming, of Bogal; a young English gentleman, that had fled from the last insurrection in England; and Verac, a Frenchman, who some time before had been sent to them with some warlike provisions, and remained there in the name of his king, to acquaint him with the state of affairs in Scotland. Alexander, the son of William Livingston, endeavoured to escape by changing his habit, but was discovered and brought back. The regent being informed of the capture of the castle, came thither before noon; and first, he highly commended the soldiers, then he comforted Fleming's wife; and gave her not only her own apparel, plate, and all her household goods and utensils, but also assigned an estate, part of her husband's, which had long before been forfeited into the king's exchequer, to maintain herself and children. The rest of the booty was divided among the soldiers. Having settled things in this manner, he had leisure to take a view of the castle; and coming to the rock by which the soldiers got up, it seemed so difficult an ascent to them all, that the men themselves confessed, if they had foreseen the danger of the service, no reward whatsoever should have hired them to undertake it. Verac was accused by the merchants, that when they came to the bay of Clyde, he had robbed them in a hostile manner. Upon this, many of the council were of opinion he ought to be prosecuted as a pirate or robber; but the empty name of an ambassador prevailed with the regent, although the man had violated that character by his unwarrantable conduct. However, at the injured people might be kept in some hopes, at least, of satisfaction, he was kept apparently for a trial, and lodged in a house at St. Andrew's, whose owner was inclined to the rebels; whence he was taken away, as it were by force, which was a designed thing, and then he suddenly left the kingdom. The Englishman, though the strong suspicions fixed upon him were confirmed by the commendatory letters of John Leslie, bishop of Ross, Fleming, which were found after the castle was taken, was sent home to his own country. After he was gone, it was found that he had been suborned by the party of the duke of Norfolk, to poison the king of Scots. Bogal was kept prisoner; as also was the archbishop of St. Andrew's, although the regent could have been glad if he had perished. This prelate, in former times, and while his brother was regent, had been the advisor of many cruel and covetous practices; and under the queen also he bore the blame of all the mismanagements that had occurred. The regent feared, if he should delay his punish-

ment, the queen of England would intercede for him, and the archbishop's friends were in great hopes of the same; while the prelate himself, apprehending that the shortness of time would prevent their endeavours for him earnestly desired to be tried by the legal practice of the country, which would occasion some, though not much delay. But his request was overruled, it being alleged that there was no need of any new process in the case of the archbishop, for that it had been already judged in the parliament. Upon which, being plainly convicted as guilty of the king's murder, as also of that of the last regent, he was hanged at Stirling. On the occasion, there was new evidence brought forward, the greatest part of which had been but lately discovered, from which it appeared that the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who lodged in the next house, when the proposition for killing the king was made to him, willingly undertook it, both moved by old feuds between them, and also out of hopes thereby to bring the kingdom to his own family. Accordingly, he chose six or eight of the most wicked of his vassals, and communicated the matter to them, giving them the keys of the king's lodgings. They then entered very silently into his chamber, and strangled him when he was asleep; and when they had so done, they carried out his body through a little gate, of which I have already spoken, into an orchard adjoining to the walls; and then a sign was given to blow up the house. The discovery of this wickedness was made by John Hamilton, who had been a chief actor in the affair; after which, he was much troubled in his mind, day and night, his conscience tormenting him for the guilt of the fact;—and not only so, but the contagion reached to his body too, which was miserably pained and consumed by degrees, and resisted the power of medicine. At last he remembered that there was a schoolmaster at Paisley, of good repute, although a papist; to whom he confessed the whole deed, and the names of those who joined with him in the perpetration of the murder. The priest comforted him as much as he could, and put him in mind of the mercy of God; yet, because the disease had taken deeper root than to be expiated by such remedies, within a few years he was so overwhelmed with grief, that he died. The priest was not so silent in the thing, but that some notice of it came to the king's friends. They, many months after the murder was committed, when Matthew, earl of Lennox, was regent, when Dunbar was taken, and the bishop was brought to Stirling, caused the priest to be sent for thither. He then repeated what he had spoken before about the king's murder; and when asked by Hamilton, how he came to the knowledge of the circumstance, and whether it had been revealed to him in auricular confession, he answered in the affirmative. Then, said Hamilton, you are not ignorant of the punishment due to those who reveal the secrets of confessions: and this was the only answer which he made to the accusation. After three months or more, the same priest was taken saying mass the third time; and as the law appointed, was led out to suffer: when he also publicly declared all that he had before affirmed of the matter, in plainer and fuller terms, which were so openly divulged, that now Hamilton's vassals fell out among themselves, and charged one another with the murder of the king.

In the mean while, the rebels had procured a little money from France: by means of the brother of him who commanded Edinburgh castle. More also was now returned from his English embassy, and, in a convention of the nobles held at Stirling, declared the effect of it in these words:

"When we came to London, which was the 20th of February, we were referred, by the queen, to seven members of her council, chosen for that purpose; who, after much dispute betwixt us, at last insisted upon two points: first, that we should produce the clearest and best arguments we had, to shew the reasons of those actions which had lately happened in Scotland, so that the queen might be satisfied of the equity of them, and thereby know how to answer those who demanded a reason for them. Yet if we were not able to do this, we were assured that the queen would omit nothing which might endanger our safety. In answer to this, we gave in a memorial to this effect:—The crimes wherewith, at first, our king's mother complained that she was charged, have been so clearly proved by the earl of Murray and his condignators in the embassy, that both the queen of England, and those who

were delegated by her to hear the cause, could not be ignorant of the author of the murder of the late king, which was the source of all our other miseries: to repeat them therefore again before the queen, who, we have no doubt, is sufficiently satisfied already, we think unnecessary; and we are unwillingly drawn into the trouble of renewing the remembrance of so great a wickedness. But those who cannot deny that this fact was cruelly and impiously perpetrated, do yet censure the transfer of the kingdom and the government from the mother to the son, as a new and intolerable thing, extorted from her by mere force. First, as for the matter of fact in punishing our princes, the old custom of our ancestors will not suffer it to be called new; neither can the moderation of the punishment make it invidious. It is not necessary for us to mention the many kings whom our forefathers have chastised by imprisonment, banishment, and even death itself; much less need we confirm our practice by foreign examples, of which there are abundance in old histories. The nation of the Scots being at first free by the common suffrage of the people, set up kings over them, conditionally, that, if need were, they might take away the government by the same suffrages that gave it. The principles of this law remain to this day; for, in the neighbouring islands, and in many places of the continent, which retain the ancient speech and customs of our forefathers, the same course is observed in creating their magistrates. Moreover, those ceremonies which are used in the inauguration of our kings, have an express representation of this law, by which it clearly appears, that monarchical government is nothing but a mutual stipulation between the sovereign and people; and the same may be collected from the inoffensive tenor of the old law, which hath been observed ever since there was a king in Scotland, even to the present time, no man having ever attempted to abrogate, abate, or diminish, this law in the least. It would be tedious to enumerate how many kings our ancestors have divested of their thrones, banished, imprisoned, and put to death; neither was there ever the least mention made of the severity of this law, or the repeal of it, nor ought there to be; for it is not of the nature of such sanctions, which are subject to the changes of time; yet, in the very original of mankind, it was engraven in men's hearts, approved by the mutual consent of almost all nations, and, together with nature itself, was to remain inviolable and eternal; so that these laws are not subject to the empire of any individual, but all men are subject to the dominion and power of them. This law is a rule to us in all our actions—it is always before our eyes and minds, whether we will or no—it dwells in us; and our ancestors followed it, in repressing the violence of tyrants by force of arms. It is a law not proper to the Scots only, but one common to all nations and people in well instituted governments. To pass over the famous cities of Athens, Sparta, Rome, and Venice, who never suffered this right to be taken from them, but with their liberty itself; even in those times wherein oppression and tyranny were most triumphant in the Roman government; if any good man was chosen emperor, he counted it his glory to confess himself inferior to the whole body of the people, and subject to the law. For Trajan, when he delivered a sword, according to custom, to the governor of a certain city, is reported to have said:—'Use it either for me or against me, as I shall deserve.' Even Theodosius, a good emperor in bad times, would have it oft recorded amongst his sanctions and laws, as a speech worthy of a monarch, and greater than his dominion itself, to confess, 'that he was inferior to the laws.' Nay, even the most barbarous people, who had little notion of civil life, had, however, a sense and knowledge of this, as the history of all nations, and common observation, will shew. But, not to insist on obsolete examples, I shall suffice to mention two within our own memory. Of late, Christian, king of Denmark, for his cruelty, was forced out of the kingdom, with all his family; which surely is a greater punishment than our people ever inflicted upon any of their kings; for they never visited the sins of the fathers upon their children. With regard to him, he was deservedly punished, after a singular manner, as the monster of his age, for all kind of wickedness. But what did the mother of the emperor Charles V. do to deserve perpetual imprisonment? She was a woman in the flower of her age, and her husband lived young, even in the very prime of life; now it was reported that she had

a mind to marry again; she was not accused of any crime, but of a certain allowable intemperance, (as the severe Catos of the age express themselves, and of forming an honourable connexion, approved by the laws of God and man. If the calamity of our queen be compared with that of Christians of Denmark, she is not less an offender, to go no farther, but she has been more moderately proceeded against and punished. If, however, she be compared with Joan of Austria, the mother of the emperor Charles, what did that poor lady do, but desire, as far as she lawfully might, a gratification allowed by the law and a remedy necessary for her age? Yet, though an innocent woman, she suffered that punishment of which our queen, convicted of the highest crimes now complains. The murder of her lawful husband, and her illegal marriage with a public parricide, have now the same intercessors, who, in murdering the king, did inflict the punishment due to wicked men on the innocent. But here they remembered not what the examples of their ancestors pressed them to; neither are they mindful of that eternal law, by which our noble progenitors, even from the first beginning of kingdoms, have restrained the violence of tyrants. And, in our present case, what have we done more, than trod in the steps of so many kingdoms and free nations, and so bridled that arbitrary spirit, which claimed a power above law! And yet we have not done it with the same severity that our ancestors used in the like kind: yet they never would have suffered any one who had been found guilty of such a notorious crime, to escape capital punishment. If we had imitated them, we should have been as free from fear of danger, as from the trouble of calumniators; and this may be easily known by the demand of our adversaries. How often have they accused and arraigned us before neighbouring potentates? What nations do they not solicit, and stir up against us? What do they desire by this importunity? Is it only that the controversy may be decided by law and equity? We never refused that condition; and they would never accept of it, though it was often offered them. What then do they desire? Even this, that we should arm tyrants with public authority, who are manifestly guilty of the most notorious wickedness, who are stained with the spoils of their subjects, besmeared with the blood of kings, and are at the destruction of all good men; that we should set up those over our lives who are found actors in the parricide, and much suspected of being the original planners of it, without acquitting themselves in a judicious way; and yet we have gratified their request, more than the custom of our country, the severity of the law, or the distribution of equal justice, would allow. There is nothing more frequently celebrated, nor more diligently handled by the writers of our history, than our punishment of evil kings. And amongst many wicked governors, who ever felt the like lenity of angry subjects in inflicting punishment, as we have used in punishing our king's mother, though evidently guilty of the greatest crime? What ruler convicted of such an offence, had ever power given to substitute a son, or kinsman, in his or her place? To whom, in such circumstances, was the liberty ever granted, to appoint what guardians they pleased to the succeeding king? And in the abjurations of the kingdom, who can complain of any hard usage? A young woman, unable to support the load of government, and tossed by the storms of unsettled affairs, sent letters to the nobility to free her from that rule, which was as burdensome to her as it was honourable. This was granted her. She desired that the government might be transferred from her to her son; and this request was also assented to. She next wished to have the naming of guardians who might rule the state till her son came of age: and it was not only done as she desired; but, that the thing might have more authority, the whole was referred to the estates in parliament, who voted, that all was rightly performed, and in good order; and they confirmed it by an act, than which there cannot be a more sacred or firm obligation. But it is alleged, that what was done in prison, is to be taken, not as done willingly, but by constraint, by fear of death; and so many other things which men are forced to do for fear, as they ought, to go for nothing. However, though this plea is not always inferable for abolishing a public act once made in a course of law. If a man is introduced into his adversary for his own advantage, not

so the plaintiff extorts more from the defendant than ever he could legally obtain; there is a remedy provided, and very justly, for no one should be forced by compulsion to do what is prejudicial to himself. But it is otherwise, if a guilty conscience creates a fear to itself, out of an expectation of a deserved punishment, to avoid which, the offender assents to some certain conditions. This fear carries with it no just cause to rescind public acts; for otherwise, the more wicked a person is, so much the easier retreat he might have to the sanctuary of the law: and then the remedies found out for the relief of the innocent, would be transferred to indemnify the guilty. Besides, the laws themselves, the avengers of wrongs, instead of being a refuge to good men, when vexed by the improbity of the bad, would be an unjust shelter to the evil, when apprehensive of merited punishment. But this alleged fear, let it be what it may, in what respect has it made the condition of the queen worse? The title of royal dignity, and the administration of the government, have been long since taken from her by parliament; and being reduced to privacy, she lived an uncertain life, which she owed to the people's mercy more than to her own innocence. When, therefore, she was divested of the kingdom, what did she lose by her fear? her dominion had been at an end before, and she only threw off the empty name of ruler; which might lawfully have been extorted from her against her will, instead of parting with it of her own accord; whereby she redeemed the residue of her life, the mark of her infamy, and the perpetual fear of imminent dissolution, which is worse than death itself, only by the laying down the shadow of a mere title and name. And therefore I wonder that, on this head, no one discovers the prevarication of the queen's delegates, and of her ambassadors. For they, who desire that what was done in prison by the queen may be rescinded, ask this also, that she may be restored to that place from which she complains she was ejected through fear. And what is that place to which they so earnestly desire she should be restored? She hath been removed from governing the kingdom, and from all public administration, and left to the punishment of the law. Now, these goodly advocates would have her restored to the necessity of pleading for herself in a cause which is as manifest as it is foul and detestable; or rather, it being already proved, that she should suffer just punishment for the same. ¶ And whereas now she enjoys some ease in the compassion of her relations, and, for so black an offence, is not in the worst condition of life, they would again cast her into the tempestuous hurry of a new judgment; she having no better hope of her safety, than she can gather from the condemnation of so many former kings, who have been called before tribunals to answer for themselves. But because our diversaries seditiously boast, in order to trouble the minds of the simple, that the majesty of good kings is impaired, and their authority almost vilified, if tyrants are punished; let us see what weight there is in this pretence. On the contrary, we may rather judge, that there is nothing more honourable to the societies and assemblies of the good, than to be freed from the contagion of the bad. Who ever thought, that the senate of Rome incurred any guilt by the punishment of Lentulus, Cethegus, or Catiline? Valerius Asiaticus, when the soldiers mutinied for the killing of Caligula, and cried out to him, "Who was the author of a fact so audacious?" answered from an eminence where he stood, "I wish I could truly say, I did it;"—so much majesty were in that free speech of one private man, that the wild soldiers were by it presently pacified and quieted. When Junius Brutus defeated the conspiracy made for bringing back the tyrants into the city of Rome, he did not think that his family was defiled by a severe execution, but that, by the blood of his children, the stain was rather washed away from the Roman nobility. Did the imprisonment of Christiern of Denmark detract any thing from the commendation of the succeeding monarch of the same name? Did it hinder him from being accounted the best of kings in his time? For a noble mind, that is supported by its own virtue, doth neither increase by the glory, nor is lessened by the infamy, of another. But to let these things pass, let us return to the proof of the crime. I think we have abundantly answered the queen's desire; which was, that we should shew her such strengthening and convincing proofs for what we have done, that she might be satisfied in



## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

istness of our cause; and also be able to inform others, who desired to know what we could say for ourselves. As for the king's murder, the manner, the method, and the causes of it, have been so fully declared by the earl of Murray, and his associates in the embassy, that they must needs be clear to the exact judgment of the queen, and those who were delegated by her to that affair. In regard to what is objected to us, as blame-worthy, after some time, we have shewn, that it is according to the divine law, and also to the law of nature, which too is in some measure divine; besides, it is conformable to our own country laws and customs; neither is it different from the practice of other nations, who have the semblance of any good and just government amongst them. Seeing then that our cause is justified by all the interests of divine and human laws; and that the examples of so many ancient judgments of so many people, and the punishment of tyrants, confirm the justice of no such novelty or injustice in our cause, but that the queen herself readily subscribes to it; and persuade others, that, in this matter, we should think no otherwise of us, than that we have carried ourselves as faithful subjects and good Christians."

These were the allegations which we thought fit to make in defence of our cause, which we committed to writing, and read them on the last day of February, before those grave and learned persons, whom the queen had appointed to confer with us on this subject. The next day, which was the first of March, we again went in the morning to court, to learn how she relished our answer. Her judgment she made of the whole cause; but, because on that day, as we were going to her country house at Greenwich, which is about three miles from London, we had no opportunity to speak with her; and therefore we went to the chief of the council, who at first were appointed to hear and confer with us. They told us, that the queen, though she had very little opportunity on account of her journey, and other business, had yet read our memorial, which had not produced a full conviction in her mind, that our cause was so just, as that she could approve it without scruple; wherefore she desired us to go to the second thing at first proposed to us, which was to find out some way whereby this dispute might be ended upon some moderate conditions. To this we replied, that we were not sent from home with a full and unlimited commission, but one that was circumscribed within certain bounds; that we had no freedom to enter into any debate at all, of what might tend to diminish the authority of our king; and that even if such a liberty were offered us, we should have been unwilling to accept it, or to make use of it when allowed to do so.

Matters standing thus, the queen being at Greenwich, and ourselves in London, we sent some of our number down to her, desiring to know whether she had any thing more to say to us; and that, if not, we might have liberty to return home, there to consult, as well as we could, the good of our country and our own private concerns; and that, if there were any thing in which we might gratify her majesty, we were willing to show our obedience and respect; nay, that we should take more opportunity to do so at home, than we could have in the dominions of another. This demand produced no answer; so that we appeared at court on the 5th of March. When we entered into the queen's presence, she mightily blamed our stiffness in maintaining our opinion, and for so pertinaciously shunning a dispute, or rather a consultation, in a matter which much concerned our security. She also added a representation of her mind and will against the king, and those who maintained his cause. We urged, that the justness of our cause had been clearly manifested before. She answered, that she was not satisfied in her mind with the examples and arguments that had been produced by us; neither, that she was wholly ignorant of such questions, as having passed some of her time in the study of the law. But, added she, although you be determined to make no other proposal for your king's safety and your country, I will have you, at least, enter into another conference with the chief of the council, who treated with you about these things before. We answered, that we were not at all so firmly wedded to our own opinions, as to be unwilling to hear any good expedient, that might be offered by her, or her council; but ever with this proviso, that no alteration should be made in our

present state of the kingdom ; nor any diminution at all of the royal authority, or upon these two heads we neither could nor would admit the least consultation or debate.

"The following day, we went down again, as agreed upon, to the royal palace, and entered into a conference with her majesty's counsellors, where many proposals were made to decide the controversy between the king and queen, concerning the title to the government. We now, because the reasons were many, and concerned matters of great importance on both sides, desired that he same might be presented to us in writing, and time allowed us for the consideration of things of such great consequence. To this they very willingly acceded, after first consulting the queen on the subject. When we had read them all over in order, the matters proposed seemed so difficult to us, so derogatory to the power of the king, and so far exceeding the limits of our embassy and commission, that we neither could, would, nor durst, touch upon them. The day after, Robert Pitcairn was sent to court with the following answer : ' That such matters properly belonged to the decision of all the estates, and were not to be settled by so small a number of persons.' He also carried our answer to the council, who, the day before, which was the 9th of March, had desired to have the whole in writing. He also requested of the queen, that as we had settled all points within the bounds of our commission, we might have liberty to return home. Ten days after this, we had liberty to attend the queen. The delegates of the council, who, from our first coming, were appointed to treat with us, were very urgent that we would yet confer with them, about finding out some remedies to compose the differences. They used many arguments for that purpose, stating that, if war from abroad should be added to the troubles at home, our labours, dangers, and difficulties, would be increased, especially as we were not able to extricate ourselves by our own native forces. But we persisted in our resolution, and would hearken to no offer of accommodation which tended to lessen the king's authority ; and thus the conference ended. On the 20th of March, we were sent for again to court, and being commanded to appear before the queen, she spoke in the following manner : That she and her council had weighed our answers, by which she understood that none but a supreme council, or parliament, of Scotland, consisting of all the estates, could give a certain answer to her demands ; and, thereupon, she had found out a way how to leave the matter entire as she found it, and that too by an honest pretence. She was informed, that there was shortly to be a convention of all the estates of Scotland ; that we should go thither, with her best wishes for our safety ; and that we should there endeavour to have an equal number of both parties chosen, to examine the ground of the difference between them ; and that she also would send ambassadors thither, who should join their endeavours to promote a peace. In the mean time, she requested that the conferences might be resumed, till the dispute was brought to a final issue. She also said, that she would confer with the ambassadors of the Scottish queen, and persuade them, if she could, to assent to the measure. But when it was mentioned to them, they excused themselves, by saying, that they could determine nothing on that head, without consulting their mistress ; for which purpose they would write to her, and know her pleasure. We pressed hard to have our promised passports, to return ; but were desired to have a little patience, till an answer had been received from the queen of Scotland to the bishop of Ross, and the rest of her ambassadors, and then we should receive our dismissal. We repeated our request, but without effect, though we told the queen of England that we had nothing to do with the bishop of Ross, neither was our embassy to him ; that we had finished what we came for, and wondered why the bishop should retard our journey, especially since so many tumults were raised in our absence, to the great inconvenience of the king's party. But though our importunity almost exceeded the bounds of good manners, we could not prevail ; for the matter was deferred from day to day, till the last of March, and then the queen returned to London. The things which were debated in parliament for three days after, employed the queen so much, that she had no leisure to consider of foreign matters. But on the 4th of April she sent for us, and excused the delay. She told us, that our king's mother had, by her

letters, severely rebuked her ambassadors for their presumptuous conduct in descending to debate her cause after that manner; and therefore, the queen said, seeing they are so averse to the peace, which I proposed, I will detain you no longer; but if she repent of her present sentiments, of which I have some hopes, and shall take the course pointed out by me, I do not doubt but you, for your part, will perform your duty. Thus we were respectfully dismissed, and, on the 8th of April, we began our journey towards our own country."

Such was the account given at Stirling, before the convention of the estates by the ambassadors, whose care and diligence met with universal approbation. Other matters were adjourned to the 1st of May, at which time the parliament was summoned to meet. Meanwhile, both parties exerted themselves, one to promote, the other to hinder, the sitting of that assembly. The wisest senators were of opinion, that the queen of England would not suffer her sister of Scotland to leave her kingdom, as foreseeing how dangerous it would otherwise be to all Britain. In the mean time, mention was made by some individuals, of demanding the Scottish king as a hostage to his mother, rather with the hope of preventing than effecting a reconciliation; but there were still some powerful men in Elizabeth's council, who were favoured the duke of Norfolk's party. These were desirous that the queen of Scotland should be restored; whereby the adverse faction might, in time, be broken or diminished, that so they might obtain that from them by necessity, which they found could not be gained otherwise. Nor did they desire, but that the matter would come to this point, when the rebels were supplied with money and other necessaries for war from France; while the royalists had their eyes only on the queen of England, who, at the beginning, had them large promises, upon being made acquainted with the crime of the queen, that she would take a special care of the king and kingdom of Scotland. Neither could the French monarch well bring about his designs. He was willing, indeed, that the queen of Scotland should be restored, but not that the king should be put into English hands; and hearing that the Norfolk faction was not only strong, but bent upon innovations, he cherished hopes that the royal exile might in time escape out of prison privately, or be delivered by Howard's means. Thus stood the state of Britain at that time.

Morton having given a good account of his embassy to the convention at Stirling, returned to his own house, about four miles from Edinburgh. Till the arrival of more forces, he had a company of one hundred foot, and a few horse, to guard his premises, and defend himself, in case the inhabitants of Edinburgh should attempt any outrage. In the mean time, the queen's party were mustered at that town, where they set guards in all convenient places; and exerted themselves to the utmost, to exclude the regent, and to hinder the meeting of the parliament, which had been summoned to be held there. Upon this, Morton, as the regent had ordered, despatched twenty horse, and about seven hundred foot, the rest having passes to go abroad for forage, to Leith, who were to make a public proclamation there, Edinburgh being garrisoned about that time, that no man, under penalty of capital punishment, should assist the rebels by land or sea, either with provisions, arms, or other warlike stores. Morton, knowing his men to be inferior to the soldiers of the town, sent the foot about another way, which was covered by a hill from the view of the city, called Arthur's seat, while the horse passed near the walls and gates, from whence not a man of the enemy moved out. After reading the proclamation at Leith, they had not the same good fortune on their return; for the foot refused to march back the same way they came, but returned, against the will of the horsemen, near the gates of the city, and passed with them under the walls, with an intent to try the courage of their own party, as well as that of their enemies; when, on a sudden, a sally was made from one of the gates. At first, they fought bravely, but at last, the men of the city were forced to retire in disorder within the walls, and though they suffered little loss, it easily appeared that they were inferior in valour, and never advantage they had in numbers. The regent being unprepared to attack the town, and having little time, by the sudden sitting of the parliament, to bring any cannon thither, thought it best to desist from force, and to hold on

parliament without the gate of Edinburgh; for the length of that city exceeding its breadth, they who first compassed it with a wall, left a great part of it in the suburbs; the inhabitants of which had the full privileges of citizens, equally with the others. There the convention was held; for the lawyers gave it as their opinion, that it was no great matter in what part of the city it met. In this parliament were declared traitors, the chief of those who held out the castle, especially such of them as, in the consciousness of their guilt of the murder of the king and regent, had avoided trial. When the rebels found themselves condemned by an act of parliament, the judgment of which court is of very great authority, they feared lest the commonalty, which usually are inclined to favour the nobility, should be alienated from them; and, therefore, they also resolved, with the number they had there, to form a convention of their own. Few appeared therein who had any right to vote, and of them some ceased soon to attend the assembly; while others presented themselves but as spectators only, and abstained from all judicary acts. Under these circumstances, having neither a sufficient number of voices, nor being assembled in due time, nor according to ancient custom, yet, that they might make show of a lawful number, two bishops, and some others who were absent, a circumstance never heard of before, sent in their votes in writing. At this time the guns of the castle were fired continually upon the place where the nobility were assembled; and though the bullets often fell amongst crowds of people, yet they neither killed nor wounded so much as one man. There were but few condemned in either convention; and both parties appointed another meeting to be held in August, one at Stirling, the other at Edinburgh. When the assembly was dismissed, neither party attacked the other, so that there was a kind of truce as it were by common consent. Upon this, the greatest part of the soldiers that were with Morton, being pressed men, went away to their own homes. They who kept the castle, knowing that Morton had now but a small party for his guard, and being willing also to gain some reputation for their former ignominious repulse, sent out two hundred and twenty musketeers, and one hundred horse, carrying two brass field-pieces along with them. Their intention was, either to burn the town of Dalkeith, where Morton then was, or, if that did not succeed, to frighten the enemy, and keep him within the town. But the main object of the enterprise was ostentation, resolving, if they effected their purpose, to make their boast of it all over the country. They shewed themselves, well accoutred, on a hill over against Dalkeith; upon which, those of the place being alarmed, hastened immediately at the cry of arms. The people of Morton drew out presently, to the number of two hundred foot, and about sixty horse, and having gained the summit of an opposite hill, descended from thence into the valley, where they stood over against them ready for battle. Some archers advanced, and skirmished on both sides, and there was a slight onset; but the rebels, who expected to find their enemies unprepared, being disappointed of their hopes, marched back in as entire a body as they could, to recover the city. In the eagerness of their retreat, and while pressing close upon one another, they came to Craigmillar castle, situated almost in the midway between Edinburgh and Dalkeith. There, a few of Morton's foot, who had been assailed by the castle privately on the other side, rose out of their ambush, and attacked the body of the enemy, in the strait passage of the road, which lay between them, and so disordered their ranks, and put them to flight. They who kept garrison in the castle of Edinburgh, perceiving from the higher grounds, that their men were flying toward them, sent out eighteen horse and thirty foot to relieve them; with which reinforcement they rallied, and the king's horse being fewer in number by one-half, and not able to ensure the action, retreated in as much haste as they had hitherto pursued. The foot were in a manner useless on both sides, owing to the heavy rain that fell suddenly at that time. In the pursuit of Morton's men, more were wounded than slain; but they lost about twenty-six, who were taken prisoners; while, on the part of the rebels, there were more slain, and fewer taken. But one accident did almost equal the loss of both parties. Those who came from Edinburgh brought with them a barrel of gunpowder; and, as the soldiers in haste, and carelessly, went to take out some powder, a spark of fire

fell into it, and blew it up, insomuch that the horse which carried it, with James Melvil the commander of the foot, and many other soldiers, were so murthered and burnt, that most of them died in a few days after.

While these transactions were going on about Edinborough, and victory inclined to neither side; a troop of Scots, who some years before had served in Denmark under Michael Wemyss, a noble, virtuous, and learned young man, returned to their own country, and offered their services to the king. Contrary to the wishes of the townsmen, who would willingly have attached them to their party. They had a little time allowed them to visit their friends; but, assembling on the day appointed, they were informed that several ships were manned by the rebels, for the purpose of intercepting them. Morton was aware of the object, and taking what force he could on a sudden colour, without acquainting any one with his design, he went so suddenly to Leith that he almost surprised them before they got on board; but sixteen vessels, which did not make haste enough to launch their boat, were made prisoners on the shore. The following day, not being able to do it sooner on account of the tide, he procured vessels, either to follow them, or to intercept their return. The regent being made acquainted with this the same night, speedily collected some irregular troops, and hastened to the left shore of the Forth, to attack the rebels on their landing; but the speed of the Danish soldiers rendered his endeavours needless, for the greatest part of them got on board a large vessel, and passed safely over. The remainder, about twenty-six in number, who were in a small skiff, were taken, and brought prisoners to the castle. After this action, the regent returned to Stirling; but Morton, wearied out by labour and watching, and seized with a colic, was confined to his bed in Leith. Drury, the Englishman, who had been endeavouring for many days to effect a truce between the factions, could in the end accomplish nothing; for the regent would yield to no terms, unless the places which had been seized during the former truce, were restored. When Drury was about to depart to the rebels, as if in respect and compliment to him, drew out all the strength he could muster, supposing that, whilst Morton was sick, they should not frighten their enemies, who were inferior in number to themselves, or that they durst fight with the force they had, without their general, such execution might be done upon them, as might contribute to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. Morton, being informed of this by his horse-guards, immediately rose from bed, and, buckling on his armour, brought up all his men to a neighbouring hill, about four hundred paces from the enemy, where he left them in readiness for the attack. Drury rode between the two armies, earnestly requesting them to return home, and not break off all hope of accommodation, by over-rash and hasty counsels. Upon this, they both agreed to retreat; but a dispute arose about who should march off first. Drury endeavoured to compromise this difference also, by proposing, that when he was standing in the centre betwixt the armies, gave a sign, both should commence their retreat at the same moment. Morton expressed his assent to this proposal; but the rebels threatened, that unless he retreated first of his own accord, they would beat him shamefully off the field; and, indeed, they could hardly be kept from advancing towards him. On receiving this answer, Morton, judging that he had already given full satisfaction to Drury and the English, whom he was loath to offend at this time, and would rather have as witnesses of his moderation, immediately marched against the enemy. First, his horse made so brisk a charge, as to break the two wings; and the foot, in the attempt to charge him, were routed also. As the gate of the street was narrow, and admitted but few at a time, many were there smothered many were trodden under foot, and numbers were taken, none making resistance, except a small party of foot, who, taking advantage of a church-yard, again rallied, but, at the first charge, were a second time put to flight. Their escape into the city was so confused, that the guard left the gates, and fled to the castle; so that the pursuers, had they not been too intent on the chase, might have taken the town, which was left entirely unprotected. About fifty of the rebels were killed, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Andrew Home received a slight wound by a fall from his horse, and was also Gavin Hamilton was killed; James Cullen, the kinsman of Huntly, and

commander of foot, hid himself in a poor woman's pantry, but was discovered, and conveyed to Leith. The common people, when they saw him, gave a great shout; and it plainly appeared that nothing would satisfy them but his death; for, in the former civil wars, he had been a cruel and rapacious plunderer. He was also infamous in his military employment in France; and when the kings of Denmark and Sweden were at variance, he promised to give each of them; and, accordingly, took their money to raise soldiers, but betrayed both. Many such villanous things had he done; but, being at last taken, to the great joy of all, he was led forth to execution.

The townsmen having rested a few days, recruited their forces, and again drew themselves in arms; after which, light skirmishes passed between the armies almost every day, with various success. The king's party were the most courageous, but the rebels had places more convenient for ambushes; besides which, they were in possession of a high castle, from whence they could see all the motions of their enemies: but it was uncommon for them to venture farther from the city than the ordnance of their fortress could command. The regent continued at Leith, watching their movements, and cutting off all supplies from them by sea; but he could not do so by land, on account of the extent of the city, and the unevenness of the adjacent places, the surrounding of which, many opportunities of service were lost. Whilst these operations were going on about the city, a French ship was taken, conveying powder, ball, with a few small brass guns, and some money, to the rebels. The money was employed in paying the king's troops; but the ball, powder, and part of the cannon, being sent with little or no guard to Stirling, up the river, the rebels, having intelligence of it, procured some vessels from other ports, and surprised them; after which, as they were not able to carry their booty to the castle, they sunk it in the river. About the same time, another small ship was taken, in which little else was found but letters and large promises of assistance, speedily to be sent from France. During the two last years, in which there had been occasional wars in Scotland, the queen of England on behalf of the royalists, and the king of France and the English papists on that of the rebels, sent some small sums of money; but amused them more with promises, rather studying that the party which they respectively supported, might not be conquered, than prove victors. Both of them seemed desirous that matters should be brought to a state of necessity; the English queen, that the Scots, being worn out by their divisions, might be willing to send their king into England, and so seem to depend wholly on her; the French king, that the rebels might surrender Dumbarton and Edinburgh to him, so that, by possessing those two commanding garrisons on both seas, he might keep the Scots always in fear of his arms. But when the liberation of the queen appeared desperate, and Dumbarton castle was lost, his motions in the cause of the rebels began to slacken; and he was not willing, now the kingdom was exhausted by domestic seditions, to undertake a new and unnecessary war, for the sake of one fortress only; it being enough at present, he thought, to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands.

The Scots were fully resolved not to give up their king to the English; both on account of old disputes, as also, because the papists there were so strong, that they placed all their hopes in his death. For, they thought, if he was taken out of the way, the queen of England would not only be weakened, seeing it was one royal life alone that delayed their expectation; but the queen of Scots would be the undoubted heir of the whole island, who, by her marriage, might gratify whom she pleased with the regal power, and so be of vast moment in the change of the state of religion through all Europe. Even in the English court there were some, and those too of no mean rank, who preferred the hopes of new scenes before old benefits. But many of the privy-council feared, that if Elizabeth should be cut off while the king of Scotland was alive, the known atrocity of the Scottish queen might diminish her authority, and increase the power of her son; who, out of an abhorrence of tyranny, would be thereby endeared more to the English. Upon this, the English rebels determined to destroy both their own queen and the king of Scotland; but as they did not dare to do it openly, they resolved to accomplish their object by poison.

Matters standing thus in Scotland, both factions prepared themselves against the approaching sitting of the parliament. The rebels had no more than 15 of the lords who voted with them, of whom two were the procurators, or commissioners of the convention, to be held in the queen's name; and the first Alexander Home, was the only man who had a legal voice in the assembly. Of the ecclesiastical order were two bishops, one of whom had been banished thither two months before by the regent; and when the state of the city was changed, as he dared not depart without a convoy, he staid there against his will. The other was a bankrupt, who, having spent his estate, was driven to the city by necessity. By their votes, above two hundred persons were condemned, some of whom were children under age. Besides, the important soldiers, as if they had already gained the victory, took upon them to divide the estates of other men among themselves; and thus many quiet and innocent persons, who, on that very account, were more liable to injury, were inserted in the roll of proscription and forfeiture.

The regent went to Stirling with a great concourse of nobility, where he held a parliament; in which about thirty of the most obstinate of the queen's party were condemned, but the rest were spared, with hopes of pardon. The rebels, thinking this a fit opportunity for them to attempt something in the absence of the nobles, drew all their forces out of the city, and, to make greater show, compelled the townsmen to join them; setting them in battle array, that so, as in former times, by light skirmishes, they might draw the king's forces out of Leith. In the mean time, while they kept the common play, they resolved to send others on a private and circuitous march, and when the garrison was drawn out, to enter in at the opposite gate, and burn the town. Patrick Lindsay, the governor of Leith, being a wise and valiant person, drew out his forces, having sufficiently provided against ambushes, and he marched directly towards the enemy. They fought stoutly at first; but at last he attacked the rebels so fiercely, that they fell back, not without slaughtering the gates of the town; many prisoners were also taken, the most of whom were townsmen. Alexander Home once fell into the hands of the victors, but was soon rescued again by his own party. In the dusk of the evening, as the king's troops were returning, joyful for the victory, James Hamilton, a good man, and a skilful soldier, who commanded all the foot, being too far from his company, was taken on the high road by some horsemen when he could not discern to whose party they belonged, and so was carried prisoner into the city. Notwithstanding this defeat, the rebels took heart to make another attempt, more full of danger and boldness, and more late, if it had succeeded, to have put an end to the whole war. For having received intelligence by their spies, that the nobility of the opposite party at Stirling were so careless and remiss, that, in an open town, as if it had been a time of profound peace, they did not even keep up a night-guard; with three hundred men and two hundred horse, they instantly marched thither. To ease the infantry, who were hastily called forth, they took away all the horses of the countrymen, who came to market the day before; and if occasionally they met with any others by the way, they took them also. The leaders of this expedition were George Gordon, Claude Hamilton, and Walter Scott; who were much encouraged to the undertaking by George Bell, an ensign of a company, a native of Stirling, and one that knew all the convenient passages and accesss into the town, besides being acquainted with the quarters of the noblemen. He gave them such assurances of gaining their object, and they were so confident of success in their march, as to appoint whom to kill, and whom to save alive. They reached the town very early in the morning, and found it reposing in such security, that not even a dog opened his mouth against them. Having effected their entrance in perfect silence, and without a resistance, they proceeded directly to the market-place; after which, they set guards at all the passages, and then went to the noblemen's lodgings. The nobles were easily taken; but James Douglas, earl of Morton, gave them some trouble by his defence; so that, finding they could not break in upon him with force, they set fire to the house. One or two of his servants, who stood defended the passages, were killed, and when the whole place was on fire, he escaped himself with difficulty out of the flame, to surrender himself to Walter

cott, his kinsman, who came up with him at the time. At the same moment, the regent, being poorly guarded, and forced to fight for himself, was taken prisoner. Alexander, earl of Glencairn, and Hugh, earl of Eglinton, were placed under a guard for execution; as Claud Hamilton had told his men that they would kill all the nobles of the opposite party, as soon as ever they passed out of the gates, without any distinction. Every thing having thus succeeded beyond expectation, the common soldiers scattered themselves all over the town to get plunder. Upon this, John Erskine, the governor of the castle, who had before tried in vain to break through the enemy in the market-place, here they were then too strongly posted, sent a party of musketeers into his own new house, which he was at that time building, and had not quite finished, from whence there was a prospect into the whole square occupied by the rebels. This house being uninhabited, and not completed, was neglected by the enemy, and therefore afforded a safe post to the royalists, whence to fire with effect on their opponents. When these saw that they were shot at from a high building, garrisoned against them, with unusual weapons, they presently turned their backs, and ran away in such fear, that, when they came to the narrow passage leading to the gate, they overturned and trod upon one another. What saved them, was the scanty number of their pursuers, or they who had driven them out of the market-place, could come out at once at a time from the new house, which had only a single gate, and that half-shut, towards the town. From other dwellings there came a very few, most of them remaining armed, watching the event. Thus the whole soldiery, which, the day before, had attempted so desperate a piece of service, and had almost triumphantly completed it, were driven out of the town in such fear and confusion, that they left their prisoners, while every one shifted for himself. During the tumult, there was only one man of note of the king's party killed, and that was George Ruthven, a young gentleman of great hopes; who, by pressing too eagerly upon the thickest of the enemy, lost his life. But Alexander Stuart, of Gairlies, as he was leading away prisoner, was struck down dead, though whether by his own men or the enemy, was not known. In this great consternation, they who before kept within their own doors for fear, now came abroad. Those who had taken James Douglas and Alexander Cunningham prisoners, seeing no hopes of escape, surrounded themselves up to their captives. David Spence, captain of horse amongst the rebels, having the regent in his custody, defended him with so much zeal against those who lay in wait to take away his life, that he lost his own; for the ruffians, in aiming at the prisoner, mortally wounded his conductor, who died the same day, to the great grief of both parties, for he was an accomplished young gentleman in every respect, both in body and mind, and superior to no man of his age in Scotland. After his decease, the enemy's cause never did any memorable service. Two of those who assaulted the regent, contrary to promise, were put to death, not being able to escape; the rest fled in such fear, that the prisoners whom they had taken got out of their hands. In fact, the whole party of the enemy might have been destroyed, had there been horse enough to have pursued them; but the tories of Teviotdale, at their first entrance into the town, seized all the horses, which saved themselves. The slain on both sides amounted almost to an equal number; out of the royalists, not a man was carried away prisoner; while on the other side many were taken, most of whom, being intent upon plunder, were found in the houses which they were rifling. The regent died the same day of his wounds. His funeral was celebrated in haste, as well as they could in such a hurry; and then the nobility assembled, to elect a person to succeed him. They chose three out of their own number, having first given them an oath to abide the decision of the nobility; and then, as candidates, they were to wait the election of the next assembly. The three were, Gillespie Campbell, earl of Argyll; James Douglas, earl of Morton; and John Erskine, earl of Marr; which last had the majority of votes. His first attempt was to attack Edinburgh, there having been an army appointed to be levied for the purpose by the former regent, by the 1st of October; but the sudden change of affairs postponed it to be deferred till the 15th of the same month. This delay was a great hinderance to the business; for it gave time to the townsmen, who



wrought night and day to perfect their works; so that the early winter, long nights, and bad weather in those cold countries, with the difficulty of carrying provisions, and the want of military accommodation, caused the royalists to return without carrying the place.

During the following months, sallies were made, but they proved of great advantage to either party; for the castle being elevated, with a commanding aspect, free and open on all sides, greatly favoured the rebels, so that they would never come to action, nor could be entrapped into an ambush; as, on a signal given from an eminence in the fortress, they were easily warned to retreat in time. On one occasion, all the horse sallied out of the town, to intercept a few of the royalists, and pressed closely upon them, as they affected to fly, till those in the castle saw the colours of some companies appearing from a neighbouring valley, and presently sounded a retreat. Upon this, the rebels, before they came to the place of ambush, fell back in great fear; and their flight was so much more confused, because, though they were previously warned that danger was near, yet they neither knew what it was, where it lay, nor could they so easily suspect its existence. Those few horsemen who had before pressed to flight, now pressed upon their rear in such a manner, that they caused the foot to break their ranks, insomuch that every one ran into the city as fast as he could. Many were wounded and taken in this affair; and amongst the rest were some captains and cornets of horse.

Whilst matters were thus slowly carried on about the city, there was great loss and bloodshed in the country towards the north. There were two families of chief power and authority in those parts, one of Gordons, and the other of Forbes. The Gordons lived in great concord among themselves, and, by the king's commission, had for many years presided over some neighbouring counties, and so increased their ancient power and authority. The family of Forbes, on the contrary, was always at variance, and constantly weakened one another; but neither of them had, for many years, made an open attempt of hostility, for as they were mutually allied by marriage, it was rather a secret emulation than a public breach. In this family of Forbes was one Arthur, a man of sense and enterprise, who, from the beginning of the troubles, had always been of the king's party. He thought it was time for him to set up his own name, and that of his race, as also to advance the power of the party which he followed. He first endeavoured to recover his own connexions, thinking, if he could accomplish that, he should be no cause to fear any power that might be raised against him in these parts. When a day was appointed for this purpose, Adam Gordon, brother of the late Lord of Huntly, endeavoured by all means to hinder it, and to that end gave private notice to his friends and vassals, of whom there came a great number to the place. There were two troops of the party of Forbes in sight; but, because they could join, Huntly set upon one of them, and killed Arthur on the spot; after whose fall, the rest were scattered and put to flight. Some of the eminent men were slain, and many were taken prisoners; in consequence of which, the rest, for some days after, durst not move, fearing lest their friends who were captives, might suffer for it. And their fear was increased by the burning of Alexander Forbes's house, in which he was in a pregnant state, and his children and servants. Arthur Forbes's brother, and the chief of the clan, after his house was taken and plundered, narrowly escaped, and came to court with his complaint; on which the royalists were much straitened, two hundred foot soldiers were sent to him, and the nobles who belonged to his party. Letters were also sent to the neighbouring nobility to assist him. When the different branches of the family of Forbes had joined with some neighbouring clans, they were themselves secure enough from force, but wanted a commander. The heads of the respective houses were mostly young men, and there was scarcely one more eminent than another among them; so that they resolved in their counsels, John Keith, with five hundred horse, went to his own home, which lay not far distant. Alexander Forbes and his brother, with two hundred foot, marched to Aberdeen, to drive out Adam Gordon from thence, and to refresh his men after their march. Adam, on the

intelligence that the enemy was advancing with only a small party, drew his men out of the town, and to make a show of a greater multitude, compelled the townsmen to go out with them. Upon this, a sharp action took place in the suburbs; but the king's foot soldiers, in their eagerness to fight, followed the enemy too far, and having neither powder nor reserves, were repulsed and put to flight, principally by the archers. There were not many killed, because much of the action was in the night time; but several were taken prisoners, and amongst the rest Alexander Forbes himself, though not without a long and resolute defence.

This success in the north inspired the rebels to attempt greater matters in other parts of the kingdom. In the first place, they resolved to attack Jedburgh, a small town, which, according to the custom of the country, was then unfortified; but the inhabitants were very brave, and, for some years past, had always vigorously resisted the rebels. Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst, and Walter Scott, who lived near the town, besides their old clans, which were numerous enough, had associated to them the three neighbouring counties, Liddesdale, Ewisdale, and Eskdale, places that were always infamous for robbery; but now, owing to the licentiousness of the civil war, they pillaged without control at a much greater distance. There were also, in Teviotdale itself, some great families, who notoriously followed the same practice, either being infected by their neighbours, or because they had been accustomed to plunder the enemy's country. Besides, the rebels were there joined by some of the English on the adjoining borders, in hopes of booty; and in addition, they sent for one hundred and twenty musketeers from Edinburgh, all picked men out of each company of the infantry. The people of Jedburgh knew that they were aimed at, and therefore, while they did the best they could for themselves, they sent in haste to the regent, to acquaint him with their danger, and only desired of him a few light-armed soldiers. They also sent for Walter Ker of Cessford, and having levied a sufficient number of soldiers in the neighbourhood, they fortified their town as well as the time would permit. Both parties were informed at the same juncture, that William Ruthven was come as far as Dryburgh, with one hundred and twenty musketeers and horsemen, part of whom were raised by him in his progress through the neighbouring county of March. But the rebels, having confidence of their number, which amounted to three thousand men, marched to the town early in the morning, to prevent the coming in of any succour. Ruthven, suspecting their intention, hastened speedily after them, and made some attempts upon their rear. In the mean time, the rebels, who had joined the townsmen, and marched directly towards the enemy, were making this, to prevent being surrounded, presently retreated by means of greater advantage. The robbers, who came for the sake of greater booty, the town fortified, and the royalists ready for action, were driven in a round way they could; and the rebels, with their baggage and a company of horse, retreated to Hawick, having no idea that the enemy would attempt any thing against them at that place. The rebels, however, were in a great season, which was sharper than ordinary, by reason of a long and a great quantity of snow, which covered all the ground. But the rebels, who avail himself of the opportunity; and having so the rebels, who were out his party, marched so suddenly towards Hawick, that he was a mile off before the enemy took the alarm. In their march, they were no counsel, but horse and foot were sumner, and the rebels, who were the current of the next river, endeavoured to retreat to a place of more safety. But the swiftness of their pursuers prevented them, and through the men, from their local acquaintance with the country, and the rebels, who were escape, the foot were left for a prey to the enemy. They were driven to a series of a small wood on a rock near the river, where they were surrounded by the cavalry; and not venturing to stay, they retreated to a place where they rendered themselves at mercy. As there were no quarters for the rebels, and the victors could not carry their prisoners away with them, they were left in winter, they exacted from them a ransom of twelve hundred pounds, and without their arms.

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Whilst matters were thus slowly carried on about the city, there was great loss and bloodshed in the country towards the north. There were two families of chief power and authority in those parts, one of Gordons, and the other of Forbes. The Gordons lived in great concord among themselves, and, by the king's commission, had for many years presided over some neighbouring counties, and so increased their ancient power and authority. The family of Forbes, on the contrary, was always at variance, and consequently weakened one another; but neither of them had, for many years, made an open attempt of hostility, for as they were mutually allied by marriage, it was rather a secret emulation than a public breach. In this family of Forbes was one Arthur, a man of sense and enterprise, who, from the beginning of the troubles, had always been of the king's party. He thought it was time for him to set up his own name, and that of his race, as also to establish the power of the party which he followed. He first endeavoured to recover his own connexions, thinking, if he could accomplish that, he should have no cause to fear any power that might be raised against him in those parts. When a day was appointed for this purpose, Adam Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly, endeavoured by all means to hinder it, and to that end gave private notice to his friends and vassals, of whom there came a great number to the place. There were two troops of the party of Forbes in sight; but because they could join, Huntly set upon one of them, and killed Arthur Forbes on the spot; after whose fall, the rest were scattered and put to flight. Some of the eminent men were slain, and many were taken prisoners; in consequence of which, the rest, for some days after, durst not move, fearing lest their friends who were captives, might suffer for it. And their fear was increased by the burning of Alexander Forbes's house, in which he was in a pregnant state, and his children and servants. Arthur Forbes's brother, and the chief of the clan, after his house was taken and plundered, narrowly escaped, and came to court with his complaint; on which occasion the royalists were much straitened, two hundred foot soldiers were given to him, and the nobles who belonged to his party. Letters were also sent to the neighbouring nobility to assist him. When the different branches of the family of Forbes had joined with some neighbouring clans, they thought themselves secure enough from force, but wanted a commander. The heads of the respective houses were mostly young men, and therefore scarcely one more eminent than another among them; so that they resolved in their counsels, John Keith, with five hundred horse, went to his own home, which lay not far distant. Alexander Forbes and his men, with two hundred foot, marched to Aberdeen, to drive out Adam Gordon from thence, and to refresh his men after their march. Adam, on receiving

intelligence that the enemy was advancing with only a small party, drew his men out of the town, and to make a show of a greater multitude, compelled the townsmen to go out with them. Upon this, a sharp action took place in the suburbs; but the king's foot soldiers, in their eagerness to fight, followed the enemy too far, and having neither powder nor reserves, were repulsed and put to flight, principally by the archers. There were not many killed, because much of the action was in the night time; but several were taken prisoners, and amongst the rest Alexander Forbes himself, though not without a long and resolute defence.

This success in the north inspirited the rebels to attempt greater matters in other parts of the kingdom. In the first place, they resolved to attack Jedburgh, a small town, which, according to the custom of the country, was then unfortified; but the inhabitants were very brave, and, for some years past, had always vigorously resisted the rebels. Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst, and Walter Scott, who lived near the town, besides their old clans, which were numerous enough, had associated to them the three neighbouring counties, Liddesdale, Ewsdale, and Eskdale, places that were always infamous for robbery; but now, owing to the licentiousness of the civil war, they pillaged without control at a much greater distance. There were also, in Teviotdale itself, some great families, who notoriously followed the same practices, either being infected by their neighbours, or because they had been accustomed to plunder the enemy's country. Besides, the rebels were there joined by some of the English on the adjoining borders, in hopes of booty; and in addition, they sent for one hundred and twenty musketeers from Edinburgh, all picked men out of each company of the infantry. The people of Jedburgh knew that they were aimed at, and therefore, while they did the best they could for themselves, they sent in haste to the regent, to acquaint him with their danger, and only desired of him a few light-armed soldiers. They also sent for Walter Ker of Cessford, and having levied a sufficient number of soldiers in the neighbourhood, they fortified their town as well as the time would permit. Both parties were informed at the same juncture, that William Ruthven was come as far as Dryburgh, with one hundred and twenty musketeers and horsemen, part of whom were raised by him in his progress through the neighbouring county of March. But the rebels, being confident of their number, which amounted to three thousand men, marched to the town early in the morning, to prevent the coming in of any relief. Ruthven, suspecting their intention, hastened speedily after them, and made some attempts upon their rear. In the mean time, the forces of Walter Ker joined the townsmen, and marched directly towards the enemy; who, seeing this, to prevent being surrounded, presently retreated to places of greater advantage. The robbers, who came for the sake of plunder, finding the town fortified, and the royalists ready for action, went home the nearest way they could; and the rebels, with their vassals, and a company of foot, retreated to Hawick, having no idea that the enemy would, at this time, attempt any thing against them at that place; especially in the winter season, which was sharper than ordinary, by reason of the falling of a great quantity of snow, which covered all the ground. But Ruthven resolved to avail himself of the opportunity; and having in the third watch drawn out his party, marched so suddenly towards Hawick, that he was within a mile of it before the enemy took the alarm. In their surprise they could take no counsel, but horse and foot were immediately drawn out, and following the current of the next river, endeavoured to retreat to a place of more safety. But the swiftness of their pursuers prevented them; and though the mounted men, from their local acquaintance with the country, contrived to effect their escape, the foot were left for a prey to their enemies. They possessed themselves of a small wood on a rock near the river, where they were surrounded by the cavalry; and not venturing to stay till the rest came up, they all surrendered themselves at mercy. As there were other dangers to be prevented, and the victors could not carry their prisoners along with them in so sharp a winter, they exacted from them a pledge to return at a day appointed; for the performance of which, some hostages were left, and the others were sent home without their arms. When, however, they were discharged, Kirkaldy made

several weak pretences to elude the engagement, and thereby hindered them from returning at the time appointed, according to their parole.

During the remainder of the winter, and the following spring, nothing occurred but light skirmishes, in which few were killed, though the loss of the rebels exceeded that of the royalists: for when the former saw an advantage, they would draw out on the hills near the city, and immediately on an attack, would retreat hastily again within the walls. In the mean time frequent embassies came from England, to reconcile the factions, but without effect; for the queen, though she most favoured the king's party, yet was unwilling to make such a peace as might engage both parties to her side. The French, on the other hand, were wholly inclined to the queen of Scots, and therefore, by large promises, hindered peace, and advised a continuance of the war; but though they sent some money, it was inadequate to the service, and only tended to feed hope; while a great part of it was detained by the bearers. In the mean time, light skirmishes passed for some months between the parties, but without any decisive effect. Neither were other parts of the kingdom free from burning and plundering. Adam Gordon gathered a band together, which entered Angus, and besieged the house of Douglas of Glenabvie; where, finding that the owner was absent, they miserably burnt and destroyed the whole. This struck such a terror into the people of Dundee, that they called in the garrisons from the adjoining parts of Fife to their assistance; for Gordon would give them no quarter, on account of their ardent attachment to the king's cause. About this time, the castle of Blackness, which commands the commerce between Leith and Stirling, was betrayed by governor to the Hamiltons. The regent, on his part, broke down the walls about Edinburgh, garrisoned the noblemen's houses in the neighbourhood, and blockaded all the avenues leading into the city; so that many prisoners were taken on both sides. Archibald Douglas, one of Morton's familiar friends, was apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices, which was increased not only by the baseness of his former life, but also by some letters found about him. Even after he was taken, he continued his epistolary correspondence with the enemy; which evidently shewed that he had before assisted the rebels, both by advice and action, and that he had transmitted to them both money and arms.

# CONTINUATION

## OF THE

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BY JOHN WATKINS, LL.D.

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WHILE Scotland was a prey to civil war, and its capital was suffering the horrors of famine, circumstances were taking place in England extremely injurious to the cause of the royal captive. The parliament of that kingdom, which met in April 1571, passed an act, declaring it to be high treason to claim a right to the crown during the life of the queen; to affirm that the title of any other person was better than her's, or to maintain that the legislature had not power to settle and limit the order of succession. This measure was directly levelled against the pretensions of Mary Stuart, who was now laid under a severer restraint than ever by the discovery of a plot which had her rescue for its object. The duke of Norfolk, who had but lately resumed his liberty, on a solemn promise to break off every kind of correspondence with the queen of Scots, became involved in this scheme, which was so ill contrived, that he and all his domestics were apprehended on the confession of one of the party. The duke was in consequence again transferred to the Tower, tried by his peers, found guilty of high treason, and executed. Lesley, bishop of Ross, having been implicated in the same confederacy, was also taken up, and treated with great severity; but after a long confinement, he obtained his release, on condition that he should leave the kingdom.

To increase the troubles of the unfortunate Mary, a negotiation was now carried on for a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, the brother of the king of France. This project, whether real or affected, was alike fatal to the interests of the Scottish queen, by depriving her of the only effectual power on which she could depend for protection against an implacable enemy. Elizabeth had all along acted with a duplicity which proved that she neither wished to appease the troubles in Scotland, nor had any intention to restore the exiled queen to her dominions. So inveterate indeed was her hatred to Mary, that when Charles IX. taking advantage of the treaty which was now concluding between France and England, made some decent propositions in favour of the queen of Scots, they were indignantly refused; and nothing farther was advanced in her behalf. At the same time, these two monarchs, who had hitherto supported opposite interests, now appeared to act in conjunction, and sent their respective ambassadors, Du Crocq and Drury, to Scotland, where, under their mediation, a truce for two months was agreed upon between the contending parties. This suspension of hostilities was completely ruinous to the interests of the queen, particularly in impeding the progress of Sir Adam Gordon, who, in the northern part of the kingdom, by his vigilant operations, and prudent arrangements, had gained so much upon the people as to bring over numbers to his standard.

In England the cause of Mary was still more alarming, for immediately after the execution of the duke of Norfolk, both houses of parliament agreed to bring in a bill declaring her guilty of high treason, and depriving her of all right of succession to the crown. This great concern occupied them during the whole of the session, but Elizabeth, though she suffered the business to proceed in the form of debate, conference, and resolution, did not deem it prudent to act upon it for the present, and the parliament was prorogued. That these violent and harsh measures originated with government, cannot admit of a doubt; but the bringing them forward at such a crisis, when the

person affected by them was a prisoner, and wholly destitute of support, exhibited a refined species of inhumanity. The conduct of the French court was not a whit better than that of the English queen and her ministers; for when the duke of Montmorency came over to ratify the treaty between the two countries; instead of demanding the liberation of Mary, as a sovereign was in truth both the ally and near relative of his master, he contented himself with barely requesting that some personal indulgence might be shown to the royal prisoner; and when this favour was denied, or slighted, the court ceased his importunity.

Such was the kindness which this ill-fated woman experienced from those of her own blood, rank, and profession; but events still more untoward, and out of the ordinary course of things, combined at this juncture to rivet her chains and accelerate her destruction. At the very time that the king of France was forming a league with England, he, in conjunction with the perfidious Catherine de Medicis, and the family of Guise, meditated the destruction of the Protestants throughout France. A Roman emperor was so vain that the people he governed had but one neck, that he might destroy them; but what this monster considered impossible, the tyrant of France seemed some sort capable of accomplishing, for by an artful contrivance he so managed as to collect a large assemblage of his Protestant subjects to the capital, the sole purpose of exterminating them at a single blow. On the eve of St. Bartholomew happened the massacre of Paris, in which ten thousand persons, at least, of all ages and ranks, were cut off, within that city alone. This atrocious deed, which in foulness of enormity exceeded all that was ever recorded of pagan perfidy, was not committed by a band of rioters, but under the directions of the king and government. The effect produced by it cannot be adequately expressed. Protestants in general looked upon it as the prelude to a more extended catastrophe; and every man of that faith regarded a Catholic neighbour as the person destined to be his butcher. The apprehension was perfectly natural, considering that the murder had been committed in the metropolis of the most polished nation in Europe, was sanctioned by the head of the church, and commemorated in cathedrals as an act worthy thanksgiving to God and of imitation by men. In England the shock was felt with equal grief and indignation, so that when the French ambassador went thither to pay his respects, he found the palace arrayed in all the appearance of woe. "A gloomy sorrow," said he in his despatch, "sat on every face—silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment; the ladies and courtiers were ranged on each side, all in deep mourning, and, as I passed through them, not one bestowed on me a civil look, or made the least return to my salutes."

The connexion of the queen of Scots with the perpetrators of this shocking carnage lessened that sympathy which had been felt towards her in the minds of many Protestants; and she was now beheld with dread by those who had before regarded her with pity.

In Scotland, the desire of a union with England for their common interest and the defence of the reformed religion, became a general sentiment; and in consequence, the attachment to the queen lessened considerably among those who were not of her communion. The regent, animated by the same spirit, and anxious to put an end to the troubles of his country, readily listened to the overtures of peace made to him by the opposite party. In this, however, he was thwarted by Morton so effectually, that the disappointment brought on a distemper, of which he died at Stirling, Oct. 29, 1572. Thus fell the first regent in the space of five years, and the only one of them all who may be said to have enjoyed the confidence of the nation; for though the violence of the two parties was excessive, both sides concurred in giving him the praise of upright intentions.

On the first of November the estates assembled to choose a new regent, when no one appearing to withstand the pretensions of the earl of Morton, he was unanimously elected to that important but dangerous office. Of the character of this man, and what might be expected from his advancement, the world had recently an evidence in his conduct towards the unfortunate earl of Northumberland, who had been his protector in England when Morton

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John Knox.

was an exile; but whom the latter now gave up, for a sum of money, to Elizabeth, and he was beheaded at York.

Two other instances of the rapacity of Morton took place this year; one in the coinage of spurious money, which, by proclamation, was made to pass for three times more than its value; and the other in the seizure of the temporalities of the see of St. Andrew's, while he nominated Douglas, the rector of the university, to the title of the archbishop, with a small pension. This sacrilegious act was readily countenanced by the nobles, because they all flattered themselves with being able to take advantage of it in their respective districts. Thus the ecclesiastical property became a prey to the avarice of laymen, and though even Knox protested against the spoliation, the general assembly gave it their sanction, when they found that resistance would be fruitless.

Soon after this, the great reformer of the church of Scotland ended his days, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was born in 1506, at Gifford, in East Lothian, and educated at St. Andrew's, under the learned professor John Major, who was the tutor of Buchanan, and a famous schoolman. Knox, however, by examining the works of Augustine, gave up the subtilizing method of his instructor, and on becoming acquainted with George Wishart the martyr, he embraced the principles of the Reformation. The death of his friend, instead of deterring, only seemed to inspire Knox with greater zeal, and he preached the doctrines of the gospel with extraordinary boldness and proportionable success. In 1547 he fell into the hands of the French, on the surrender of the garrison of St. Andrew's, and became a prisoner on board the galleys till the latter end of 1549, when he obtained his liberty, and settled in England as chaplain to king Edward. On the accession of Mary he went to Geneva, from whence he removed to the English congregation at Frankfort, where a disturbance arose on account of ceremonies, and he in consequence returned to Scotland. Upon his arrival, he associated with the reformed teachers, but in 1556 he went again to Geneva, and continued abroad till 1559, when he was invited home, and from that time till his death supported the cause of the Reformation by every means in his power, neither sparing pains nor fearing danger. Though much enfeebled by great exertion, the news of the massacre of Paris hastened his dissolution, which took place November 24, 1572. At his death, the finest eulogium was pronounced over him by the regent Morton, who, as soon as he was laid in his grave, said, "There lies he who never feared the face of man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour: for he had God's providence watching over him in a special manner, when his very life was sought." The most eminent of the Scottish historians, Dr. Robertson, has drawn the character of the reformer in a manner which it would be unjust to give in any other language than his own. "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree; he was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated among divines in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and inflame; his maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he shewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinction of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim; this often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions, with respect to the queen's person and conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an unwearied application to study and to business, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn out a constitution naturally robust. During a lingering illness he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, but

fill them with exultation in their last moments."—To return to public affairs and the situation of parties. The adherents of the queen of Scots now constituted two divisions, one headed by Chatelherault and Huntly, and the other by Maitland and Kirkaldy. To widen the separation still more, if possible, the regent secretly opened a negotiation with the second party, thinking, that if he could gain them over, the others would become insignificant; but Maitland and Kirkaldy were too well acquainted with his character, to put any faith in his promises. Besides, they had at this time assurances that France would now act more vigorously in their favour, and as a pledge of it, a supply of money was sent over from thence, to encourage them in holding out the castle of Edinburgh till the promised succours should arrive. Thus fortified, the two leaders, though they did not absolutely break off their correspondence with Morton, were determined to support the cause in which they had embarked, at all hazards. They were confirmed in this resolution by the conduct of the regent, in throwing up new works with a hostile intent against the castle. Kirkaldy considered this as a breach of the peace, notwithstanding which, he did not himself recommence operations till the expiration of the term of suspension, which was the first day of the year, and then he saluted the city with a volley of shot, that killed and wounded several persons in the fish market. On the following day, Balfour, the former governor of the castle, quitted the fortress, and joined the regent. Kirkaldy, instead of being disheartened by this defection of one in whom he had long placed an entire confidence, assumed a bolder tone than before, and immediately issued a proclamation, commanding all the queen's loyal subjects to leave the city, that they might not suffer with her majesty's enemies. By way of counteraction, the regent published a proclamation, prohibiting all men, under pain of death, from prosecuting the war; or doing any thing that might retard the treaty for a thorough peace. During these occurrences, Sir James Kirkaldy, the brother of the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, who had been sent to France by sir Adam Gordon to receive what was due to the queen on account of her jointure, returned with the money; but fearing that it might fall into the hands of the enemy, he resolved to deposit it for security in the castle of Blackness, till he could forward it with safety. Balfour was then the governor of Blackness, and being the secret friend of Morton, he so soon got the treasure into his possession, than he caused Sir James to be bound in irons, and hastened with the money to the regent. The soldiers of the garrison were so exasperated at this act of treachery, that they liberated Kirkaldy from his fetters; acknowledged him for governor, and placed the irons which they had just taken from him upon Balfour's brother, who had been left in charge of the fortress. Sir James now began to prepare for a vigorous defence, when he was basely betrayed into the hands of the regent by his own wife, who decoyed him into the fields, where he was taken prisoner, and sent first to Linlithgow, and next to Dalkeith, from whence he contrived to effect his escape, and then got into the castle of Edinburgh to his brother. In the mean time, the regent caused five of the soldiers of the garrison of Blackness to be hung, in order to terrify others from following their example. On the other hand, the wife of Kirkaldy was soon afterwards found strangled in her bedchamber, but by whose means she came to her end was never discovered.

All these circumstances tended to inflame the spirit of discord, but the hostile operations were now confined to the castle of Edinburgh, from whence the governor kept up an incessant fire upon the town, by which several houses were destroyed. The situation of the queen's affairs, however, became daily more gloomy, and the treaty concluded at Perth, between the regent on the one hand, and Chatelherault and Huntly on the other, under the mediation of Killigrew the English ambassador, rendered them absolutely desperate. The leading articles in this convention were as follows: that all the parties comprehended in the treaty, should profess their attachment to the reformed religion as established; that they should submit to the king, and own Morton as regent; that the prisoners taken on both sides should be set at liberty, and the lands restored to their original owners; that the act passed against the queen's adherents should be repealed, and indemnity be created for all the

offences they had committed since the 15th of June, 1567. But the contracting parties on the queen's side covered themselves with infamy, by abandoning the rest of their friends, without taking a single step in their favour. While this business was transacting at Perth, sir Adam Gordon defeated lord Lovat at Aberdeen, and was preparing for other enterprises in furtherance of the queen's cause, when he found himself suddenly stopped in his designs, and compelled, by the articles of the treaty, to disband his army. Kirkaldy, therefore, was now left to struggle alone, against the combined power of Morton and the English: but his spirit continued undaunted, and when the regent endeavoured to gain him over by the intervention of Killigrew, the resolute governor, instead of surrendering the castle of Edinburgh, declared, "that though his friends had forsaken both him and the queen, he would keep that house for her to the last." Morton then sent the earl of Rothes and lord Boyd to treat with the governor, but he still refused to surrender the castle on any terms, knowing, as he said, that there was no faith to be put in the promises of one who was bent upon his ruin.

The regent, who was destitute of the materials for carrying on a siege, now solicited aid from England, and accordingly Sir William Drury marched from Berwick with fifteen hundred troops, and a considerable train of artillery, while a great supply of other necessaries was sent round by sea.

Meanwhile, the parliament, which had been convened to ratify the treaty of Perth, assembled at Edinburgh on the 30th of April 1573; and after confirming the articles of agreement there settled, proceeded to restore the duke of Châtelherault, the earl of Huntly, and their adherents, to the full possession of their titles and estates; but concluded with attainting and outlawing the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, his brother, and all their associates.

On the 17th of May, the English having completed a battery of thirty heavy pieces of cannon, opened a well-directed fire against the great tower, and kept it up without intermission till the 22nd, when a great part of the wall fell down, and made such a breach, that the besiegers were induced to attempt two assaults the same day, but were beaten back in both, with some loss. Notwithstanding this, the soldiers, seeing themselves forsaken on all sides, and the fortifications shattered in many parts, compelled their intrepid leader, sorely against his will, to demand a parley, which produced a suspension of hostilities for ten days, during which a capitulation was concluded between Kirkaldy and the English general, when the latter engaged, in the name of his sovereign, that all the garrison should be protected in person and property. Relying on this solemn pledge, the governor and his brother, with lord Home, Maitland, sir Robert Melvil, the Bishop of Dunkeld, two goldsmiths of Edinburgh, and about one hundred and sixty soldiers, marched out, and gave themselves up as prisoners to the English commander. Morton, indignant at the liberality of Drury, and thirsting for the blood of his brave countrymen, managed his interest so effectually with Elizabeth, that she sent orders to her general, to deliver up Kirkaldy and all his companions unconditionally to the regent. Drury was shocked on receiving a mandate which he dared not disobey; and complained aloud of the treachery of Morton and Killigrew, in undermining his authority, and persuading his royal mistress to force him upon an act that tarnished his honour and wounded his conscience. The regent, on the other hand, stung by the reproaches which Drury threw out upon him in all companies, openly taxed him with an infraction of the original compact between the Scots and the English, that the one should enter into no engagement without the consent of the other. But it was observable, that Morton never thought of such a charge till he had secured his object in gaining possession of the prisoners, who were sent to different places of confinement, till their fate should be determined. Sir William and Sir James Kirkaldy were shortly afterwards executed on a gibbet in the market of Edinburgh, and their heads were set up on the wall of the castle. The two goldsmiths, for their activity in the cause of the queen, suffered in a similar manner; and Maitland, who was lodged in the common prison at Leith, would have met the same end, had he not taken a quantity of poison. Though the dose was large, the effect was slow; and Morton, on hearing of what he had done, had the inhumanity to order him to be brought to Edinburgh, where, like an old

... ..  
1, he died in the presence of the tyrant. Sir Robert Melvil would have  
ffered death, had not Killigrew interposed in his behalf; and the  
was only saved from the scaffold by the vow of his clan on the hard-  
nge his death with fire and sword. This declaration had its effect  
ing the regent from his savage resolution; though Home was  
ed a close prisoner in the castle, where he soon after died; but whether  
ation or from ill treatment was never made known.

1, by the treaty of Perth and the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh  
it wars, which had so long impoverished and distracted Scotland, were  
t to a termination; and the unfortunate queen, while she had the  
on to witness the triumph of her inveterate enemies, was called upon  
ent the loss of her most faithful friends.

had been for some time incarcerated at Tutbury, under the care of  
Shrewsbury; and the confinement which she experienced was so severe  
r health began visibly to decline. At the solicitation, therefore, of  
ambassador, she was permitted to visit Buxton wells, not far from  
residence. Here, however, all her motions were so closely watched  
eal to whose custody she had been committed, that Elizabeth ear-  
ly made acquainted with the minutest attentions which any of  
s who frequented that fashionable place of resort, were induced to per-  
illustrious captive. Among other persons of distinction then at  
as Cecil, who had lately been created lord Burleigh, and made  
er of England. This great minister was certainly far enough from  
a friend to the queen of Scots, yet so touching was the impress-  
ed upon his heart by the sense of her unparalleled misfortunes, the  
ilness of her demeanour, and the charms of her person, that even he  
ot avoid laying aside the formal reserve of the statesman for a time  
ile by his conversation the sorrows of the afflicted Mary. But though  
se occasions, nothing passed more than what the ordinary claims of  
ity required, such was the habitual jealousy of Elizabeth, and her  
ous hatred to the victim whom she had entangled in her toils, that  
gh, favourite as he was, incurred her displeasure for showing them  
of civility to a beautiful lady in distress.

otland, the civil war had produced a multitude of evils among  
of people; particularly on the borders, where the restraints of law  
et at defiance, and the administration of justice was completely  
...

To correct these disorders, at the beginning of 1574, the lord Max-  
as made warden of the west, sir John Carmichael of the middle, and  
nes Hume of Coldingknowes of the east marches; by whose diligent  
parts were brought into a state of peace and security which had been  
wn for several years. But though the government of the regent acquired  
for this correction of abuses, it became intolerable in other respects.  
and informers were employed every where, even in private families, for  
pose of gratifying the avarice and revenge of Morton; the remem-  
of old offences was ripped up, and all the circumstances aggravated  
w charges; crimes that never existed were alleged against persons of  
ty, to furnish a pretext for levying fines on them; while real delinquents  
concocted from prosecution, on paying large sums according to their  
stances. Though the current coin, as already observed, was most scan-  
y debased by a mintage established in the castle of Dalkeith, the cr-  
s was confined to the people, the officers of the revenue being strictly  
d to receive only sterling money of gold and silver. At the very time  
ivy taxes were levied on all kinds of commodities, licenses were sold  
privilege of carrying on a contraband traffic, to the injury of the honest  
who were already sorely oppressed. But of all the subjects of com-  
one was more grievous than that occasioned by the courts commonly  
justice-airs, to which all persons who, at any period, had appeared in  
the queen, were summoned, and, in violation of the treaty of Perth,  
ced to redeem their lives and liberties at enormous rates. The first  
iniquitous courts was held at Jedburgh, from whence arose the pre-  
phrase of 'Jedburgh justice,' to express illegal and arbitrary proceed-  
according to the common saying, of condemning men first, and trying

em afterwards. The next of these courts was established at Haddington, and in a short time they were extended over the kingdom; the judges being every where appointed by the regent, and wholly devoted to his interest.

Another flagrant instance of the rapacity and violence of Morton occurred at this period, in the case of the earl of Huntly, who, on going to Edinburgh to prosecute a lawsuit, was arrested and sent into Galloway. Not satisfied with this act of tyranny, the regent joined the adversary of Huntly in an attempt against his life; but the design was discovered and frustrated by the action of Lochinvar, out of regard to the family, of which he was a member. These atrocities rendered the government odious, notwithstanding which, Morton was so confident of his security by virtue of his connexion with England, that he caused his arms to be stamped upon the public coin, and set over the gate of the castle.

In the same spirit of encroachment, he soon ventured to lay his hands upon the little property which the Reformation had left for the maintenance of the clergy. Though only one-third of the benefices had been reserved for the support of the church, even this scanty pittance had been withheld in the greatest part of the kingdom during the war. Under the pretext therefore of recovering the arrears, and establishing a regular mode of payment in future, the regent asserted from the ministers their claim to the appropriated thirds. After giving up their right, however, the clergy were worse paid than before; and so little regard was had to the spiritual benefit of the people, that in many instances one incumbent for a scanty salary was compelled to serve four parishes, all the rest of the revenues being seized by the regent.

At the beginning of 1575 died the duke of Chatelherault, who, as being the declared heir to the crown, possessed during his life considerable interest in the nation, which enabled him for some time to keep down the increasing power of Morton.

In the spring, a conflict arose between the wardens of the Scottish and English marches, in which the latter were at first victorious; but on the coming up of a company of the men of Teviotdale, they were put to flight, leaving Sir John Forester the warden, and several other gentlemen, prisoners. The regent, instead of applauding the valour of the Scots, treated them roughly, as disturbers of the peace, and set the English at liberty. He further degraded his countrymen by obliging Sir James Carmichael, the warden, to go to London and ask pardon of the queen, as if he had been her subject.

Soon after this, an attempt was made by Morton to seize lord John Hamilton, the son of the duke of Chatelherault, in his way to Aberbrothick; but that nobleman having notice of the design, escaped, and the whole body of the family immediately rose in arms for his protection; which so provoked the regent, that he caused several of them to be imprisoned, and fined for their concern with the queen's party in the late war. Another circumstance which occurred about this time contributed to increase the number of the discontented, and to convince the nobles that their only security against despotism lay in an union among themselves. At that time the Scottish chieftains possessed an authority within their respective districts, amounting to a power separate from and independent of the monarchy. They made war upon each other, and punished offences, without considering themselves as amenable to any other jurisdiction. About the beginning of the year 1576, a vassal of the earl of Argyle having committed depredations on the lands of the earl of Athol, was taken by the latter, and sentenced to be hanged. At the desire of the earl of Argyle, however, the man was pardoned and released, on condition that for the future he should forbear from such courses. Regardless of the promise which he had given, the man no sooner received his liberty than he returned to his old practices, and, entering the county of Athol, committed greater outrages than ever. The nobleman who had acted with so much generosity complained to the earl of Argyle of the conduct of his dependant, and demanded that the robber should be delivered up or punished. To this reasonable request no reply was made; upon which the earl of Athol mustered his men, and Argyle did the same; but before hostilities commenced, the regent commanded the two chiefs to disband their forces and repair to Edinburgh. On their arrival they were both put under arrest, Athol for dis-

charging an offender of the laws without punishment; and Argyle for collecting men together to undertake warlike operations, in breach of the peace. A prosecution was also commenced against them on a charge of high treason, but while the indictments were preparing, the two earls had notice of the design from one of Morton's servants, who advised them to provide for their safety by coming to an immediate agreement between themselves. The prudent counsel they had the wisdom to follow; by which means their junction made them so formidable, that when summoned to appear before the court of justice, neither of them complied, and the regent, out of fear, caused the proceedings to be stopped. The mortification produced by the unexpected turn which this affair had taken, was soon afterwards increased by another incident.

Morton, being desirous of a piece of ground which lay contiguous to his own estate, and had been formerly given by the queen to Mary Livingston, one of her maids of honour, ordered a suit to be instituted before the court of the college of justice, on the plea that no crown land could be alienated. In reply to this, it was urged by Semple, the husband of the lady, that the grant was a plain gift, under both the great and privy seal, which rendered it completely valid and irrevocable. When the business came on, the regent, being resolved to carry the suit, took his seat with the judges, which so provoked the defendant, that he declared if he lost the cause he would lose his Adam Whitford, the uncle of Semple, also, being exasperated by this sacrifice of power, went so far as to say, that, "Nero was but a dwarf compared to Morton." These expressions, which at any time would have been sufficient to kindle the resentment of the tyrant, were now made instrumental to his vengeance on account of the disappointment produced by the decision of the court in favour of the grant. Exasperated at the unexpected turn which this affair had taken, and the disgrace thereby brought upon himself as to the exposure of his nefarious projects, the regent had recourse to an expedient singularly atrocious, for the gratification of his malice. Under the pretence that Whitford and Semple had been hired to assassinate him by lord Carnarvon Hamilton, he caused them to be apprehended and put to the torture. Whitford endured the torment with incredible courage; but Semple, in order to avoid the repetition of the rack, made a confession of whatever his enemies thought proper to demand. Upon this extorted acknowledgment, he received judgment of death; and Whitford was discharged. The latter, after regaining his liberty, exerted himself vigorously in substantiating the proof of his innocence, which he made so clear, that Semple also obtained his pardon; and the whole guilt rebounded upon the wicked contriver of a lawless accusation.

These arbitrary proceedings roused the popular feeling against the oppressor to such a degree, that it became evident some change must speedily take place. The king was now in the twelfth year of his age, and resided wholly at Stirling, under the care of Alexander Erskine and the countess of Mar; with four tutors to instruct him in the languages and sciences, the two principal of whom were, George Buchanan and Patrick Young. The young monarch evinced a strong passion for learning, and made so considerable progress in knowledge, that the people formed uncommon expectations of his government, and were therefore very anxious to see him in the full possession of power. The regent could not be ignorant of the prevailing sentiment; but though he had every reason to apprehend that a storm was rising, he had not the prudence to shelter himself against it by strengthening his interest with the king, and the nobles who were about his person. Instead of this, he affected indifference, and adopted a line of policy, which in the end proved his ruin. On the 12th of February, 1578, he went to Stirling, and at a council at which the king was present, made a speech, wherein, after recounting at length on the fatigue and danger of the office of regent, he entreated that his majesty, in consideration of his past faithful services, would be pleased to take from his shoulders that heavy burden, which his declining years and broken constitution could no longer support: and he concluded by desiring the king, whose judgment and abilities so far exceeded his age, to assume the reins of government into his own hands.

The whole assembly manifested their surprise at this address, but the king, wearied with great presence of mind, that his youth and inexperience rendered him wholly unfit to take so weighty a charge upon himself; and that, even if he could be prevailed upon to ease the regent of his burden, he did not know where to fix his court; for that at present he was completely dissatisfied with Stirling. Morton replied, "that the castle of Edinburgh was every respect the fittest place in the kingdom for his majesty's residence." Upon this the king quickly rejoined, "But then, my lord, in that case I must be the keys delivered to such persons as I shall appoint."

These words grieved the regent the more, because they were evidently premeditated, and yet sufficiently indicated the design which the youthful sovereign had to be sole master of his own actions. But as Morton had now gone too far to recede, he put the best face upon the matter that was in his power, by saying, that his majesty should be obeyed in all things. "Then," answered James, "I will think upon it, my lord; and in a week or two you will all know my resolution."

The next morning the regent returned to Edinburgh, and that night the king called another council, at which the earls of Athol and Argyle attended, having been sent for expressly by Alexander Erskine, who informed them of what had occurred, before they were admitted into the royal presence. At this meeting, when the proffered resignation of Morton was mentioned, the two earls affected surprise, but on being called upon for their opinion, they both replied, that, in consideration of the regent's great services, his majesty ought to grant his request, and to take off the burden of government from his shoulders to his own. All the nobles approved of this opinion, but that might not seem as if things had been done clandestinely, it was resolved to convene another assembly for the consideration of the business, at Stirling. Letters were accordingly despatched to such nobles as were known to be adverse to Morton; yet at the time appointed, the number of persons present was so very considerable, that few of any rank were absent. At this meeting only one sentiment prevailed, and the king was desired by the whole body to deprive the regent of his office, and to take the government into his own hands. Pursuant to this resolution, lord Glamis the chancellor, and lord Kerries, were sent to Edinburgh, with a letter to Morton, signifying that "his majesty having seriously considered the dislike which most of his subjects had to his government, and the troubles which, in all probability, were like to fall upon the kingdom; he had, therefore, with the advice of the greatest part of the nobility, determined to take the management of affairs into his own hands. And that, because delays might produce many inconveniences, he requested him instantly to send a declaration in writing, acknowledging his obedience, and allowance of what was done; and for the future to abstain from his present office of regent." This letter very much surprised the earl, who now saw clearly enough, that the declaration which he had made at Stirling, was converted by his enemies into the means of effecting his ruin. He therefore heartily repented of his duplicity, and began to devise excuses to postpone the resignation of the office till some stratagem could be contrived by which to secure the possession of power and the defeat of his adversaries. To this purpose he answered the king, "that he was ready to obey him in all things, but could not resign his place without an ample discharge and remission confirmed by parliament." The council having considered this reply, informed Morton, that the discharge which he required should be granted; but at the same time the heralds entered Edinburgh, and suddenly made proclamation that the king had taken upon himself the government, and that the regent had resigned his office. Morton was overwhelmed with confusion by this blow; but giving way to necessity, he attended the ceremony, which produced such an exuberance of joyful gratulation among the people, as must have contributed to aggravate the bitterness of his afflicted spirit. But though he yielded to the torrent thus far, he still endeavoured to struggle against it, and made a public protest, declaring "that his demission should be of no force or effect, nor deemed good in law, if the king substituted another person in his place."

In the mean time, the castle of Edinburgh was summoned to surrender to



the king; but the governor, who was the brother of Morton, refused compliance and began to prepare for a siege. Accordingly, part of the garrison went out to get supplies, which, when the magistrates knew, they seized the opportunity to cut off their retreat. In this attempt a skirmish ensued, though the soldiers forced their way back into the fortress, they left the provisions behind. This resistance to the royal authority induced the council to act with caution, for their power was far from being established, especially as most of the other fortresses were in the hands of Morton's adherents: the queen of England openly supported his interest. In order, therefore, to secure their object, the associated nobles bound themselves, under the penalty of five hundred thousand pounds, to pass his discharge and indemnity to parliament; while the king, on his part, consented to an act containing his approbation of all things done during the regency. Upon this the castle was given up, with all the regalia and other property belonging to the crown.

The earl now retired to his seat at Dalkeith, which was then considered called the Lion's Den; and where his wealth and influence still rendered him formidable, that it was deemed necessary to humble him still more, and deprive him of the means of creating disturbances. In the first place, the wardship of the marches was taken from his nephew, the earl of Angus; and a stroke was followed by a demand of the mint house, and the advancement of a sum of money to defray the public expenses till the accounts could be properly settled. This was enough to convince the earl, that he had nothing to disgrace and vengeance to expect from the dominant party, who were determined to leave him neither friends nor property. However, his conduct was very mild and submissive. He said he was ready to give up the all and that, when his majesty came to riper years, he would send him such a sum of money as could be desired from a man of narrow fortune, and one who had spent a great part of his estate in repairing the royal castles, and in maintaining a long war against the king's enemies.

At this crisis an unforeseen change took place in favour of Morton, for the chancellor returned to Stirling, an affray broke out, in which that nobleman was accidentally slain; and to his place succeeded the earl of Athol, whose known attachment to popery rendered the appointment very disagreeable to the people. Morton, who was watching his opportunity to profit by every circumstance, now contrived to alarm the fears of the countess of Mar, by insinuating that Alexander Erskine, who then held the place of governor at Stirling castle for his nephew, the young earl of Mar, intended to supplant him altogether in that office. Irritated at this imaginary injury, the countess, a woman and her son determined upon revenge; and the earl of Mar came early one morning to the castle with his attendants, turned out his uncle, assumed the command of the fortress, which gave him also complete possession of the person of the king. This was what Morton wanted, and though he was not seen in the transaction, every one believed him to be the fabricator of the scheme.

This affair made a great noise all over the kingdom; and at Edinburgh the citizens offered to enroll themselves into a body guard for the protection of the lords of the council. The proposal was accepted, but just as they were about to march to Stirling, a letter came from the king, desiring the nobles to attend him unarmed, for that what had happened was nothing more than a private quarrel between some members of the family of Mar.

This sudden revolution convinced the council of the necessity of varying their plan of operations, and of endeavouring to counteract by stratagem a person whose power and abilities still rendered him a formidable adversary. An accommodation was therefore entered into, and arbitrators were appointed on each side to adjust their respective differences. As soon, however, as the treaty was concluded, and the lords of the council had returned from the place of meeting near Dalkeith, to Edinburgh, Morton hastened in the night to Stirling, where, by gaining over Murray of Tullibardine to his side, he obtained admission into the castle, of which he presently made himself master.

But though, with the command of this important fortress, he had the presence of the king at his disposal, the approaching meeting of the parliament at Edinburgh gave him uneasiness. To prevent that assembly from tak-

re, he had the temerity to issue a proclamation in the name of the king, commanding the nobles to appear on the day appointed at Stirling, instead of the capital. As it was clear that this alteration originated with Morton, for the attainment of his particular purposes, the lords of the council sent a deputation of their body to Stirling, to protest against whatever proceedings should be taken there. The place, on the ground, that an assembly held in a fortress, and surrounded by armed men, could not be free. The parliament, however, met according to the summons, and, among other acts, passed one for the indemnity of Morton, and another for granting a pension to the countess of Mar. The young king, though his acceptance of the government had been justly censured by the nobles, sent the same night a private letter to the chancellor, complaining of the restraint under which he lay as the prisoner of Morton, and desiring the council to muster their forces, without delay, for his liberation.

Argyle, Athol, and their adherents, upon this, immediately took up arms, and the city of Edinburgh raised all the trainbands to co-operate with them for the deliverance of the king. Morton on his side was not inactive, but sent a herald to Edinburgh, commanding, in the royal name, Athol and Argyle to retire home to their respective dwellings within twenty-four hours, under the penalty of being prosecuted for high treason. At the same time the magistrates of the city were ordered to apprehend all persons in arms within their liberty. The provost, not knowing how to act in such a dilemma, repaired to Stirling to wait upon the king; but on his arrival, Morton caused him to be arrested, and sent off under a guard of soldiers to the castle of Down. Meanwhile he made his nephew, the earl of Angus, commander of the forces which he had raised, amounting to five thousand men; and to increase the number, he sent proclamations round the country, calling upon all the king's subjects capable of bearing arms, to join the royal standard. But though the two armies took the field, and a conflict was expected, neither party seemed willing to commence hostilities; for Morton distrusted his troops, and the lords of Argyle and Athol were apprehensive that an indecisive action might endanger the safety of the king, especially as they were unprovided with the means of reducing the fortress, where he was literally a prisoner. At this juncture, when the two parties were opposing each other with manifestoes, Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, interposed as a mediator, with much success, that a treaty was concluded, in consequence of which, Argyle and Athol were admitted to the presence of the king; some of their party were added to the privy council, and it was settled, that a convention of the nobles should be called at Stirling, to bring all the existing differences to an amicable termination. This meeting, however, did not take place till the month of April, 1579, when Morton, under the specious pretext of friendly reconciliation, gave a splendid entertainment to the assembled peers. Soon after his feast, the chancellor was taken ill, and on the fourth day he died, which, with the peculiarity of the symptoms, occasioned a general suspicion that he was poisoned. Morton very naturally incurred the odium of having perpetrated this atrocious deed; and though the surgeons who opened the body, declared that they had discovered no signs of poison, neither the friends of the deceased, nor the public, were satisfied with the decision.

The office of chancellor was conferred upon Argyle, who deemed it politic to form a junction with Morton; which gave that ambitious man such confidence, as emboldened him to renew his designs against the Hamilton family. The earl of Arran, the head of that house, was in a state of mental imbecility, in consequence of which, lord John, the second brother, had possession of the estate, and lord Claud held the commendatory of Paisley.

As the young lords were of an enterprising spirit, they became objects of jealousy to Morton, while the king dreaded them on account of their near relation to the throne; and the great body of the courtiers were ready to join the confederacy against the family, from the wicked desire of sharing the spoils. In a powerful combination, where plunder is to be gained, it is easy to devise a legal pretext for covering cruelty and injustice.

The Hamiltons stood suspected of being concerned in the murder of one or both of the regents, Murray and Lennox; and as an act of attainder had

been passed against the principal and accessaries in those offences, and now proposed by Morton to revive and apply it in the present instance. Accordingly, without giving any notice to the accused, or examining any witness, the cabal drew up a commission, in the name of the king, empowering Morton, Mar, Eglinton, Ruthven, Boyd, and Cathcart, to seize the persons of the Hamiltons, and confiscate their estates. Though the business was managed with profound secrecy, and a military force was despatched immediately, to carry the decree into execution, the two young lords were warned of their danger, in sufficient time to make their escape; James fled to France, and Claud to England. In the mean time, the commissioners laid siege to the castles of Hamilton, and Dreffan, which were soon reduced, and summary vengeance inflicted upon the defenders. The earl of Arran, terrified by his situation incapable of any crime, was sent with his aged mother, the duchess of Chatelherault, to the castle of Linlithgow; and several persons of the same family were harassed by the most vexatious proceedings, in which, to the disgrace of the age, were ratified in the next parliament.

About this time, the queen sent, by one of her domestics, a letter to her son with some jewels of value, and a vest embroidered with her own hands. James Morton, being apprehensive that the young king might be moved by the tokens of maternal affection, dismissed the messenger, and returned the presents, under the plea that the superscription of the letter was defective in point of form, and want of respect to the regal title.

Soon after this, William Scott, and Walter Turnbull, two schoolmasters of Edinburgh, were tortured, tried, and executed for writing a poetical epigram against Morton, the severest part of which composition was, an ambiguous allusion to the death of the late chancellor. Great interest was made for the lives of these unfortunate men, but their persecutor managed things in such a manner, as to prevent the extension of the royal pardon to them; by an act of inhumanity, he multiplied the number of his own enemies, and accelerated his destruction. Such, however, was the insatiation of Morton, that at this time he seems to have thought himself out of all danger; in which confidence he was encouraged by having escaped one storm, and gained an easy triumph over his principal adversaries. But while he thus repined at his fancied security, a rival appeared in the field, whose ascendancy he could not prevent, and whose power he was quickly made to feel. This person was Esme Steroart, a native of France, and lord d'Aubigne in that kingdom. He was the son of John Stewart, the second brother of Matthew earl of Lennox, who was grandfather to the king; and his object in visiting Scotland at this time was, to set up a claim to the dormant title, and the estate thereto belonging. On his landing at Leith, the magistrates of Edinburgh went in state to conduct him to the capital, where he was treated magnificently; after which, several of the citizens and men of quality accompanied him to Stirling. The king received him very graciously, and in a few days created him earl of Lennox, to which was added the domain of Aberbrothock, that had recently been taken from lord John Hamilton. So rapidly did this new favourite rise in the royal favour, that within a short time he was advanced to the title of duke of Lennox, made governor of Dumbarton castle, captain of the guard, and first lord of the bedchamber. Another person, who at this time gained the confidence of the king in a particular manner, but of less merit, was captain James Stewart, the second son of lord Ochiltree. Between the two favourites there was a wide difference of disposition; while Lennox was mild, gentle, and liberal in his manners; Stewart had a single virtue to redeem the vices which rendered him dangerous. His courage, however, was daring, and he had sufficient cunning to cover the worst designs under the specious cloak of public good, and a zeal for the honour of his patron. Notwithstanding this disparity of character, the new candidate for the royal esteem entered into a close alliance, and bent their united efforts to the object of undermining the power of Morton. The latter, on the 10th of November, conducted the king to Edinburgh, where a parliament was to meet on the following day. This entry of the young monarch into his capital excited universal joy among the citizens, who vied with each other in giving demonstrations of their loyalty, while the public bodies exhibited, according

to the custom of the age, a number of expensive pageants. Throughout this pompous show, the earl of Lennox walked by the side of his royal relative, who treated him with a degree of familiarity, which was the more acceptable to the spectators, as it was accompanied with a marked dislike to Morton, against whom the popular resentment was strongly expressed.

But if that nobleman had cause to apprehend danger from the public feeling, the proceedings in parliament soon convinced him that his authority was reduced to a shadow; as every thing he proposed, however indifferent or reasonable it might be in itself, was rejected. Sensible that he owed all this to the influence of Lennox, he now set his engines at work, to counteract the power of the favourite, and effect his ruin. For this purpose he contrived to circulate a report, that the foreigner was a secret agent, employed by the house of Guise, to pervert the king, and introduce popery. At first the rumour gained credit, particularly among the clergy, who inveighed aloud from the pulpit against the encouragement that was openly given to the professors of the Romish faith. Lennox, however, had the address to ward off his stroke, by renouncing the errors of popery in the church of St. Giles, and at the same time subscribing the confession of faith. This act, though ascribed by many to hypocritical policy, weakened the force of the accusation with the generality; and as Morton was suspected of being the author of the story, it soon turned to his own disadvantage. His enemies now spread a report that he was actually preparing to seize the person of the king, and to carry him to England. This charge obtained the greater belief, as it was no secret that Morton kept up a regular correspondence with queen Elizabeth, of whose design to subvert the Scottish independence, the body of the nation was fully convinced. Whether, however, such a scheme as that now ascribed to Morton, was ever projected by him, cannot be now ascertained; and as he was cleared of the accusation by the king and council, the probability is, that it had no real foundation. A proclamation was at the same time issued, interdicting the circulation of lies and calumnies, tending to the disturbance of the public peace. For the better security of the monarch, it was also deemed expedient to create a lord high chancellor, an office which had been laid aside in Scotland for many years, and was now revived in the person of Lennox, whose deputy was Alexander Erskine, assisted by twenty-four attendants, taken from the first families of the realm. Morton being sensible that these precautions were rather levelled against him, than intended for the protection of the king, had recourse to the English court; in consequence of which, Sir Robert Bowes, who had lately left Scotland, was sent suddenly back again, with instructions from his mistress to accuse Lennox of practices and machinations against the peace established between the two kingdoms, and insisting upon his dismissal from the council. But this demand was considered as so arrogant, that Bowes was refused an audience, on which he left the kingdom in disgust. Sir Alexander Home was then despatched to England, to explain the conduct of his government, and, at the same time, to complain of the interference of Elizabeth in the internal concerns of an independent kingdom. Home was refused an interview with the English queen, and the lord treasurer, Burleigh, told him that his mistress could not but resent the affront put upon her ambassador; and was sorry to see her cousin, the Scottish king, misled by Lennox, who, as a subject of France, and a papist, made it his endeavour to create a breach between the two nations. The English minister concluded his speech by saying, that there were more dangerous plots in hand than the king of Scotland was aware of; but here the politic statesman ended abruptly, though he evidently intended, by his vague allusion, to excite suspicions unfavourable to Lennox. When Home returned, and gave an account of what had occurred, the council became more jealous than ever of Morton, whose correspondence with England they very naturally regarded as detrimental to the public welfare, and approximating very nearly to treason. Still, it was not easy to institute a prosecution against one who had but lately obtained an act of indemnity, which was drawn up with a scrupulous precision, that seemed to set all legal artifice at defiance. The pardon extended to every species of crime, except one, and that was the murder of Darnley, of which not the least notice was taken; probably, because no person

thought such a charge would ever be alleged or sustained. Minds bristling with vengeance, however, are fertile in contrivances, and bold in the execution of them. Thus it was in the present instance, for, while the other earls of Morton were at a loss how to proceed, James Stewart, who scrupled nothing to accomplish his ends, resolved to attack him upon a charge, and though incapable of being supported by positive evidence, was well calculated to answer the object intended. Accordingly, on the 31st of January, the king and council assembled at Holyrood-house, Stewart entered the presence, and, falling on his knees, made this speech:—"The duty I owe your majesty, brings me to this place, to discover a crime which has hitherto been concealed by the power and interest of the author. The earl of Morton is one of those who conspired your father's death; therefore, how dangerous is to have him so near your majesty's person, or in your council, the men here present can best determine. As for what I have said, let me be secured, and brought to his trial, and I shall either make my accusation good, or willingly undergo such punishment as the law inflicts upon a man who unjustly endeavour to rob a man of his reputation, life, and fortune."

Morton, though taken by surprise, did not lose his presence of mind with a disdainful smile, rose up, and replied, "that he knew not who had persuaded captain Stewart to accuse him of a crime of which he was entirely innocent, and the real perpetrators of which, it was well known, had himself zealously prosecuted; but that he was very ready to submit to trial, when he doubted not to make his own innocence, and the malice of his enemies, clear to all the world."

Stewart, who was still on his knees, pretended that no sinister motive induced him to prefer the charge; and then turning to the earl, asked how he could reconcile his pretended zeal for the punishment of the offender with the rewards which he had bestowed upon his cousin Archibald Douglas, who was certainly known to be one of the murderers? To this the earl was about to answer, when the king interposed, and gave orders that both should withdraw; after which, the earl was confined in one of the spare rooms in the palace, where he continued two days, and on the third was sent to the castle of Edinburgh; from whence he was in a short time removed to the fortress of Dumbarton. In the mean time, a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Archibald Douglas, who was then with his wife at Newcastle; but being warned of his danger by one of his relatives at court, he succeeded in effecting his escape into England.

The earl of Angus, who considered these arbitrary proceedings as indicative of a design to ruin his whole family, determined to take up arms for the rescue of Morton; but was prevented by the latter, who, confident of his innocence, and relying most probably upon the protection of the English government, forbade his nephew from engaging in such a course, deeming that he would rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than bring his character under reproach by avoiding a legal trial.

Queen Elizabeth, being much concerned at these transactions, despatched Sir Thomas Randolph to Scotland, in order to save a person who had so favourable an effect on her interests. The ambassador, at his first interview, made a long speech to the king, in which he dwelt upon the extraordinary conduct of the earl of Morton, whose liberation he demanded, on the part of his mistress, in a tone highly dictatorial; but that which gave most offence, was his vehement denunciation against Lennox, whose dismissal was insisted upon in plain terms, as being a man that had nothing more in view, than to ruin the alliance between Scotland and France, to the detriment of England.

James heard this harangue very patiently, and answered it with great caution. He took not the least notice of what had been advanced in relation to Lennox; but on the prosecution of Morton, he said, it could not be expected of him to pass over an accusation which affected him so much, as was related to the murder of his father. He promised, however, that the trial should be conducted with impartiality; and that, as liberty had been given to the earl's accusers to prefer their charge, so the same latitude, and no greater, should be allowed him for his defence.

At this time, a meeting of the estates took place, of which Randolph availed

himself, by pretending that he had particular communications to impart to that assembly; upon this, he was admitted into the house, where he made a prolix harangue on the benefits which the Scots had derived from the friendship of Elizabeth, who, without aggrandizing herself, had supported their independence, preserved their religion, and secured the rights of the crown. The ambassador then proceeded to inveigh against Lennox, as a native of France, a dependant on the family of Guise, and an instrument employed to introduce popery. But Randolph went further, and said, that this new favourite had, ever since his arrival, endeavoured to alienate the king from a friendly connexion with England; that he had turned all his majesty's most faithful servants out of their employments; and infused into the royal mind unworthy prejudices against the protestant clergy. After making this serious attack upon Lennox, the envoy asserted that he had letters in his possession, written by that nobleman to foreign potentates, urging them to invade England. This accusation he followed up by saying, "It is with no small grief and concern that the queen sees a young prince of such rare hopes, her near relation, and for whose welfare she has hitherto taken such care, thus misled by his own and her enemies." Randolph then addressed the assembly in behalf of Morton, "who," he said, "had not only often exposed his life in the king's cause, but had contributed more than any nobleman in the realm to establish the prince upon the throne, and to preserve the true religion among his subjects." The ambassador then solemnly adjured the assembly, in the name of his mistress, to remove Lennox from the presence and council of their king, and above all, to deliver the earl of Morton out of the hands of his enemies. At the same time they were assured, that if men and money were wanted to accomplish the work, both should be amply and immediately supplied. Not content with adopting this extraordinary course, the queen of England prevailed upon the prince of Orange to interpose his good offices for the same purpose. Accordingly, under the pretence of complimenting the king of Scotland on the services rendered to the united provinces by his subjects, the prince sent over an envoy, who besought his majesty to ensure his own safety by a close alliance with England; and especially to be upon his guard against those who laboured to sow discord between the two nations.

The confidential favourites of James were too zealously bent upon the ruin of Morton, to heed the remonstrances of Elizabeth, or the advice of the prince. In truth, the Scottish nobles were equally offended with both, and thus the very mode adopted to save Morton accelerated his destruction. An ambiguous reply was given to Randolph, who, finding that his overtures were ill received by those whom he addressed, and that the populace were so irritated against him as to threaten his life, withdrew secretly out of the kingdom, and left Morton to his fate. Stewart, who was now created earl of Arran, received orders to conduct the unhappy object of his malice from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, where the trial was managed in such a way as to ensure conviction. After a short consultation, the peers found him guilty of concealing, and of being art and part engaged in the conspiracy to murder the late king. At the first part of the verdict he seemed to be but little affected, but the words "art and part" struck him so forcibly, that he repeated them twice, and exclaimed, "God knows that it is not true." Sentence of death, as in cases of treason, was then pronounced; but the king remitted the ignominious part of the judgment, and ordered that he should suffer by decapitation, which he underwent with great firmness, but in a very remarkable manner, for instead of suffering in the ordinary way, his head was taken off by an instrument which he had himself introduced into Scotland, of the same kind as that since adopted in France under the denomination of the guillotine. As Morton was the first, so he was the last, that lost his head in Scotland in that manner; on which account, the engine obtained the name of the maiden. Though the particulars of the trial are lost, the confession of the earl has been preserved, from whence it should seem that he acknowledged his having been made acquainted with the conspiracy against Darnley, and was solicited by Bothwell to take a part in it, which he refused.

On the scaffold, he behaved with an intrepidity that would have done honour to a better man; so that many who abhorred his conduct, felt something

like pity for one who felt a victim to the unprincipled ambition and revenge of Arran and Lennox. The body, after execution, lay on the platform, to the view of the populace, till sunset, when it was thrown into an ordinary grave and the head was set up on the public gall.

Arran, who evinced throughout the whole of this prosecution a spirit of relentless malignity, soon rendered himself more infamous by his marriage with the divorced countess of March, whom he had seduced from her husband in the basest manner, while entertained by him in his house. Soon after this, a parliament was convened, which became remarkable by a rupture between the two court favourites, Lennox and Arran. The latter spurred on by the violence of his wife, and his own ambition, aimed at possessing the entire management of affairs, but the influence of the duke at court proving too strong for his intrigues; Arran courted the favour of the clergy, by representing the duke as the agent of the house of Guise, and an emissary of the pope. These insinuations had their effect, and in consequence, some statutes were passed favourable to the church, for the purpose of counteracting the design which it was believed that Lennox had formed to injure the protestant religion. At length, Arran found it expedient to stoop and court the favour of the duke, who readily accepted his submissions, and they became, in appearance at least, as great friends as ever. But this union, and the power which it gave, only served to make the two minions more odious to the people and especially to the body of the nobility, who were indignant at the arrogance of the favourites, and alarmed by the conduct of the king. They saw the best friends of the state neglected, and the worst rewarded: arbitrary proceedings carried on under the plea of justice, and heavy fines exacted for trivial causes. The regular correspondence between the king and his mother, which now took place, also excited great uneasiness among the zealous protestants, who imagined that some design was actually on foot for the revival of the French interest, and the introduction of popery and despotism. These fears were fomented by the queen of England, who could not forget the treatment which her ambassador had received, nor forget the death of her faithful adherent, Morton. A mind, thus irritated, was readily disposed to assist in any attempt to destroy Lennox and Arran. Accordingly, under the influence of Elizabeth, a conspiracy was formed by the earls of Mar and Glencairn, lord Ruthven, lately created earl of Gowrie, lord Lindsay, lord Boyd, the tutor of Glamis, the master of Oliphant, and several other persons of distinction, to rescue, as they pretended, the king out of the hands of those who abused his confidence, but in reality, to engross all the authority of the state to themselves. Having matured their scheme, they were determined to lose no time in the accomplishment. The young monarch was excessively fond of hunting, which amusement he had been enjoying in Athol, when, on his return, he stopped at Ruthven castle, where he was detained by force, and on his bursting into tears, Glamis, one of the conspirators, said, "No matter; better that bairns should weep, than bearded men." The associated nobles having thus got possession of the king by this measure, which in Scottish histories is called the *Raid of Ruthven*, dismissed most of his followers, and allowed none but those of their own party to be about his person. When Lennox and Arran became acquainted with what had taken place, they endeavoured in vain to rouse the citizens of Edinburgh to arms, in favour of their sovereign. Arran, finding his efforts treated with cold neglect, hastened at the head of a small party to Ruthven, where he was instantly seized, and sent off to the castle of Stirling. Meanwhile, the king was compelled to issue a proclamation, expressing his approbation of the coercive measures that had been adopted, declaring that he was at perfect liberty, and prohibiting all attempts against those who were concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven*. In conclusion, however, the royal captive gave a striking indication of all that was advanced respecting his personal freedom or mental inclinations, for, contrary to his known sentiments, he was made to order the departure of Lennox from Scotland by the twentieth of September. Shortly after the publication of this edict, Sir George Cary and Sir Robert Bovey, the two English ambassadors, arrived, under the pretext of inquiring after the king's welfare, but in fact, to hold an intercourse with the conspirators.

James lingered some time near Edinburgh, in expectation of seeing the king again at liberty ; but finding no prospect of that event, he proceeded to France, where, through fatigue and chagrin, he soon after fell into a fever, and died in the protestant faith.

In the mean time, the conspirators published a laboured vindication of their conduct, which they justified by an elaborate display of the dangerous state of the kingdom, through the inexperience of the king, and the rashness, violence, and oppression of his favourites. The associators next obliged the monarch to sign a full remission of all their offences ; and they even obtained from the assembly of the church, a declaration that they had done good service to their God, the king, and the country. A convention of the states, which met soon after, passed an act to the same purport, with an ample indemnity to the parties engaged in this violence, for whatever they had done. Thus supported, they conveyed the king to Stirling, and next to Holyrood house, where he was, in reality, a prisoner, though served with humility, and surrounded by the pompous formality of a court. When the intelligence of what had occurred reached the unfortunate Mary, in the bitterness of her heart she addressed the following letter to the queen of England :

"MADAM.—Concerning what is brought to my knowledge, touching the conspiracy in Scotland, against my son, finding, by my own example, that I have just reason to fear the sad consequence ; I should employ all the strength that is left me, to discharge my heart plainly to you, by my complaints, which are as just as they are lamentable. I desire, that after my death, this letter may serve you as a perpetual remembrance ; which, in the deepest characters, I would imprint in your conscience ; as well as for my discharge unto posterity, as to the shame and confusion of all those who, under your warrant, have so unworthily and so cruelly used me. And because their practices and proceedings (though never so detestable) have always prevailed on your side, against my most just remonstrances, and all the sincerity of my deportment, I will therefore have recourse to the living God, our only Judge, who, under him, hath equally established us for the government of his people. Remember, Madam, that God is a judge whom no painting and policy of this world can so way deceive, although men for a time may obscure the truth by the subtlety of their inventions. I now present to you, before that impartial Judge, that beholding myself pursued to death by my rebellious subjects, I sent unto you expressly, by a gentleman, the diamond ring which you sent me, with assurance to be protected by your authority, succoured by your arms, and received into your realm with all courtesy. This promise, so often repeated by you, did oblige me to throw myself into your arms, if I could be so happy as to approach them. But endeavouring to come to you, behold, I was stopped in my way, environed with guards, detained in strong holds, confined to a lamentable captivity, in which I do, at this day, die, without mentioning a thousand deaths which I have already suffered. After that truth had laid open all the impostures which were contrived against me, that the chiefest nobility in your kingdom have acknowledged in public, and declared my innocence ; after it had been made apparent, that what passed between the late duke of Northfolk and me, was created, approved, and signed by those who held the first places in your council—after so long a time, I have always submitted to the orders which were prescribed for my captivity : I do behold myself to be daily persecuted as my person, and in the person of my servants ; which entirely hinders me not only from relieving the pressing necessities of my son, but from receiving the least knowledge of his condition. This is that, madam, which makes me once more beseech you, by the dolorous passion of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, that I may have permission to depart your kingdom, to assist my dear child, and to find some comfort for my poor body, travailed with continual sorrows ; and withal, liberty of conscience to prepare my soul for God, who hourly doth call for it. Your prisons have destroyed my body, there is no more left for my enemies to satiate their vengeance. My soul is still entire, which you neither can nor ought to captivate : allow it some place to breathe more freely after its own safety, which a thousand times I



do more desire than all the greatness in the world. What honour can you receive to see me stifled in your presence, and to fall at the feet of my enemies? Do you not consider, that in this extremity, if by your means, though late, I shall be rescued from their hands, that you shall oblige me and mine, especially my son, whom, most of all, you may assure your own? I must beseech you that I may know your intentions concerning this, and that you will not remit me to the discretion of any other but your own. In the mean time I demand two things: the one, that, being ready to depart this world, I may be suffered to have some clergyman of good reputation to attend me. The other, that I may have two maids, of my own servants, to attend me in my sickness. Grant me these petitions, for the honour of God: let it appear, that my enemies have not as much credit with you, as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty in a thing of so small a consequence. Assume the marks of your former good-nature, oblige your own to your own. Grant me that contentment before I die, to see all things remitted between you and myself, to the end that my soul being enlarged from my body, it may not be constrained to lay open its groans before God, for the injuries I have suffered to be done to me upon earth. But on the contrary, the departing this captivity in peace and concord, it may with all contentment refer to Him, whom I most humbly beseech to inspire you to condescend to the most just requests of your most distressed, most near, and most affectionate kinswomen,

"Sheffield, Nov. 28. 1682."

MARY, R.

Dr. Robertson calls this pathetic remonstrance, vigorous and acriminous but he has neither given the letter itself, nor mentioned the impression it made upon the queen and council of England. Yet it is certain, that Elizabeth was so much moved by it, as to propose the liberation and restoration of the Scottish queen, upon certain conditions, which Mary accepted, but the confederated lords rejected. At the same time that the English secretary Davidson, carried down to Scotland the articles which had been agreed on there went with him two French ambassadors, whose business was now the same purport, that of delivering the king and releasing his mother. Whichever, these ministers reached Edinburgh, the preachers met the mob crying, them, exclaiming, that they were the envoys of the bloody murderers, the dogs of Guise, and were distinguished by the badge of anticrist, alluding to the cross which one of them wore as a member of the order of St. Esprit. The ambassadors were so much displeased with the rude behaviour of the populace, and the opprobrious language of the clergy, that they hastened their departure as fast as possible. The king, who was desirous of keeping up a good understanding between the two nations, shewed the ambassadors all the respect that lay in his power, and at his desire the corporation of Edinburgh invited them to a splendid dinner; but the intolerant bigotry of the presbytery was such, that, of their own accord, they proclaimed a fast to be kept on the very day appointed for the entertainment; and because the magistrates came to do honour to their guests on that occasion, the zealots threatened them with excommunication. The king becoming impatient under the restraint to which he had been subjected, watched eagerly for an opportunity to effect his escape, and at last accomplished it with singular address. He was at Falkland, where colonel William Stewart commanded the guard about the person. By proper management, this officer was prevailed upon to enter in the design of freeing the young monarch from his bondage; to effect which the latter asked permission to visit his uncle, the earl of March, at Edinburgh. The lords of the association, having no suspicion of his intention, gave their consent, but accompanied him to the town, where at first he put up his residence in a defenceless house. Afterwards, he expressed a wish to see the castle, but as soon as he entered it with Stewart, he suddenly caused the gates to be closed, and the nobles in attendance were excluded. The next day he sent for the earls of Argyle, Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, and others in whom he could confide, apprizing them of what had happened, and calling upon them for assistance. These lords readily obeyed the summons, and the conspirators, finding their force too weak to resist the power they had

ow to cope with, made their submission to the king, who had just been their prisoner. James at first behaved with great liberality, for he pardoned them, and though he denounced their act at Ruthven a treasonable contrivance, he promised them a general indemnity. Thus far his conduct was prudent; but in a short time he lost his popularity, by recalling Arran to court, where the first thing that worthless favourite did, was to persuade his master to violate his word. Instead, therefore, of granting the act of oblivion, to which he was pledged, the king now demanded of the associated lords an abject acknowledgment of their crime; while, on his part, he reserved to himself the right of punishing or pardoning them, according as their future conduct should be found to deserve. Aware that this ambiguous assurance afforded them a very slender security from the machinations of a perfidious minister, many of the noblemen who had been concerned in the late affair, retired, first to their estates, and next sought an asylum in foreign lands.

The queen of England, being extremely mortified by these proceedings, sent a letter to the king, in which she reproached him for his conduct to the confederated lords, and charged him with breach of faith, in recalling Arran to the council. James replied in a strain of firmness, very unusual with him, "that he was an independent prince, and as such, had a right to govern his dominion without being controlled by any foreign power; that the queen could not take it well in him to meddle in her affairs; and that, as to the promise said to be made by him, it was extorted when he was in duress, on which account he was not bound to perform what had been wrested from him by violence." The king added, "that it belonged to him to choose his own ministers; and that, as to the persons for whom the queen interested herself, he had already offered them a pardon, upon conditions which were necessary for his own security and the safety of the realm."

Elizabeth, on this occasion, adopted the extraordinary course of sending to Edinburgh her aged minister, Walsingham, who had several conferences with the young monarch, and among other things, complained that an English Jesuit, named Holt, after being arrested in Scotland, had obtained his liberty at the desire of the French ambassador. James denied that he was under any obligation to deliver up this man; and by way of recrimination, charged the queen with having acted much worse, in refusing to give up Archibald Douglas, when demanded, to answer for being concerned in the atrocious murder of his majesty's father. Walsingham, finding that he could not succeed in gaining any favour for the conspirators, returned to England, much disgusted with the treatment which he had met with from Arran and his associates, though he did justice to the king in the report which he made to the queen, of his mission. James, on his part, was so little pleased with this interference, that he proceeded against the discarded nobles with greater severity: and as they had declined accepting the pardon on the conditions with which the overture was shackled, a proclamation was now issued, commanding them to surrender as prisoners. The only one that obeyed the injunction was the earl of Angus, who received orders to confine himself within the limits of the county of Murray; while the rest were denounced as rebels. A convention of the estates was next held, wherein, by the contrivance of Arran, it was decreed, that all the persons who had been engaged in the concern at Ruthven, were guilty of high treason; and that the act passed in the preceding year should be annulled.

Upon this, several of the persons who were implicated made interest with their friends to obtain the royal pardon, which was granted as far as regarded their lives; but they were required to leave the kingdom. Among these was the earl of Mar, the master of Glamis, lords Boyd, Lochleven, and Wemyss; the two first chose Ireland for their retreat, and the others went to France. The earl of Gowrie, though he had obtained his pardon, and was reconciled to Arran, was ordered to quit the realm, but while he lingered at Dundee, apparently employed in making preparations for his departure, consultations were carried on, chiefly through the agency of some of the disaffected clergy, for raising an insurrection against the government. Angus, Mar, and Glamis were at the head of the plot, and the first thing concerted was to seize the castle of Stirling. The business, however, could not be con-

ducted without exciting suspicion; and the delay of Gowrie proved his ruin for Arran, by his spies, made such a discovery, that he sent colonel Strachan to Dundee, where he arrested the earl, and conveyed him to Edinburgh. Two days afterwards, Angus, Mar, and Glamis surprised the castle of Stirling, where they published a manifesto, declaring that their motive in taking up arms, was to deliver the king and the realm from an unprincipled minister. But this appeal to the people did not produce the effect that was expected on the contrary, the king soon found himself at the head of an army, the approach of which so intimidated the confederated lords at Stirling, that they fled precipitately to England.

Thus ended a conspiracy which was ill-timed, badly contrived, and weakly managed as to be defeated without any conflict. Soon afterwards the earl of Gowrie was brought to his trial, and beheaded at Stirling, when also, on the same day, Archibald Douglas, and John Forbes, servant to the earl of Mar, were executed; but the rest of the persons taken in the case were either pardoned or banished. The part which too many of the clergy had borne in this conspiracy, and the pretensions set up by them to an independence of the civil power, obliged the king to call a parliament, wherein the regal authority over all persons, ecclesiastics as well as others, was decreed. An ordinance was also passed, that none, of whatever function, quality, or degree, should presume, either in private discourse, or in sermons to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the reproach of the majesty and council, or to the prejudice of public affairs, under the pain and penalty expressed in the acts of parliament against the fabricators of calumnious and lying reports.

Aware that these measures would produce a great ferment among the zealous ministers, who considered themselves entitled by their function to an exemption from the jurisdiction of the magistrate, the lords of the articles conducted their proceedings in secret; notwithstanding which, the suspicions of the clergy were excited, and Mr. David Lindsay, one of the lords, was sent to remonstrate with the king; but instead of being admitted to the royal presence, he was taken into custody, and conveyed to the castle of Blackness. The obnoxious laws, restraining the ministers from holding assemblies without the royal consent, and interdicting them from preaching on state affairs, were then published, according to custom, at the high court of Edinburgh; upon which, Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Catherine's, made a solemn protest against them, and then fled into England; as also did numbers of his brethren, inasmuch that the churches being in a manner deserted, the king ordered his own chaplains to fill the vacant places, and called the archbishop of St. Andrew's to court, for the same purpose.

In the mean time, the absent ministers sent a letter to the session of the church and council of Edinburgh, wherein they treated all the civil authorities so opprobriously, that the king and council were highly offended, and ordered the session to return an answer, charging the exiles with treasonable practices under the cloak of religion. Notwithstanding this, the fugitives kept up an active intercourse with their partizans in Scotland, the tendency of which being to produce a new insurrection, occasioned a severe edict, denouncing all such correspondence treason, and threatening those engaged in it with the severest penalties of the law. Accordingly, two brethren, David and Patrick Hume, who had been pardoned for the attempt at Stirling, were now taken up on this new charge of a seditious correspondence with the banished ministers, and suffered death. Soon after this, Malise Douglas, of Mains, and John Cunningham of Drumwassel, were accused by Robert Hamilton, of Ecclesfahan, with having formed a design to seize the king while hunting, and to keep him prisoner till the banished lords should be restored; for which they were tried and executed at Edinburgh, Feb. 9, 1685.

While Scotland was thus rent by domestic factions, and the government appeared in a tottering state, the earl of Argyle died, and was succeeded as chancellor by Arran, who also became provost of Edinburgh, and lieutenant general of the forces, besides which, he was governor of the two principal fortresses of the kingdom. But though the favorites increased in number,

power, his situation was far from being secure, for his conduct had created many enemies. and the persons who courted him most, and upon whom he avished the greatest favours, were the very men that eagerly sought his ruin. The principal of these were, the master of Gray, who had been appointed ambassador to the court of England, the secretary Maitland, and the Justice Clerk, Bellenden, all of whom were indebted to Arran for their advancement. Gray, who, during his long residence in France, had contracted an intimacy with the house of Guise, affected an uncommon attachment to the hapless Mary, by which means he imposed upon her credulity, and then betrayed to her oppressor those secrets which the unfortunate captive in the fulness of her heart had intrusted to his confidence. Meanwhile, Arran, whose rapacity knew no bounds, committed to prison the earl of Athol, lord Home, and he master of Cassilis; the first, because he would not divorce his wife, who was the daughter of the earl of Gowrie, and settle his estate on him; the second, for refusing to part with some lands adjoining to his estates; and the third, for denying him the loan of a considerable sum of money. Arran, also, at the same time, had a quarrel with lord Maxwell, on account of his declining to exchange a portion of his estate for the barony of Kinnail, which, as having belonged to the Hamiltons, the usurper was fearful would return again on a sudden change to the rightful owners. The refusal of Maxwell to give up any part of his paternal inheritance, for property of such a precarious nature irritated Arran so much, that he instigated the laird of Johnstone to oppose him in the provostship of Dumfries. But though letters in the king's name were despatched to forward the election of Johnstone, the opposite interest prevailed. This so exasperated Arran, that, out of revenge, he ordered the new provost to execute a commission within a limited time; and when it could not be accomplished, a body of armed men was sent to bring him to Edinburgh. Maxwell, however, was on his guard, and defended himself with such resolution, that the commander of the troop was killed and all his men were made prisoners. The favourite upon this stirred up a feud between Maxwell and Johnstone, who committed great ravages upon each other's lands; which furnished Arran with a pretext for raising a military force to restore order. It happened, however, that a pestilential disease prevented the soldiers from marching at the time appointed; and the expedition was delayed till the following year, when events arose which set it wholly aside. In addition to these mortifications, Arran soon afterwards sustained a heavy blow, by incurring the displeasure of queen Elizabeth, who, from being his zealous friend, became his most inveterate enemy. The occasion was this: Sir John Forester and Thomas Ker, the English and Scotch wardens of the middle marches, had an interview on the borders, attended by their respective followers; when a quarrel arose, in which the son of the earl of Bedford was slain. This affair, though purely accidental, was considered by the English queen as a meditated insult on the part of Arran, and she immediately demanded that both he and Ker should be delivered up to her for punishment. As a compliance with this requisition would have been derogatory to the dignity of the sovereign, and dangerous to the public peace, the king declined it, but caused Arran to be imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrew's, and Ker in that of Aberdeen, where he died shortly after. At this juncture Sir Edward Wotton, the English ambassador, arrived in Scotland, and being a man of uncommon parts, he soon contrived to gain an ascendancy over the inexperienced mind of the young monarch. Under this influence, a league was formed between the two kingdoms, the object of which was the defence of the Protestant religion against the combination that had recently been formed to extirpate it by the principal Catholic powers. Elizabeth, in order to stimulate the zeal of her royal relative on this occasion, settled upon him a yearly pension of five thousand pounds sterling; which was not only a large sum at that time, but peculiarly acceptable to one whose treasury was nearly exhausted. But the main design of the mission of Wotton was to effect the ruin of Arran, whose confinement had expired, and he was still in a much favour as ever. For this purpose the ambassador entered into an intriguing connexion with the disaffected nobles; and he also succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between the exiled lords and the two sons of the duke of Chatelherault, who had been driven out of the kingdom by the

tyranny of Morton. All these differences being accommodated, the expatriated lords returned in a body to the borders; where Arran made preparations to oppose their farther progress, but he was counteracted by Gray, Bellenden, and Mastland, who were the agents of Wotton. That minister is also said to have contrived about this time a plot of an atrocious character, which was no less than to seize the king and convey him to England. Whether such a daring design was ever formed or not, certain it is that the public resentment was roused against him to the highest pitch; and to avoid the consequences, he hastened his departure out of the kingdom. Meanwhile, the banished lords passed the borders, and entered Scotland with a considerable army, made up of their respective families and dependants; at the head of whom they pushed eagerly on for Stirling. Their force now accumulated to ten thousand men; and though the royal army was greatly superior both in numbers and equipment, no reliance could be placed upon its fidelity; besides which, the camp was wholly unprovided with the means for standing a siege. The confederated chiefs therefore soon made themselves masters of the town; and Arran finding that resistance would only accelerate his destruction, fled with the utmost precipitation. On the following morning the king sent his secretary and the justice clerk to remonstrate with the associated lords, and to demand their object. They answered with much respect, that it was against their inclination to appear in arms, and that nothing was dearer to them than the honour and safety of the king; but, that having been unjustly banished from his presence, as well as from their houses and families, without having the liberty even to plead their innocence or to prefer a petition to the throne, they were now come to solicit the royal pardon on their knees. When this declaration was reported to the king, he consented to dismiss Arran and Stewart from all their offices, and to admit the exiled lords to his presence and favour. The pardon granted by the king was ratified in the council, and a restoration of the estates and honours followed as a matter of course. Arran now fell into his original obscurity, and though suffered to remain un molested, he was ever after known only by the title of Captain Stewart. There was one set of men who complained heavily of having been neglected in this revolution. The banished ministers, who had returned with the nobles, expected, naturally enough, to have obtained some advantages in the change. But they were sadly disappointed, for the act against the presbyterian discipline continued in full force, upon which the pulpits now resounded with invective, in which the king and the lords were accused of having sacrificed Christ for gain, and turned persecutors of the church. These zealots fell upon the archbishop of St. Andrew's, whom they cited to appear before the provincial synod of Fife, and answer for presuming to exercise the episcopal functions. The prelate condescended to obey the summons, but it was only to make his protest against their authority, and to appeal from them to the king. The ecclesiastical body, however, treated this act with contempt, and immediately proceeded to pass a sentence of excommunication upon the archbishop, who returned the compliment by anathematizing some of the members of the synod. Notwithstanding this, and his appeal to the king, in which he proved the illegality of the assembly, the monarch strangely withheld his support from the primate, and suffered him to sacrifice his character by making his submission to the synod. A general assembly was held soon after, in which, though the episcopal title was recognized and allowed to remain, the office itself was reduced to a level with that of the ordinary minister, while those who held it were made subject to the presbyteries. The case of the archbishop was considered, and upon his renouncing all supremacy in the church, the sentence of excommunication was taken off, and he was restored to his functions.

About this time, Archibald Douglas, who had long resided in England, returned home with the royal license, and though well known to have been concerned in the murder of the king's father, he was acquitted after a mock trial, and then obtained the appointment of ambassador to queen Elizabeth. This gave great and just offence to the Scottish nation, especially as James had repeatedly demanded this man to be delivered up, while in exile, that he might undergo the judgment due to his crime.

An affair now occurred in England which accelerated the fate of the under-

anate queen of Scots. The Catholics being enraged against Elizabeth, whose destruction they considered as essential to the interests of their church, began to form designs for cutting her off, thinking, that as she was an excommunicated heretic, such an act would be meritorious in the sight of Heaven. Some of the priests of the English college at Rheims ardently engaged in this conspiracy, and they found an instrument for their purpose in a military officer named Savage, who bound himself by a solemn vow to kill the queen; for which purpose he proceeded to London. At the same time the project of an invasion of England by the Spaniards was set on foot, in negotiating which, as Ballard, a priest, was employed. He communicated the scheme to Anthony Babington, a gentleman of landed property in Derbyshire, who, through the friendship of the archbishop of Glasgow, had become known to the queen of Scots. On being informed of the mission of Savage, he approved of the object, but disliked the method; saying, that an attempt of such importance ought not to depend upon a single person. Babington, therefore, proposed that five others should be associated with him in this concern; and he offered to find out those who would readily embark in the service. In this he succeeded, and procured that number of gentlemen, all of whom were zealous for their religion, and disposed to hazard their lives for its restoration. Each had his allotted part to perform in the tragedy; and to Babington was assigned the office of rescuing the queen of Scots; while the murder of Elizabeth was undertaken by Savage, and a young man of good family in Hampshire, named Tichbourne. To confound were the conspirators of success, and vain of their enterprise, but they had a picture painted, in which they were represented holding an earnest consultation on something of deep moment. But while they fancied themselves secure, the secretary, Walsingham, who had his spies every where, obtained a regular knowledge of all their machinations. One of the confederates was in his pay; and a priest, who was acquainted with the whole plot, gave the sagacious minister ample information on the subject. Walsingham communicated the matter only to his royal mistress, who for some time thought it best to let it mature into a tangible form, previous to taking any steps of prevention. At length Ballard was arrested, upon which his associates fled, but were soon apprehended and committed to the Tower; where their fortitude forsook them, and they all made ample confessions before their execution. Thus terminated a conspiracy, which originated with some headstrong, and for the most part very young, men. But it afforded Elizabeth and her counsellors an apt opportunity to excite a general alarm, not only against the body of Roman Catholics, but the queen of Scots in particular. It was averred that Mary had a knowledge of the scheme to assassinate Elizabeth, and that all the combinations which had been formed to disturb the kingdom, were carried on in her name and with her sanction. These charges were industriously propagated, with a view to excite public animosity against this ill-fated princess, and evidently to furnish a pretext for some act of violence towards the illustrious prisoner. In the mean time Mary was kept under a vigorous restraint; all her papers were sent up to court; her attendants were put under arrest; and she was removed to the castle of Fotheringay in the county of Northampton. All these circumstances were sufficient indications of an intention to proceed to extremities; and yet the English council was greatly divided on the measure that should be adopted. The most moderate were of opinion that Mary should be kept in a state of close seclusion, without being allowed to hold any correspondence with foreign or domestic enemies. This sentiment was overruled by those who alleged that the safety of the queen and realm of England required a painful sacrifice: and therefore they maintained that the most proper course to be pursued was that of a public trial.

Although this recommendation was flagrantly contrary to the laws of all nations, and palpably opposed to the English constitution, it was acceded to; and in order to give a sort of splendour to the iniquitous transaction, Elizabeth appointed, by a commission under the great seal, forty of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom, with five of the judges, to hear and decide this momentous cause. The crown lawyers employed to prepare the indictment, were puzzled in what form or under what title the prisoner should be arraigned; but at last they agreed that she should be styled "Mary, Daughter

and Heir of James the Fifth, late king of Scots, commonly called Queen of Scots and Dowager of France."

While all this mockery of justice was going on, the party affected by it was kept in profound ignorance of the prosecution. On the 11th of October, 1566, the commissioners arrived at Fotheringay, bringing with them a letter to Mary from her savage oppressor, who took this cruel method of aggravating the wound she was inflicting, by insulting the captive with announcing, that as she had lived so long under the protection of the laws of England, she must submit now to the trial which they ordained to be taken of her crimes. Mary, though shocked by this extraordinary declaration and inhuman conduct, did not lose her fortitude. She had been so long in the school of affliction, that the love of life was in some degree weakened, and the fear of death was, in a great measure, taken away by the continual expectation of being cut off by poison or the dagger. Little doubt can be entertained that such would have been her lot, long before, but for the odium which such an atrocious act would have brought on the perpetrators.

Elizabeth herself was so far from having any squeamish scruples in regard to the mode of getting rid of her rival, that she frequently threw out hints of impatience, saying, that none of her people had spirit or zeal enough to secure her safety by removing the cause of her danger. The English nobles, however, were not sunk so low as to prefer the approbation of their sovereign, much as they regarded her, to the preservation of their own honour. Elizabeth and her ministers, therefore, finding that the work of destruction could not well be accomplished by secret means, had recourse to an expedient which, in principle, differed not in the least from assassination. The victim of their power was unprotected, and she had no means of defending herself; nor indeed would eloquence or evidence have availed, where the doom was predetermined. The substantial matter of charge brought against her was, that of being concerned in a plot to take away the life of queen Elizabeth; and though she protested her innocence in the strongest language, the commissioners treated the declaration with cold contempt, saying, she must prove it by facts and not with words. When called upon to plead, she demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, on the ground that she was the sovereign of an independent state, and owed no obedience to the laws of England; but that if she was to be tried, princes also could be her peers, for that the nobles who were appointed to sit in judgment upon her, however elevated by birth or rank, were still but subjects, and consequently her inferiors. The commissioners endeavoured to overrule this unanswerable reasoning by legal quibbles and unmanly threats. All this, however, could not shake the resolution of Mary, who towered as much above her adversaries in force of intellect, as she did in the justice of her cause and integrity of principle. It is rather to be lamented than wondered that she did not persevere to the end in this noble course of defiance, which was the only one worthy of her own character, and calculated to stamp indelible infamy upon her persecutors. But when we consider her sex and troubles, that she had no adviser, and was surrounded by enemies, it ought to excite pity instead of surprise, that she suffered herself to be ensnared into a submission by the glosing artifice of the vice-chamberlain, Hatton, a man of whom one of her biographers says truly, that he came into the court in a mask. This crafty sycophant, when neither the arguments of the chancellor, nor the menaces of the court, could prevail over the unfortunate queen to plead, addressed her in these terms: "You are accused, madam, but not condemned. You say you are a queen; be it so: if you are innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. You protest yourself innocent; the queen feareth the contrary, not without grief and shame. To examine your innocence are these honourable, prudent, and upright commissioners sent: glad will they be with all their hearts, if they may return and report you guiltless. Believe me, the queen herself will be much affected with joy, who affirmed to me at my coming from her, that never any thing befell her more grievous, than that you were charged with such a crime: therefore lay aside the bootless privilege of royal dignity, which can be of no use to you; appear in judgment, and shew your innocence, but, by avoiding a trial, you draw upon yourself suspicion, and lay upon your reputation an eternal blot and aspersation."

Had Mary been in a state to have calmly weighed this sophistry, she would have discovered its hypocritical tendency; for a more malignant falsehood never dropped from the tongue of man, than the assertion that these commissioners were sent with the honest object which the wily courtier claimed for them. What Hatton said of the concern expressed by Elizabeth, ought at once to have convinced the queen of Scots that the whole was a predetermined plan to accomplish her destruction under the form of a legal investigation, and not to establish her innocence. Unfortunately, a tender susceptibility for her reputation so far overcame her, that she condescended to hear the accusations, and to vindicate her honour; but with a reservation, that she neither admitted the authority of the court, nor the validity of its proceedings.

Upon this the business began in the great hall of the castle, where the queen sat, while the law officers of the crown opened the case, in which they gave the whole history of the conspiracy of Babington; and for the purpose of implicating the illustrious prisoner in this affair, copies of letters, pretended to have been written by her to the traitors, were read. Stress also was laid upon the confessions of the confederates who had suffered, as well as upon those of Naué and Curle, the secretaries of the queen of Scots, though neither of these two men was brought forward in person, nor had she the means afforded her of invalidating the complicated mass of testimony now marshalled with legal formality against her. The queen heard the whole, however, very attentively, and without betraying the least impatience, till the name of the earl of Arundel happened to be mentioned, as being concerned in the conspiracy, and then she feelingly exclaimed, "Alas! how much has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!" When the lawyers had finished their documentary evidence and comments, the queen arose, and with great dignity and eloquence entered upon her defence. "I came into this nation," said she, "to implore that succour against my rebellious subjects, which I had been led to expect by the many promises made me, as well as from my blood, alliance, sex, neighbourhood, and regal title. But instead of succour or hospitality, I have here met with my greatest affliction. This is the eighteenth year since I have been detained a prisoner, without cause, without reason, and, which is more, without mercy, christian compassion, or hope of relief. I am no subject of England, but a free and an independent queen, who ought not to make answer to any, except to God alone, the sovereign judge of all my actions. This is the protestation which I have already made, and now again repeat in your presence, before I make answer to these crimes that are forged against me. I am here charged with the most horrid offence of having conspired the death of my cousin the Queen; yet, after all their circumventions, the proofs are reduced to the letter of Babington, the depositions of my secretaries, and my solicitations to foreign princes to invade England with arms. Therefore I will answer effectually to all these articles, and make the justice of my cause appear most clear unto all such as will, without malice, look upon it. In the first place, I swear and protest, before the living God, I never saw nor received a letter from this Babington, who is made the principal in this charge; for I have always abhorred those violent and wicked counsels which tended to the hurt of Queen Elizabeth, and am ready to produce letters from those, who, having other evil enterprises, have excused themselves for not discovering any thing to me, because they knew I hated all such foul designs. I could know nothing of Babington and his confederates, being then a close prisoner; he might write what he thought proper, but I never saw nor heard of any letter from such a person to me. If there be any answer found or alleged to be from me to those things, which I never knew, nor so much as entered into my imagination, it must be an abominable forgery—a practice, which is not uncommon in this age, or the realm we live in. I am told there is one among you, whose name is Walsingham, that has conspired not only my death, but the death of my son also, and hath employed persons to counterfeit letters to make me guilty of such crimes, as may be a pretence to accomplish my destruction; especially those pretended answers to Babington, which letters being artfully conveyed to him, he made oath they came from me. And, behold, all this is but the belief of a man, who would say any thing to deliver himself from the torments and cruelty of his enemies: yet this must be alleged against me. Let them



produce but one letter of my hand, or one shadow of the crime, and I will acknowledge myself guilty. I speak in the sincerity of my heart. I would not conquer a kingdom with the blood of the vilest person, much less with the blood of a queen. I will never make a shipwreck of my own soul, by compassing the ruin of one, to whom I have promised so much respect and honour."

Here the queen was interrupted by the solicitor general, who, impatient enough, produced copies of the letters of Babington, and the depositions of the secretaries; upon which this persecuted woman resumed her speech thus:—"As for my secretaries, I always looked upon them to be honest men. If they do charge me in their depositions to have dictated them answers to Babington's letters, they have committed two great faults; the first, in violating the oath which they gave to be secret and faithful to me their mistress; the second, by inventing so detestable a calumny against me, to whom they owed all reverence and fidelity. In short, all the belief that you can draw from them, is no more than the deceit of perfidious men. O good God! in what a desperate condition is the majesty of princes, if they depend upon the witnesses of their servants in affairs of so great consequence! How many of them do prostitute themselves for the sake of uncertain riches! How many of them, for fear only, do comply with the threatening of powerful ones! If these poor men have taken the oaths as you say, it was only to deliver themselves from the horror of your torments, and to put all upon me, whom they thought, was not subject to your punishment. But what lawyers are you, to put Babington to death, without bringing him before me face to face? You opened his mouth by torments to tell a lie, and immediately shut it for ever against the truth. If my secretaries are alive, bring them before me with those letters, copies of which you produce, and I am sure they will not persist in so false a deposition."

Here the queen desired to know whether the secretaries were living; and being told they were, she required that they should be brought and confronted with her in open court; but receiving no answer, she said, "Doth it not hence appear that you proceed upon bad proof, and that you make use of these poor formalities, to give some shadow of legality to your premeditated designs to destroy me? I never dictated any thing to my servants, but what nature did suggest to me for the recovery of my own liberty, which is the third objection in your process against me. In answer to that charge, I demand of you, if I have committed any crime in desiring that which every living creature doth naturally seek, which law doth approve, which all mankind do practise, and which nature doth prompt to every living thing? Does not every little bird which is imprisoned in a cage, desire liberty? and what can they do less who find themselves so long confined unjustly, unlawfully, and unmercifully in a prison, with most base and barbarous usage, but implore the assistance of friends, and desire that some strong hand of Providence may deliver them? I confess I have often desired liberty; but deny that ever I sought it by the means you allege. So many years are past since I have been in miserable captivity; yet neither the offers I have made, nor the assurances I have given, nor the increase of my sickness, nor the declining of my years, could prevail with my sister the queen of England to release me. Have not I offered to contract a strict friendship with her, to respect her above all the princes in Christendom, to forget all past offences, to acknowledge her the true and legitimate queen of England, submitting all my right to the benefit of her peace? I long ago gave over all pretensions I had to the crown of England, and removed the title and arms of England, which I was compelled to attribute to myself by Henry the Second, king of France. And yet all these submissions have availed nothing to obtain my liberty. Am I so much to be blamed, if I desired my allies to draw me out of the depth of these miseries? Yet, notwithstanding all the offers and importunities of the king of Spain, I neither have, nor would ever consent to be firm into his hands that right which he pretends to the crown of England; but have respected queen Elizabeth so much, that I neglected both my life and liberty, to satisfy her interest. I have contented myself with the prayers of Esther, without the sword of Judith. But I now declare, that since England is so unequitable and unkind to me, that as I ought not, so I will not, misprison the assistance of other kings. I have here declared my sentiments to you."

in answer to these false accusations; and if right and equity must give way to power, and force must oppress truth among men, I do appeal to the living God, who hath an absolute power over Elizabeth and me. And I do solemnly swear before the same living God, and protest upon my honour, that for this long time I have had my thoughts on no kingdom but that of heaven, which I look on as a place of rest after all my sufferings. I believe I have satisfied all your objections, and you know in your consciences, that nothing doth charge me but my birth; nor does any thing render me guilty but my religion, about which I never made any noise or trouble, further than desiring liberty of conscience, which freedom I always granted to all in my power. In this I desire no advocate to defend me. I desire all the world to witness, and I fear not the severest judge."

Of the general accuracy of this speech there can be no doubt; but Camden adds some particulars, which, considering his sources of information and high character, are of great importance. According to his account, Mary, after spurning with indignation the charge of being concerned in any conspiracy against Elizabeth, declared that she had actually given her warning of the dangers to which she was exposed by her harsh treatment of the Catholics; and that in conclusion she said, "If ever I have given consent, by my words, or even by my thoughts, to any attempt against the life of the queen of England, so far from declining the judgment of men, I will not even pray for the mercy of God."

The assertion which the queen made, in the presence of so many members of the council, must have been true, otherwise it would have been contradicted; for Burleigh and Walsingham, to say nothing of Hatton and the rest, were, by virtue of their respective offices, well acquainted with all the correspondence that had passed between Mary and Elizabeth. Yet these statesmen were silent when they heard the gratitude of their mistress impeached, by the declaration that she had received friendly intimations of danger from the very woman whom she retained in bondage, and for whom she had now prepared a tribunal and a scaffold. The inference is obvious, that the imprecatory appeal to Heaven, made by Mary, emanated from a heart conscious of its innocence. The servile commissioners trembled under the force of truth, nor offered one word in reply, though the honour of their queen was directly affected by what they heard. Even Burleigh could say nothing upon this occasion, except to ask the unfortunate prisoner whether she had any thing more to urge. She replied, that she had said enough at that time to justify herself from the false accusations which had been advanced without proof, but that she wished to be heard in a full parliament, where she might do so more fully before the queen and people of England. She then rose, and after holding a short discourse with Burleigh and some other lords, withdrew. The court then adjourned to the star-chamber at Westminster, where, on the 26th of the same month, Naud and Curle, renewed their depositions with fresh matter, after which the commissioners pronounced "Mary queen of Scots guilty of having conspired the death of queen Elizabeth, contrary to a statute made in the twenty-seventh year of the present reign." Thus the legal farce was completed with the same mockery of justice that marked its commencement; for the person against whom these proceedings were directed, had no opportunity of hearing, examining, or answering the evidence, on which these mercenary judges, who were the slaves of her malignant enemy, presumed to find a verdict that has imprinted an indelible stain upon the name of every one of them. But as a degree of meanness and fear always pervades every act of cruelty, so it was here; for on the same day, the commissioners knowing what a sensation would be excited in Scotland by their unrighteous decision, drew up a declaration, purporting that he "said sentence did not derogate from the title or honour of king James, who still stood in the same place, degree, and right, as though the sentence had never been pronounced."

Within a few days after this, the parliament assembled, and not only confirmed the judgment that had been awarded against Mary, but petitioned Elizabeth to put it in force, for the security of her own person and that of religion. She pretended to be greatly moved by their affection, but exhorted them to weigh the matter more deliberately, and to devise some means whereby the life of the queen of Scots might be preserved, and her own safety ensured.

The venal senate, being well convinced that this was a piece of nonsense, returned their importunity with greater eagerness, and the queen concluded an ambiguous answer in these words; "If I should say I would not do what you request, I might say perhaps more than I think; and if I should consent, I might plunge myself into peril."

The two houses having now performed the business for which they had assembled, that of giving their sanction to an arbitrary and unconstitutional measure, received their dismissal by prerogation. The next step of Elizabeth was equally detestable with the rest of her conduct. After gaining the decision of a packed jury of her own appointment, and the confirmation of it by a servile senate, she sent lord Buckhurst, and Beale the clerk of the council, to apprise Mary of what had been determined in her absence, and to tell her that the nation called for her death to preserve their religion. The royal sufferer received the brutal message without emotion, or rather with exultation. "It was no wonder, (she said,) that the English should thirst for the blood of a foreign prince, when they had so often offered violence to their own monarchs. But, (added she,) after so many sufferings, death comes to me as a welcome deliverer. I am proud to think that my life is esteemed of importance to the Catholic religion, and as a martyr for it I am willing to die."

Then came to her the bishop and dean of Peterborough with the tender of their spiritual offices; but she declined them, on which the prelate behaved with a rudeness more calculated to alienate the mind of the queen from the Protestant religion than to reconcile her to it, and said in a passion, that she would neither die a saint nor a martyr, since she was condemned for an attempt to murder queen Elizabeth, and to dispossess her of the throne. To this invective Mary mockingly replied, "I neither aspire to the dignity of sanctity nor of martyrdom, but with God's permission I shall suffer cheerfully, in hopes of a blessed reward hereafter. Although you have power to kill my body, you have none over my soul; nor can your persuasions make me doubt, or alter the confidence which I have in my Saviour, who died for me; since I lay down my life for maintaining the faith of his church, and preferring a kingdom in heaven to one upon earth. I hope, in the merits of my Saviour, that the persecutions I have endured here, will in some respect plead for the offences of my life. Your charge of my attempting to murder the queen of England, is no more than the contrivance of my enemies, to give some form of law to their committing that crime on me. I pray God to forgive those who thirst for innocent blood." Hitherto Mary had been treated with the formality of royalty, but now her oppressors meanly ordered that the canopy of state and other ornaments should be removed from her apartments. Meanwhile the sentence was publicly proclaimed, with a declaratory preamble, that it was necessary for the safety of the queen's person and that of religion; but all Europe stood aghast at so extraordinary an event, the like to which had never been witnessed in the history of the civilized world. The king of France sent an especial ambassador to the English court, to intercede in behalf of the unfortunate queen of Scots: but Elizabeth was inexorable; her heart was callous to the impressions of humanity; she turned a deaf ear to the voice of justice; and when threatened with the vengeance due to so heinous an outrage on the rights of nations, she became more determined to brave all shame and danger.

Nor did she pay greater respect to the feelings of the king of Scotland, than to the remonstrances of other potentates. The young monarch had no knowledge of the prosecution of his mother, till apprized that she was actually condemned. Shocked at the dreadful intelligence, he despatched Sir William Keith with a letter to Elizabeth, wherein he said "it seemed strange to him, that the English nobility should take upon them to give sentence against a queen of Scotland, and one descended from the blood-royal of England. But that he should think it still more strange, were her majesty to stain her hands in the blood of his mother, who was of the same royal stock and dignity with herself." He concluded by observing, that, "if after all she should proceed to that unnatural extremity, his honour as a king and a son would compel him to avenge the insult."

To this remonstrance no answer was returned; upon which James wrote to his ambassador, complaining of his conduct, as well of that of Elizabeth, against

whom he inveighed in such spirited terms, that she threw herself into a violent passion, and said they were his enemies who had advised him to intercede for his mother, and that therefore she would not condescend to give him any satisfaction. The fury of the woman had by this time gained such height, that she seemed in a state of frenzy; but on being informed that the Scottish king had actually taken steps either to rescue or avenge his mother, by appointing ambassadors extraordinary to foreign courts, she began to betray symptoms of fear, and at length relaxed so far as to tell Keith that she would suspend the execution until the arrival of such overtures from his master as might save the life of the prisoner, and ensure her own security. The king was no sooner informed of this promise, than he endeavoured to improve the favourable opening which it seemed to present, of saving his parent from her perilous situation; and accordingly he wrote another letter to Elizabeth, saying that he did not so much blame her, as the counsellors who had instigated her to this act of violence; that he hoped she would continue her friendship towards him, and that for his part he would ask nothing in behalf of his mother but what was just and reasonable.

In the mean time, the king assembled the parliament at Edinburgh, and laid before them the situation of the queen his mother, and the extraordinary conduct of the English court, in presuming to sit in judgment and passing sentence of death upon her for treason. There was but one sentiment in the assembly; all the nobles felt the indignity as offered to themselves, and immediately came to a resolution to support the king with their lives and fortunes. It was, however, deemed advisable to send another embassy to England, and unfortunately, the principal person chosen for this mission was her master of Gray, a man of such perfidy, that though he affected a great concern for the queen, he was in fact her most deadly enemy. With him was associated another person of quite an opposite character; this was Sir Robert Melvil, who, as he had always been a faithful servant to Mary, now felt in his instance a sincere desire to save her life; while Gray, on the contrary, secretly resolved to accelerate her execution. On the last day of the year, these ill-matched colleagues arrived in London, where they were joined by Bellievre the French envoy, who had instructions to urge the cause of the queen of Scots with the utmost earnestness. Elizabeth at first refused to admit either of the ambassadors to an audience; but after some deliberation she listened to the entreaty of her ministers, and consented to receive those from Scotland. When they appeared in her presence she could scarcely speak for passion, and demanded with great warmth, whether they had brought her any more threatening letters? To this the ambassadors answered, that they had not, or their master had already, as they understood, sufficiently explained himself to her satisfaction. She replied, "I am unmeasurably sorry that there can be no means found out to save the life of your king's mother, without endangering my own. I have laboured to preserve both, but now I see that cannot be done." Finding that no good was likely to ensue from any discussion with one who was in such a state of mind, the ambassadors contented themselves with observing, that the case was not reduced to so desperate a dilemma, but that the life of each might be secured with perfect safety. They did not, however, deem it prudent to state the overtures, which they were empowered to make, but deferred them till the next audience. At their second appearance, Elizabeth demanded to know what their king had to advance, according to the tenor of his last letter. Melvil answered, that before they submitted the proposals intrusted to them, it was necessary to be assured that the royal personage whom they concerned was alive, as there were many reports in circulation that she had been privately despatched in prison. Such a stinging remark was enough to have awakened some emotions of humanity and stirring of remorse in a heart not wholly deadened to all sensibility; but Elizabeth had no such weakness, she was neither to be moved by reproach nor melted by sympathy. To the expressive observation of Melvil, she returned the unfeeling declaration, that Mary was at that moment alive; but that she could not promise for one hour longer. "Nay," said Gray, "we do not come to speak about the time; but to offer from our sovereign all that can reasonably be demanded of him; which is, that he will engage

his honour and credit for his mother, and will give some of the chief nobles as pledges, that no plot or device shall be contrived against your majesty with her consent or knowledge. If, however, this be not deemed sufficient, let her be sent to Scotland, and methods shall be taken to secure your majesty from any attempt by herself, or by others upon her account."

The queen upon this called aside Leicester and some other lords; to whom she imparted what had been stated, but at the same time expressed herself in such a manner as too plainly indicated that her mind was fixed. Gray observing this said, "Pray, madam, what should induce any man to injure you in favour of our queen?" "Because," replied she, they think she will be my successor; and she is a Papist." "But," said Gray, "if those dangers be removed, the fears will cease." "That," rejoined Elizabeth, "I would gladly understand." "Why," answered the other, "it may be remedied by making over her right of succession to the English crown to which: in which case the Papists will have no more hopes; and this I am sure your mother will consent to, by a resignation of her right." This was enough to goad the mind of Elizabeth to desperation at once, for there was now upon which she felt so sore, as the article of the right of succession. She therefore, retorted with vehemence, "But she hath no right, being declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of England." "Then," said Gray, still glad to harp on the same string, "if she has no right, the Papists have no hopes; nor is there any reason to fear that they would make any attempt to her favour." Elizabeth rejoined, "But the Papists do not own our domination." "Then," said Gray, "let it fall in the king's person by her resignation." Here Leicester objected, that as she was a prisoner, her resignation would not be valid: to which Gray answered, that being under her son, with the consent of all her friends in Europe, a general obligation would be entered into by them for the making it effectual. This the queen affected not to understand, in order to give room for such an explanation, she should furnish her with a plea to terminate the conference. When therefore Leicester acted the part of an interpreter, by saying that the meaning of the ambassador was, that the king should take his mother's place in the inheritance to the throne of England; she started up in a rage, and exclaimed, "It so? then I put myself into a worse case than before: but, by God's power, that were to cut my own throat. He shall never come into the place of my mother in order to make a party against me." Gray, instead of allaying the storm which he had raised, blew it up stronger, by saying that his master would have a greater party, if he should come into the line of succession by the death of her mother. To this Elizabeth answered, "Well, tell your king what I have done to him, to keep the crown of Scotland on his head, ever since he was born. I have a mind to keep the league between us, which if he break, it will be a double fault." With these words she burst out of the room, followed by Melvil, who fearful of the consequences that would result from this ill-managed business, humbly entreated that her majesty would delay the fatal blow for some time; but to this she answered with a fearful oath, "No, not an hour."

It was but too evident now, that nothing could save a life doomed to destruction by the insatiate vengeance of a powerful rival, the cabals of an artful cold-blooded statesman, and the treachery of one of the persons to whom James had confided the important trust of vindicating his honour, and securing his injured parent. Fresh instructions were given to the ambassadors to exert themselves with greater vigour, and to assume a more bold and determined air. Melvil discharged his duty diligently, ably, and honestly; but Gray, though he made an outward show of zeal in the cause, secretly stimulated Elizabeth to hasten the execution, by saying, that "a dead foe could not bite." This even had the audacity also to write a letter to his sovereign, wherein he represented that the death of the queen was so far resolved upon, as to render it unnecessary to make any further intercession for delay. He therefore advised his master to moderate his grief and concern, especially as her demise would make succession to the crown of England more certain.

At the same time the earl of Leicester wrote an unfeeling epistle to the king, saying, that by intermeddling so much in the cause of his mother, he only gave encouragement to the Papists, and offended the Pro-

ants, particularly the queen and court of England, whose friendship he ought to prize above all others in the world."

Walsingham also, who, it is to be feared, was the principal agent in this atrocious murder, sent a letter to Thirlestane, the secretary of the king of Scotland, in which he said, "it was wondered by every wise and religious man in England, that the king should be so earnest in the cause of his mother, seeing all the Papists in Europe who affected the change of religion in both realms, did build their hopes altogether upon her; especially when, through her concern for popery, she had transferred her pretended right to both crowns to the king of Spain, in case her son should persist in the protestant faith."

This calumny was industriously invented, for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the people in both nations against the unhappy queen, and it was even insinuated in the charge at her trial, but no proof was ever offered in support of the accusation. It was artfully contrived, however, to make an impression on those who at all times dreaded a foreign yoke, and who were particularly credulous in whatever tended to endanger their liberties and religion. In the same spirit, and for the same object, the most absurd reports were spread about, of plots to assassinate Elizabeth, and of designs to invade the kingdom. First it was said that a Spanish fleet had been seen on the western coast; at another, that the duke of Guise was about to land on the coast of Sussex; one day it was rumoured that the Romanists had risen in arms in the north; the next day another report was circulated that the Scots had crossed the borders, and lastly, the citizens of London were alarmed by the discovery of a design to blow up the city and murder the queen. All these things were the machinations of the enemies of Mary, so that the people clamoured for her execution, as the only means of securing the public safety. Nor were matters much better in Scotland; for though the nobles in general felt indignant at the disgrace put upon their country by this scandalous violation of justice, the fanatical clergy took care to counteract their efforts for the maintenance of the national honour, by poisoning the minds of the people with the grossest delusions on the danger to which the protestant religion was exposed, while the queen lived, to whom all the Papists, they said, looked up as the destined instrument for the restoration of their church in both kingdoms. Of the spirit of these men the Scottish monarch had painful experience at this awful juncture: and it was enough to convince him that the English cabinet possessed more influence over his subjects than he did himself. Finding that it was hopeless to rescue his mother by negotiation, he recalled his ambassadors, and gave orders at home that the clergy should pray for her deliverance. Reasonable and proper as this injunction was, one minister only, with the exception of the bishops and king's chaplains, acted in conformity to the injunction: upon which the mandate was renewed, and a day was appointed for solemn prayers to be offered up on behalf of the queen in all the churches of the realm. At the time appointed, the king went to the great church of Edinburgh, where the bishop was to have officiated, but the refractory ministers in the mean time contrived to put a young man named John Cowper into the pulpit before the prelate arrived. The king, on entering his seat, turned to the intruder, and said, "That place was not destined for you; but since you are here, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my mother in our prayers, you may go on." To this liberal concession and christian request the other replied, "That he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him." Such insolence could not be endured, and he was commanded to leave the place, but refused; on which the captain of the guard pulled him down by force, and he was thrust out of the church, exclaiming, "This day shall be a witness against the king, in the great day of the Lord." The archbishop of St. Andrew's soon after entered the church, and performed the required duty. In the afternoon of the same day, Cowper, with two other refractory ministers, named Balcanquhall and Watson, were examined before the privy council, and sent prisoners to the castle of Blackness.

In foreign countries, protestant as well as catholic, the situation of Mary excited much commiseration, and several applications were made to Elizabeth by the ambassadors of different courts; but she disregarded them all, though seconded by some of her own nobility, who urged that it was without example

to commit the nearest relative she had in the world, and she too a queen and her guest, who had been invited to her kingdom with assurances of protection, into the vile hands of a hangman." All this could not soften the obduracy of Elizabeth, but though she continued inflexibly bent upon the destruction of her victim, she was far from being easy in her mind, or resolved upon the mode of carrying her object. While resolved to accomplish the death of Mary, she seems to have had a dread of the odium which a public execution would bring upon herself. She therefore again sought to have her despatched in a private way; but none of her tools, sunk as they were in slavish obedience to her will, felt disposed to undertake the work of assassination; and in the mean time she became sour, implacable, and melancholy.

Mary, on the other hand, seeing that her fate was determined, prepared for the fatal stroke with philosophical fortitude and Christian humility. How superior her mind was to that of her oppressor, appears in the following letter which she wrote at this time to Elizabeth; "I give thanks to God with all my heart," says she, "who by the sentence of death hath been pleased to put an end to my tedious imprisonment. I desire not that it may be prolonged, having had too long a time to try the bitterness of it. Since I am not to expect any favour from some zealous ministers of state, who hold the first place in your councils, I desire I may receive from yourself, and from none other, these following favours: In the first place, since I am to expect a burial, I beg I may be buried according to the rites of my religion, and that my body (when my enemies shall be satisfied with my innocent blood may be carried by some of my servants, to be laid by the body of the queen, my dear honoured mother;\* that my poor body, which found no rest whilst joined with my soul, may find repose when separated from it. Secondly, I beseech you (by the apprehensions I have of the cruelty of those to whose power you abandon me) that I may not suffer in any private place, but in the view of my servants and other people: and lastly, that such of my servants as have attended me with great fidelity during my long affliction, may have free leave to retire to any place they please, and enjoy those small legacies, which, in my last will, my poverty hath bequeathed to them. I conjure you, by the blood and passion of Jesus Christ, by the nearness of consanguinity, by the memory of Henry the Seventh, whose grandchildren we both are, and by the title and name of a queen which I carry to my grave, not to deny these reasonable demands, but, by one word under your own hand, to appoint me an assurance of them."

As no answer was returned to this affecting appeal, it is uncertain whether the letter ever reached the hands of Elizabeth; but if it did, she never paid the least attention to the requests so tenderly urged in it. On the first of February, she ordered Davison to bring her the warrant, and having signed it, asked the secretary jocularly, whether he was not sorry for what she had done? The astonished courtier answered, that he was sorry a lady, so near to her in blood, should give such offence as to oblige her majesty to proceed to the extremity of the law. Unmoved by a reply which denoted some sympathy at least, Elizabeth continued to jest on an occasion, that, under any circumstances, called for a grave demeanour; and telling Davison to get the great seal affixed, ordered him to show it to Walsingham, who, she said, would "die of grief at the very sight of it." Yet, with all this outward levity, the hard-hearted woman was ill at ease, and her mind was disturbed by various apprehensions; for though she had neither pity nor conscience, she was afraid of the judgment which the world would pass upon her conduct. Another attempt was therefore made to get the deed done so secretly, that the fate of Mary might be shrouded in darkness. For this purpose one Wingfield was mentioned as a fit instrument to be employed in a business for which, no doubt, he had already proved himself amply qualified. Davison, however, shrunk from the proposal, as both dangerous and dishonourable; upon which the warrant was immediately transmitted to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, who, with the high sheriff of the county, were to see the execution done

\* The body of the queen dowager had been carried by her own request from Scotland to France, and interred in the abbey of Champagne, where her sister was at that time the abbess.

in the castle of Fotheringay, on the 8th day of the same month. In the afternoon preceding the morning of the tragedy, the two noblemen arrived at the castle, where the victim, they came to destroy, was in bed; but they compelled her to rise, and hear the warrant read.

The clerk having finished, Mary with a serene and smiling countenance, said "That death was welcome to her, nor did she think that soul worthy of heaven whose body could not endure the blow of an executioner." Then putting her and on a Latin testament which lay on the table, she made a solemn protestation, that she had never devised, consented to, or imagined the death of queen Elizabeth. The earl of Kent, who appears to have been chosen for the goodly face which he bore, on account of his stern ferocity of character and brutal ignorance, objected to the voluntary oath, because it was taken, as he said, on a popish book. To this the accomplished queen replied, "Therefore, my lord, be oath is the more to be relied on, as I believe the translation to be authentic." Then Kent made a long speech against popery, and recommended her to admit the spiritual counsels of the dean of Peterborough; but she answered, that being already sufficiently instructed in her religious principles, she was resolved to lie firm in the faith which she had hitherto professed. She in consequence desired the assistance of her own confessor, that she might receive the sacrament of the church, which, as being the only request she had to ask, she hoped would not be denied. But, what infidels and barbarians have never refused to persons under sentence of death, these zealots for pure Christianity denied to a suffering queen; and Kent had the audacity to tell her, that the Protestant religion would be saved by her execution. When the noblemen retired, Mary acutely said to her weeping attendants, "You see how great is the force of truth; for notwithstanding the pretended charge of my having conspired against the life of their queen, they plainly declare now, that I must die for the security of their religion." She then took notice of the attempt made to convert her, and observed with a smile, "It must be allowed that this earl is a notable doctor to make proselytes." Her domestics were agonized with grief, but she alone remained unmoved, and kneeling down in the centre of the mourning circle, she offered up her thanks to Heaven that all her sufferings were now drawing to a speedy close. While supper was preparing, she drew up her will, in which she bequeathed all her wardrobe and other personal effects to her faithful domestics, with the exception of a few jewels, which she left to particular friends, as the queen of France, the duke of Guise, and her son, to all of whom she also wrote some short and affectionate letters. At supper she conversed cheerfully; and when it was over, she drank to each of her attendants by name, and desired them to pardon whatever inadvertent offence she might have been guilty of towards them at any time. She also reminded them of their duty to God, exhorted them to continue firm in the faith of Christ, to live in peace and charity with each other, and lastly, to unite in fervent prayer for her salvation. Having taken her farewell of them, she retired to her private devotions, after which she went to bed and slept composedly about three hours. Before break of day, she arose and went into her closet, where she spent a considerable time in prayer, and then dressed herself with more elegance than had been for some years her ordinary custom. At eight o'clock, the high sheriff, noblemen, and officers entered the chamber, where the queen was still kneeling before the altar. On hearing their footsteps she started up, and with majestic dignity walked toward the place of execution, leaning on two servants. As she passed along the gallery, Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had not been permitted to see her for several weeks, threw himself upon his knees before her, weeping, and bewailing his hard fate in having to carry the doleful tidings of this event to Scotland. Mary, though deeply affected, preserved her fortitude, and said, "Weep not, good Melvil; thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn, for now thou shalt see Mary Stuart's great and manifold troubles ended in an instant. Know, my good servant, that this world is nothing but vanity, and subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can lament. But I pray you carry this message from me, that I die firm in the ancient Catholic faith, and like a queen of Scotland and France. But God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood as the hart doth for the water-brooks. O thou God, who art the author of truth, and



knowest the most secret thoughts of my heart, how I have always loved Scotland and France, and how much I have desired to see Scotland and England united. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to his kingdom, his honour, or his rights." Then extending her hand to her afflicted servant to kiss, she dropped some tears, and said, "Good Melvil, farewell, and pray for thy queen and mistress." At this affecting scene, observing the impression it made, and the anxiety of her domestics to attend her through the last mournful scene, Mary turned to the lords, and entreated permission that they might wait upon her on the scaffold; but Keut sternly refused, alleging that their behaviour would be disorderly; on which she said, "My lord, I will give my word that they shall not incur any blame by their conduct; but, alas! poor creatures, it will be some satisfaction to them, to take a last farewell of their dying mistress. And I should have hoped that your queen, in regard to our sex, would have allowed some of my people about me at my death. I know that she hath not given you such strict orders, but that you might grant me a far greater favour, were I a meaner woman than the queen of Scotland." She stopped, in expectation of assent; but observing their reluctance, she exclaimed, "I am cousin to your queen, descended from your blood royal, the grandchild of Henry the Seventh, married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland." The earl of Shrewsbury could no longer withstand the touching appeal, but said that her request should be granted, and desired her to nominate those whom she wished to be her attendants. Accordingly she selected her physician, with Melvil, another aged man, and two females, who joined the melancholy procession, and the whole moved on to the scaffold, which was raised a little above the floor, in the hall where the court had sat for her trial. Mary ascended the steps with cheerfulness, and seated herself in the chair, beheld the apparatus of death, the block, the cushion and axe, undismayed. On the platform, which was covered with black, stood between the nobles, the sheriff, two executioners, and the dean of Peterborough, while her servants took their stations behind the chair; and outside the rails were several spectators of distinction. It was observed, that while the warrant was reading, she paid no attention to it, her mind being evidently occupied in religious meditations.

Then Dr. Fletcher the dean addressed her in a tedious discourse, which chiefly turned on the errors of Popery; but the queen interrupted him, and said, "he need not be at such pains to make her renounce the Catholic faith in which she was so well grounded, that in the defense of it she would sacrifice her blood." The two earls, upon this, said, "Madam, we will pray for your grace, that you may be enlightened in the true knowledge of Jesus Christ, and die therein." Mary shortly returned them her thanks, but refused to pray either with them or the dean in the English prayers, which the latter now delivered at length. While they were thus engaged, Mary employed the moments in mental devotion; but when the dean had finished, she prayed aloud in Latin, accompanied by her attendants: after which, she concluded with a prayer in English, "for the afflicted church, prosperity to her son, a long and peaceable reign to queen Elizabeth, and the forgiveness of her persecutors." Then first crossing herself, and kissing the crucifix which she held in her hand, she said, "that she hoped to be saved in and by the blood of Jesus Christ, at the foot of whose cross she willingly laid down her life." Again she "devoutly adored the sacred emblem, and holding it forth, said, "Even as thy arms were stretched out here, upon the cross, so receive me, I beseech thee, in the arms of thy mercy; and forgive me all my sins."

Observing the attention of the people, who surrounded the platform, she turned towards them, and expressed herself in these terms, "It is a rare spectacle to see a queen brought upon a scaffold to die by the hands of a common executioner. I have not been accustomed to put off my royal robes in such company, or to have hangmen for the servants of my bedchamber. But we must submit to what Heaven is pleased to have done! I now present before the face of Almighty God, that I never conspired against the life of queen Elizabeth; neither have I committed aught worthy of this usage. If any thing can be charged against me as a crime, it is for living and dying in the religion of my ancestors, wherein I was baptized and bred up. I pray

God to forgive all my enemies, and all such as shed innocent blood under the pretence of religion.<sup>46</sup>

She now prepared for the block with as much equanimity of temper as if it was for her bed; and when the female attendants wept aloud, she said, "Nay, what do you mean? Have not I promised for your constancy, and will ye be thus transported with grief, when you see me going to change a temporal kingdom, full of misery, for a state of everlasting felicity?" When divested of her outward attire, she saluted them, bade them farewell, and, kneeling down on the cushion, repeated the psalm, "In te, Domine, confido." "In thee, O Lord, put I my trust." Then feeling for the block with her hand, (being blindfolded,) she laid her neck thereon, and said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth." This was the signal appointed for the executioner, who with three blows struck off her head, which on falling, discovered that the hair, through trouble, had changed from black to gray.

Thus fell Mary queen of Scots, after a chequered life of forty-four years, nineteen of which were spent in captivity. In her person she was, till worn down by affliction, extremely beautiful; insomuch that the spirited Brantome says, no man ever beheld her without admiration and love, or will read her history without sorrow. Her natural genius was fine, and highly improved by cultivation. She spoke Latin fluently, and wrote it with elegance. In music she excelled; her taste for the fine arts was delicate, and she possessed all the accomplishments requisite to grace her elevated rank. The manners of Mary were superior to the age in which she lived, and the people among whom it was her lot to be cast. Unsuspecting herself, she placed implicit confidence in those around her; the consequence of which was, that she became the victim of ingratitude, ambition, and perfidy. The openness of her temper exposed her to the arts of hypocrites, who, under the mask of religion, laid plans for the ruin of the queen of the Scots, because she adhered to the faith in which she was educated. To the praise of Mary let it be recorded, that, though a Catholic in principle, she respected the rights of conscience in others; and perhaps her government was the only one in Europe where toleration was practised. That she was free from faults, no one will be hardy enough to maintain; but that she was guilty of the crimes charged against her, no unprejudiced searcher into evidence, can possibly believe. The forgeries invented by her personal enemies have been detected, and the calumnies they were contrived to support have been refuted. Of her innocence, a stronger proof could not well be given than the fact, that the illegal tribunal before which she appeared, and the tyrannical court that doomed her to the block, neither ventured to produce the written evidence which they alleged in justification of their charges, nor the living witnesses on whose testimony they pretended to rely.

The treatment of the mortal remains of this unfortunate woman corresponded with the general conduct of her inhuman persecutors. The mutilated body was suffered to lie neglected for some days in a room adjoining to that of the execution; nor were her women suffered to pay it those respectful attentions, which are never refused to the humblest and vilest of criminals. The block, scaffold, habiliments of the executioners, and every thing stained with her blood, were burnt to ashes. But soon after, orders came for a pompous interment of the royal corpse in the cathedral of Peterborough, where the obsequies were performed with great parade, and a sermon was preached by the bishop of Lincoln. On the accession of her son James to the English throne, the body was removed to the abbey church of Westminster, and there deposited among the English monarchs. To complete the solemn mockery, Elizabeth, after wreaking her vengeance upon the helpless Mary, affected a total ignorance of the transaction. She counterfeited an excess of grief on the occasion, and not only caused Davison, who had complied with her special directions, to be sent to the Tower, but had him prosecuted in the star-chamber, where he was fined ten thousand pounds, and sentenced to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. In the same spirit of consummate duplicity, she wrote a letter to the king of Scotland, in which she lamented the unhappy event that had occurred, and threw all the blame of it upon her servants, particularly

Davison, who was now suffering the punishment due to his offence. The apology was too flimsy to impose upon James; and instead of being appeased thereby, he justly considered it as an aggravation of the insult. Most of the nobles were of the same opinion, and many of them urged the monarch to avenge the wrong that he and the nation had sustained in the public execution of his mother. This spirit of resentment appeared at length so general, that Elizabeth became seriously alarmed, and set her instruments at work to avert the storm which threatened her repose. While, therefore, Leicester wrote to the king, Walsingham kept up an active correspondence with some of the courtiers as possessed most influence, and were well disposed to England. The letters sent by these statesmen were all to the same purport, holding out the succession to the English crown as an inducement to the Scottish monarch to forbear from attacking a kingdom so greatly superior in resources to his own. They stated also the double danger he would run in seconding the views of France or Spain, whose alliance, though it might gratify his private inclination, would in the end prove his ruin, by alienating the people of England from his government. These representations had their effect; the ardour of James abated, and the death of Mary was neither avenged by her son nor another prince.

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## BOOK II.

If one man suffered wrongfully in England, for the part which he had been compelled to act in the catastrophe of Mary; another, in Scotland, escaped the judgment which he really deserved for his foul guilt in that transaction. This was the master of Gray, whose base counsels hastened the execution of the sentence; but whose conduct was kept secret from the king, till it was too late to prevent the consequences of his treachery. Soon after the queen's death, a quarrel arose between Gray and Sir William Stewart, the brother of Arran, when the latter, out of revenge, laid open the iniquity of his adversary on which both parties were ordered into custody. Gray, when brought to trial, confessed that he had written a letter to queen Elizabeth, in which he made use of the words that "dead folks could not bite;" but he endeavoured at the same time, to put a sense upon the phrase very different from its obvious import. His defence, however, was so weak, that he was soon convicted, but the sentence pronounced against him amounted to nothing more than a voluntary exile for life, which gave him opportunities of adding to his perfidy in other instances. Captain James Stewart having thus got rid of one of his enemies, flattered himself with being able to effect the ruin of the rest. Accordingly, he began with the secretary Maitland, commonly called lord Threestone, whom he not only accused of being accessory to the prosecution and death of the queen, but as privy also to a plot for betraying the king himself into the hands of the English. Stewart having exhibited his charges was summoned to Linlithgow to support them; but failing to do so, he was deprived of the titular office of chancellor, which he had been allowed to retain, and which he now had the additional mortification to see conferred on the person whom he had endeavoured to supplant.

On the 29th of July, a parliament was called at Edinburgh, previous to which, the young king, who had just completed his majority, distinguished himself by a singular act, which, as it attracted much notice, so it gave general satisfaction to the people. In order to put an end to the feuds which had too long prevailed among the nobles, he invited them to a splendid banquet in the palace; after which he conducted them, two and two, each leading by the hand his former enemy, to the market cross, where a collation was prepared, and they drank to each other, in token of reciprocal forgiveness and friendship, amid the acclamations of the populace. It merits notice, that only one nobleman held out on this interesting occasion, and that was lord Yester, who

refused to be reconciled to lord Traquhair, for which he was sent to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained till he submitted to the king's request.

The security of the Protestant religion became the primary object of this parliament; and with that view, all the laws that had been enacted from time to time in its favour, were now confirmed; besides which, a rigorous statute was now passed against the seminary priests and Jesuits, who were very busy in making proselytes throughout Scotland. Thus far the vigilance of the legislature may be justified upon the plea of expediency; and as being called for by the critical situation of affairs. But another measure, which was carried into effect at this time by the same assembly, can neither be vindicated on the principle of patriotism nor of necessity. The nobility had been long coveting the landed property of the church; for though much of it had already been alienated, still enough remained to excite the cupidity of a set of hungry courtiers. Yet the public weal must be made a pretext for the sacrilege; and, accordingly, the estates which ancient piety had set apart for the service of religion, and the encouragement of learning, were now to be seized, and converted into a fund for the augmentation of the royal revenue. To render the scheme popular, it was pretended that hereby direct taxation would be avoided; but the deceived people did not reflect, that in cutting off these sources of benevolence, they entailed poverty upon their posterity. The sophistry, however, prevailed, and an act was passed, appropriating all the lands of the church to the crown; and such was the blinded insatiation of the presbyterian ministers, that most of them acquiesced in the spoliation, out of enmity to the episcopacy, which order they were persuaded would be annihilated if the patrimony that supported it was once taken away. Still further to impose upon the parochial clergy, they were promised a perpetual settlement of the tithes, with the glebe and parsonage houses. But in the end, all the parties, who were lured into an approbation of this rapacious project, had reason to repent their credulity. The people saw the nobles alone enriched by the spoils of the church, and the national burdens continued. The tithes were taken from the ministers by the lords, who then raised them, and harassed the poor farmers with rigorous exactions; while the king, whose treasure was to have been replenished by the sacrilege, found himself more embarrassed than ever, with the additional mortification of being stigmatized as the impoverisher of the church. The youth and inexperience of James furnished the only excuse that could be offered for his imprudence in acceding to this robbery, of which he afterwards became so much ashamed, that he would gladly have procured a repeal of what he justly termed a vile act. Another change in the constitution which took place at this period, was of a different tendency. Under the feudal system, all the tenants of the crown claimed the right of being present in parliament; but James the First, being desirous of approximating the Scottish legislature to the English, obtained an act to be passed in 1427, dispensing with the personal attendance of these freeholders or lesser barons, and empowering them to appear by their representatives, consisting of two for each county. As the obvious intent of this innovation was to keep down the overbearing spirit of a proud and restless aristocracy, it was not to be wondered either that the law at first should be resisted by the nobles, or that at length, in proportion as their ascendancy increased, it should sink into neglect. In the present year, however, it was revived, though not without a strenuous opposition, on the part of a faction headed by Crawford and other potent chiefs; so that in truth the parliamentary representation of Scotland may be said to take its date from this reign.

All Europe was now in eager expectation of some great revolution; for the most celebrated astrologers, it seems, had pretended that the configuration of the heavenly bodies in the year 1688 plainly indicated the development of some marvellous scenes upon earth. But in whatever estimation the predictions of these professors of the stellar science might be held, certain it is that there were signs enough under the sun to guide the political observer in his inquiries, without driving him to the necessity of reading, in the mystical characters of the heavens, the projects of human cabinets.

It was universally known that Philip the Second had been for a considerable time making vast preparations in all his ports of Spain and Portugal; and

though the destination of this naval expedition was not made public, every one concluded it must be England, since there was no other quarter to which a force of this description and magnitude was likely to be directed. Philip had long meditated the conquest of England, and he was encouraged in the belief that the object was very practicable, by the Romanists, who had been obliged to quit their native country on account of their treasonable practices. These zealots, who were both numerous, active, and possessed of considerable influence, redoubled their efforts to hasten the invasion, after the execution of Mary Stuart, thinking very naturally, that the shock produced by that strenuous deed would induce the Scottish monarch to avail himself of so favourable an opportunity for avenging his mother's death. Queen Elizabeth was herself fully aware that she had endangered her dominions by the perpetration of this foul transaction; and being conscious of having given James an offence never to be forgiven, she now stooped to court his alliance and cooperation in defensive measures, by the most flattering promises, assuring him that his right of succession to the English crown should be recognised in parliament: that he should actually enjoy some share in the executive government; and receive a considerable addition to his revenue. Philip, on the other hand, was not backward in his assiduities. He sought the friendship of the king of Scots by arguments addressed to his feelings; urging him to revenge the injury done to his parent, and the insults heaped upon himself: but he went farther, and offered him in marriage his daughter Isabella. The situation of James at this crisis was one of extreme necessity; but though he had many powerful advisers among his courtiers, who would have urged him to an immediate declaration of war against England; he had the good sense to act with caution, and to avoid being led away by passion or prejudice. He knew that the proffered friendship of Philip was not to be relied on; and that, in accepting it, he should incur the ill will of all Protestants, to the ruin probably of his interest in Scotland, as well as in England. On this account, therefore, though he had no reason to put faith in the promises of Elizabeth, he was resolved to secure the good opinion of her subjects, which could only be done by supporting the reformed religion, and joining in the common defence of the island against the intrusion of foreigners. Accordingly he rejected the overtures of Philip, refused admittance to the papal envoy, and ordered colonel Semple, an agent of the prince of Parma, to be arrested; but the earl of Huntley, who was of the Spanish faction, caused him to be rescued, and sent out of the kingdom. The king now called his parliament together, and told them, that, considering his right to the crown of England, and knowing that the projected invasion had for its object the extinction of the Protestant religion, he could not countenance such an attempt, or give encouragement to the Spaniards, who might, in the event of success, claim that kingdom by right of conquest, and then extend their designs upon Scotland. This speech was well received, and seconded by the assembly, who resolved to unite with England, for their mutual advantage, against the Spanish forces. Accordingly a general muster was made throughout the kingdom, watches were set at all the seaports, and beacons were erected on most of the eminences along the coast. In the mean time the lord Maxwell, who had been formerly exiled to France, returned privately, and having collected his friends and dependents, began to fortify the castles of Lochmaben, Carlaverock, and Langholm. Notice of this being sent to the king, he immediately proceeded in person with an army to Dumfries; on which Maxwell, finding that he had not force enough to make a stand, fled to Galloway. The king then summoned the castles to surrender, where two of them did; but Lochmaben held out, and was taken two days afterward by assault. The governor, David Maxwell, was executed, but the garrison was dismissed. Sir William Stewart was now despatched to pursue and apprehend lord Maxwell, whom he overtook just as he was on the point of embarkation, near the port of Ayr; and having seized him, conveyed him prisoner to Edinburgh. But if this exploit gave satisfaction to the king, it offended some of the nobles who were friendly to the cause in which Maxwell was engaged; and among the rest the young Earl Bothwell was so highly enraged, that he quarrelled with Stewart in the High-street of Edinburgh, ran him through the body, and he died on the spot. No cognizance, however, was

taken of this action, and Bothwell, though inimical to the English, was ordered to be in readiness to proceed to sea with the ships under his command, he being at that time lord admiral. When it was ascertained, that the Invincible Armada, as it was called, had set sail, the king levied his whole military force, to obstruct the landing of the Spaniards, and offered to send an army, to act with the English, for the common defence of both nations. Nor were the people less ardent on this occasion; though they manifested their zeal in a very extraordinary way. They entered into a bond, or solemn league and covenant, for the maintenance of the Protestant religion; in which obligation they made an explicit confession of faith, renounced explicitly the errors of Popery, and pledged themselves to a mutual defence of the truth, against all its adversaries. The defeat of the Spanish expedition, in the English channel, afforded no opportunity for the display of Scottish valour; but when the ships, that escaped their pursuers, were wrecked on the northern coast, in attempting to regain their own country by the western ocean, the king caused the mariners and soldiers who were saved to be relieved and sent home.

Queen Elizabeth, when freed from this danger, sent to congratulate James on the providential deliverance they had both experienced; but though she was pleased to compliment him for his energy, and to thank him for his services, she not only forgot all her own promises, but, on being reminded of them, did not scruple to deny that she had ever authorized her ambassador to give any such assurances. As to the king of Spain, he was so much exasperated against James, that he resolved to send over a body of forces from the Low Countries to invade Scotland; while another army was to be landed on the southern coast of England. This design met with the approbation of such of the Scottish nobles as were warmly devoted to the Romish religion, and eager for its restoration by any means. The principal of these were the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, who were joined by Bothwell; though the first had been lately married by the king to the daughter of his favourite the duke of Lennox, and the latter named Francis Stewart, was a Protestant, and of the royal lineage. Such was the unnatural coalition to effect an atrocious patricide, by which, had it been successful, the whole island would have been brought under a foreign yoke. The letters, however, written by the confederated lords to the king of Spain and duke of Parma, fell into the hands of the English government, by whom they were transmitted to the king of Scotland, who, instead of punishing the offenders, contented himself with imprisoning them, and that only for a short duration. The return which Huntley and his associates made for this extraordinary civility, was to raise an insurrection immediately after their release, at Aberdeen; while Bothwell hastened to the south for a similar purpose. As soon as the king was made acquainted with this treason, he ordered the troops to be mustered, at the head of whom he proceeded to the north, and, so rapid was his march, that the rebel lords were taken by surprise, and having no reliance on their followers, caused them to disperse, surrendering themselves to the royal mercy. Huntley, Crawford, Errol and Bothwell, were brought to trial; but though clearly convicted, after another short confinement they were once more discharged, without any other punishment; and the lord Maxwell also received his pardon at the same time. James now resumed the negotiation, which he had entered into several months before, with the court of Denmark, for a matrimonial alliance with one of the daughters of Frederick the Second. By the machinations of queen Elizabeth, a previous overture of the young king, for a marriage with the eldest daughter of the Danish monarch, had been frustrated, and that princess was espoused to the duke of Brunswick. James, however, instead of being displeased at the rejection of his offer, now demanded the hand of the second daughter of Frederick; but while the business was in agitation, the king her father died, and the treaty was suspended. Meanwhile, the English queen exerted her usual arts to prevent this match also; and when she could not succeed at the court of Copenhagen, she stirred up an opposition to the measure among the Scottish nobility. This conduct so irritated James, that he became more determined than ever, and, at length, the marriage articles being signed, the young queen embarked at Elsinore for Scotland; but a storm coming on, the fleet

was driven by contrary winds into a small harbour on the coast of Norway where, as the ships had suffered much damage, and the winter season was setting in, it was found necessary to lay them up till the spring. The king, on being informed of what had happened, came to the resolution of crossing over to the way in person, for the purpose of fetching his bride. This design he managed with profound secrecy; and, having provided for the administration of affairs in his absence, he sailed from Leith, on the 22d of October, taking with him the chancellor, and a suitable train of attendants, to Upsal, where the queen was then detained. On the Sunday after his majesty's arrival at that place, the marriage ceremony was performed, in the French tongue, by Mr. David Lindsay, one of the royal chaplains. It was the king's intention to have returned immediately to Scotland, but the weather proving very boisterous, the Danish nobility advised him to spend the winter at Copenhagen, whither he accordingly went with his bride by the way of Sweden, and did not reach Cronenberg till the 21st of January, 1590. While at the court of Denmark, James was entertained with such a variety of amusements, that he protracted his stay almost till the middle of May, when he and the queen landed at Leith, where they were received with great joy by a vast concourse of people. On the 2d, after their arrival, a council was called, to take the coronation of the queen consort into consideration; which ceremonial the king desired to have solemnized with the ancient formalities. But the times were now so much changed that some serious difficulties occurred, to oppose the royal intentions. The bishops were sunk into a state of insignificance; and Bruce, the presbyterian minister, who was chosen to officiate, refused to perform the rite of anointment as superstitious and popish. The king, however, was resolute on this point, and declared, that rather than allow the sacred unction to be passed over, he would appoint one of the bishops to go through with the whole ceremony. This declaration had its effect; the scruple of the presbyterians gave way to their hatred of episcopacy, and Bruce was permitted by his brethren to perform even the popish ritual, in the abbey church of Holyrood House, for the purpose of keeping out the obnoxious prelates.

Scotland, at this period, exhibited the melancholy spectacle of a people who neither respected the laws of their country, nor the civilities of civil life. Domestic feuds were commonly attended with open murder or private assassination; and such was the imbecility of the government, that these atrocities went unpunished, and the perpetrators of them were even seen at court, marked with distinction instead of infamy.

But while real crimes of the foulest description passed unheeded, imaginary ones were sought out with inquisitorial activity, and punished with rigorous severity. The king was a firm believer in the supernatural agency of witches and sorcerers, whose supposed power to inflict incurable diseases by secret incantations, became in his mind an object of dread. After his return from Denmark, several persons of both sexes, and in a respectable station of life, were taken up, tortured, and executed, on the ridiculous charge of having been present at midnight assemblies, where the devil presided in person. A few of these unhappy sufferers, in the midst of the excruciating torments which they endured on the rack, accused Bothwell of having consulted them about the death of James, and with employing them to raise those storms that impeded the arrival of the queen in the first instance, and kept the king absent from Scotland afterwards. Upon these absurd and extorted confessions, the earl was sent to prison, from whence he contrived to effect his escape into England; after which a Proclamation was issued, denouncing him as a traitor, who had "committed sundry raised arms against his majesty, practised with strangers to subvert the Protestant religion, and consulted with witches to take away the king's life." Bothwell did not patiently bear this indignity; but returned privately to Edinburgh, and, having formed a confederacy, made his way to the very door of the royal apartment in Holyrood House, before the alarm was given. Fortunately, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, was on the alert, and, having a few armed men at hand, he succeeded in beating off the earl, who, after killing one of the retinue, made his escape; but nine of his followers were soon afterwards taken and executed. Bothwell himself fled to the north, where he obtained shelter for some days with the earl of Murray, which brought

but nobleman into trouble, and proved his death. The king being informed that Murray had not only given protection to Bothwell, but was actually a participator in his crime, granted a commission to the Earl of Huntley to apprehend, and send him to court for trial. Huntley, being thus armed with power, hastened to the house of Murray, and summoned him in general terms to surrender. The young earl, not aware of the charge alleged against him, collected his servants, and stood upon his defence; in consequence of which Huntley set fire to the house, burnt it to the ground, and murdered the owner in his attempt to escape. This abominable outrage occasioned a violent ferment all over the kingdom, but especially in Edinburgh, where the young earl of Murray was a great favourite, as well for his own intrinsic virtue, as for the respect in which the memory of his father, the regent, was held. Many drew the blame of this transaction upon the chancellor, who, fearful of the consequences, persuaded the king to remove the court to Glasgow. Here Huntley appeared, and was committed for a short time to prison; but such was his influence, and the weakness of the government, that he was set at liberty upon bail to stand a trial, which however never took place.

About this time died Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrew's, a man of unquestionable talent and merit, but who suffered the most cruel treatment from the dominant party, insomuch as to be reduced to the want of bread. Under these privations, and bedridden, he was prevailed with to sign a paper, which was called his recantation of episcopacy, and an acknowledgment of the presbyterian discipline. Yet the very same faction who published this instrument, and made a boast of it as a testimony of the force of truth extorted from an adversary, affirmed, that the archbishop died senseless; which, if true, renders his confession he is alleged to have made, a perfect nullity. Some time before this, the prelate was afflicted with a disorder, which perplexed the physicians, he had recourse to an old woman, who was said to be skilled in diseases, and he obtained relief from the remedies which she administered. This circumstance was construed into a crime; the archbishop was accused of applying to the devil for the cure of his malady, and the poor woman was burned at the stake for saving the life of a prelate.

At the beginning of the year 1592, the general assembly met, and demanded of the king a confirmation of the presbyterian discipline, and the prosecution of the papists. James had no great inclination to do either the one or the other; for, on the one hand, as he disliked the republican spirit and intolerant behaviour of the ministers; so, on the other, he was reluctant to enforce sanguinary laws against a set of people, who, he had reason to fear, would in consequence be thereby goaded to form desperate designs out of revenge. But the king was embarrassed in his circumstances, and troubled by the machinations of different factions, over most of whom the clergy had a controlling influence. Thus pressed with difficulties, and wanting energy to meet and surmount them; he yielded to the popular clamour, and allowed the parliament, which assembled at this time, to establish the presbyterian form of church government, with its general assemblies, provincial synods, and kirk sessions, all professedly acting in dependence only on the word of God; a latitude that completely vacated the royal authority.

In this parliament Bothwell was attainted, and also his partisans; notwithstanding which, he shortly after made another attempt to seize the king at Falkland, to which place he came, with about three hundred horsemen, at midnight; but the alarm being given, the scheme was frustrated, and the earl of Errol and Col. Stewart were taken prisoners, and sent to the castle of Blackness. Bothwell himself, however, was lucky enough to effect his escape; and, though a proclamation was published for his apprehension, with the offer of a pardon to such of his followers as would forsake him and return to their allegiance, instead of being betrayed or abandoned, he was encouraged by persons about the court. Soon after this, the detection of another conspiracy threw the nation into confusion, and filled the king with fear for his life. George Ker, brother to the lord of Newbattle, being arrested just as he was upon the point of setting sail for Spain, there were found in his possession several papers of a treasonable character, bearing the signatures of the Earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley. Ker, when put to the question, confessed that he had been employed by these



lords to offer their services to the Spanish monarch, and solicit him to invade the kingdom, in which case they promised to do their utmost to establish the Catholic religion both in Scotland and England. Upon this, the earl of Angus who had then a commission in the north, was apprehended, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he contrived to make his escape, and then went towards Aberdeen, where he joined Huntley and Errol; but hearing of the approach of the king, all three fled to the mountains. In the mean time, David Graham, of Fintry, was accused by Ker with having been employed as an agent from the king of Spain, and other Roman Catholic princes, to the peers of the same religion in Scotland. For this he was tried, and sentenced to die; which was carried into execution at Edinburgh on the 5th of February, 1592. At the same time his relative, John Graham, a member of the college of justice, was banished to his estate in Strathern; but on the way thither, he had a rencounter with Sir James Sandilands, gentleman of the king's bedchamber, when Graham was killed; together with Sir Alexander Scuraw. Meanwhile, the king came to Aberdeen, and on his journey was met by the ladies of the fugitive lords, towards whom his majesty behaved with great courtesy, and told them, that if their husbands would submit and abide a trial no harm should accrue to them; but that if they continued refractory, and refused the proffered grace, the law must take its course.

After summoning Huntley and Errol by proclamation to surrender themselves, the king put garrisons into their castles, obliged the vassals to give security for their allegiance, and having appointed the earls of Arkel and Marischal his lieutenants, returned to Edinburgh. Here he found the lord Burrough, who had been sent by queen Elizabeth as her ambassador extraordinary, to congratulate James on his deliverance, and to urge upon him the duty of acting with more vigour in support of the Protestant religion. The king expressed his obligations for the interest which her majesty took in his welfare, but when the envoy went farther, and solicited James to receive Bothwell again into favour, his spirit was roused, and he answered, that the crimes of that turbulent nobleman were too many and heinous to be pardoned, without endangering the public safety. Under these circumstances, James, instead of granting the request of Elizabeth, found it expedient to demand that she would punish such of her subjects as gave Bothwell countenance and access. To such a low state, however, was the Scottish monarch reduced at this time, that he actually demeaned himself by soliciting from the queen of England a small sum of money, to enable him to prosecute the popish conspirators. Elizabeth, however, though free in her exhortations, and lavish in her promises, had no inclination to relieve James from his difficulties, which, on the contrary, she seemed more disposed to increase than to lessen. Thus irritated, he resolved to call a parliament, for the purpose of procuring an act of attainder against the three rebellious earls; but before the convention could assemble, Ker got out of prison, by which means the business was frustrated for want of evidence.

The king was accused with being privy to his escape, which irritated the clergy exceedingly; and therefore, to allay their resentment, the royal assent was given to an act, ordaining that those who obstinately contemned the censures of the church should be proclaimed outlaws. Meanwhile the general assembly met at Dundee, to whom the king sent a message with several articles, among which was one, "that all ministers should be inhibited from declaiming in the pulpit against the proceedings of his majesty and the council." To this an answer was returned, that there were already acts enough to the effect desired, and that care should be taken to put them in execution. About this period, the presbytery of Edinburgh proposed to alter the weekly market from Monday to Tuesday, because, as it was alleged, the tradesmen made preparations on the sabbath for the business of the ensuing day. For this change they obtained the consent of the town council; but the shoemakers and other trades, who were mostly concerned, having notice of what was going forward, raised a great mob, and threatened to drive all the ministers out of the town and the suburbs, if they persisted in the proposed innovation. The determined manner of the populace had its effect upon the clergy, who promised to drop the project, and let the market be held as usual. This ar-

rough over a body that was in general accustomed to carry every scheme with a high hand, and in defiance of all authority, caused great mirth among the courtiers, who said, "that the rabble could obtain more from the ministers by menace, than the king could by reason."

At this time the Scottish court exhibited the curious spectacle of the king and queen taking part with two opposite factions. The chancellor, having alien under the displeasure of her majesty, was assailed by a powerful body, consisting of all the families bearing the name of Stewart, who by their intrigues cemented the discord to such a degree, that the king, finding he could not support his favourite against the combination, desired him to retire for some time from public life. He did so, but was soon recalled; which so provoked the Stewart faction, that they resolved to bring back Bothwell, and to make a common cause with him, in opposition to the chancellor. As soon as Bothwell entered Scotland, he found means to gain admittance with an armed train of adherents into the palace. The party having made their way sword in hand to the royal presence, so surprised the king, that he exclaimed "Treason! reason!" on which, Bothwell and his followers fell down on their knees, and demanded pardon, saying that this alone was the object of their intrusion. James, however, was not to be appeased by such a declaration, but advancing up to Bothwell, said, "Thou hast dishonoured me; strike, traitor, make an end of me: since I cannot live in peace, I desire to die!" To this the earl replied, by making the most vehement professions of his loyalty, and expressing his readiness to submit to the royal will in every thing; all that he prayed for was, to be cleared of the foul charges that his enemies had brought against him, and to be reinstated, if found innocent, in his former honours, and, above all, in his majesty's favour. James observed, in answer to this piece of affected humility, that it was not usual for suppliants to come with weapons in their hands, and that a pardon extorted by violence was of no validity.

By this time the party had secured the gates, and the room where this scene was passing was filled with the adherents of Bothwell; so that James was completely a prisoner in his own house. The citizens of Edinburgh having now taken the alarm, assembled, and, conducted by Sir Alexander Hume the protestant, advanced towards the palace, with a determined resolution to rescue their sovereign. On perceiving their approach, the earl of Marr prevailed with the king to shew himself at the window, that they might be assured of his safety, and be induced to return peaceably to their habitations. When the people were dispersed, Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, and the Scottish nobility who were in league with Bothwell, exerted themselves so effectually in his behalf, that the king consented to grant him a full pardon for all his offences. He further promised that a parliament should be called, to ratify the grant; and he agreed also to dismiss from his councils and presence, the chancellor, the lord Home, the master of Glamis, and Sir George Home, who were all adverse to Bothwell. These articles were signed at Holyrood House, on the 14th of August, 1603; and soon after Bothwell was exonerated, by a court of assizes, of the charges that had been alleged against him on the accusations of the unhappy sufferers for witchcraft.

All this was far from being agreeable to the king, who became impatient of the yoke that had been put upon him, and studied how to extricate himself from the thralldom in which he was held. To get rid therefore of the disgraceful articles which he had been forced to subscribe, he went to Stirling in September, and for this purpose there called a convention, under the pretext of reducing to order some unruly Highlanders. Thither repaired lord Hamilton and several other nobles who were the adversaries of Bothwell; and as soon as the council had assembled, the king laid before them a full narrative of the late proceedings, and the manner in which he had been compelled to give his written assent to what was repugnant to his real sentiments and intention. Upon hearing this statement, the assembly came to the unanimous resolution, that as the mode by which the remission had been obtained, was in itself treasonable, the grant was of no force. His majesty then said that he was still content to grant a remission, for the quiet of the nation, but would not do so upon compulsion. He therefore desired the lords to consider, whether in law and conscience he was bound to the performance of

the conditions contained in the articles ; and that they would pronounce their judgment in a formal and legislative manner. Upon this, the convention drew up and passed a declaration, "that the king, with the advice of his estates, he recalled the grant made to the earl of Bothwell in August last ; and that, as he was a free prince, he might use the service of any of his subjects, and call them to his presence and council, at his pleasure." This decision was communicated to Bothwell, with a declaration on the part of the king, that he was still willing to grant him a pardon, on his making a due submission, and promising to quit the realm for such a place beyond the seas as should be pointed out. At first he appeared inclinable to obedience ; but on hearing that lord Home and some others were entertained at court, to the exclusion of himself, he fell into a rage, and sent notice to the earl of Argyll, to meet him at Stirling with his forces on the first of October. That nobleman readily complied with the call, and was punctual to the time, being accompanied by the earl of Montrose, and some others of the same party ; but the king, long apprized of the occurrence, mustered his troops at Linlithgow, and then ordered the chiefs to dismiss their followers, which they did, on finding the royal cause too strongly supported to give them the least chance of success. The king now returned to Edinburgh, where a council was convened, and Bothwell was summoned to surrender, but did not appear ; for which he was declared contumacious, and proclaimed a rebel.

About the same time, a meeting of the ministers was held at St. Andrew's one of the principal acts of which convocation was to denounce a sentence of excommunication against the earls Angus, Huntley, and Errol, the lord Home, and sir James Chisholm, as being either papists, or prelatially inclined. This judgment, which, if legal, would have rendered the objects of it odious, was transmitted to all the provincial presbyteries, with mandatory letters ordering the reading of the same in all the churches. The king having notice of this extraordinary stretch of ecclesiastical power in a private synod, sent for Robert Bruce, his chaplain, and required him to interpose for a suspension of the sentence of excommunication. Bruce, however, in the true spirit of his party, answered, that it was not in his power to stop it, as the borderers had come to a conclusion, and were not without reasons for what they had done. "Very well," said the king, "I could have no rest till ye got that which you call the discipline of the church, established ; and now, seeing I have found it grossly abused, and that none amongst you hath power or will to stay such disorderly proceedings, I will think of some means myself to help it." Some days afterwards, the monarch took a journey to Jedburgh, to make inquiry into some irregularities that had been committed amongst the borderers, and on the way he was met by the excommunicated earls, who humbly entreated his majesty that they might be tried by law, and not condemned unheard. To this just demand the king could not refuse his assent, and therefore ordered them to appear on a certain day at Perth, for the purpose of having their cause determined by a legal process. As soon as the ministers were made acquainted with what had taken place, they sent some of their body to the king, insisting upon it that the lords who were under ecclesiastical censure ought not to be tried by a civil process, as having already been condemned by the church ; but, if they were to be allowed a hearing, it should be done with the approbation of a convention of the estates, and that, in the mean time, they should be committed to close confinement, as persons charged with high treason. To these preposterous demands the king refused to return any answer ; on which the assembly, with whom were associated several zealots of the laity, came to a resolution of raising an armed force to attend the trial ; for the ministers said that they were the legal prosecutors, that the cause was that of God, and that they would not be hindered from doing their duty. James, being highly exasperated at the open defiance of his royal authority, issued a proclamation, inhibiting all convocations, of whatever description, and ordering such as had already been formed, to disperse. But his edict proved of no effect ; and feeling that he had to do with a power superior to his own, he put off the intended trial, and consented to call a parliament. In the mean time, the chancellor contrived to bring about a compromise, by getting a court of inquiry appointed to ascertain

the matter in dispute; when it was adjudged that the three obnoxious earls and their associates should be absolved and pardoned, on condition that they ceased to hold any correspondence with popish princes or priests; and that, before the month of February ensuing, they should make a profession of the reformed religion as now established in Scotland.

These articles were ratified by the king and council, but gave no satisfaction either to the clergy or the people; and in the end they only involved the sovereign in fresh troubles.

Towards the close of the year, the laird of Johnston, having been guilty of great depredations on the lands of his neighbours, a commission was granted to the lord Maxwell to raise forces against the offender. Johnston, on his side, being joined by several powerful clans in Annandale and Teviotdale, was enabled to make an effectual resistance; and though Maxwell displayed the royal banner, so little respect was paid to it, that pitched battles took place, in one of which that nobleman was slain, with a number of his followers. This disaster was much lamented; but such was the disordered state of the times, and the weakness of the government, that the outrage passed unpunished.

At the beginning of January, 1594, a convention of the estates was held in Holyrood House, to receive the determination of the three earls; but they neither attended in person, nor sent their acceptance of the conditions that had been propounded; on which their lands were declared forfeited, and a proclamation was issued, calling upon them to surrender—an injunction which it was not likely either of them would obey. As these rigorous measures were foreign to the disposition of James, however agreeable they might be to many of his hungry courtiers and the body of the clergy, there was good reason for attributing them to the intrigues of the English ambassador, lord Zouche, who took an active part in the factious proceedings which disturbed Scotland at this period. One of his servants betrayed the secrets of his master to the king, who thereby became apprised of a new plot that was in contrivance, in which Zouche and Bothwell were concerned. The latter, in order to carry his object, now affected an extraordinary zeal for the pure religion, on which account he became all at once exceedingly popular with the leading ministers, who went so far as to praise him in their sermons, and recommend his cause to the people. But they did still more than this; for, a large sum of money having some time before been collected in the churches, for the relief of the distressed brethren at Geneva, these ecclesiastics made no scruple of perverting the fund of charity from its original purpose, and gave the whole to Bothwell, who expended it in raising soldiers to carry on his rebellious designs. By this means he mustered about four hundred men, with whom he ventured into Leith before daybreak on the second of April, expecting to be joined there by a number of malecontents; but in this he was disappointed. The king, being then at Edinburgh, was very much surprised at the news of this sudden commotion, notwithstanding which, he preserved his fortitude, and called upon the citizens to arm themselves in his defence. The people obeyed with such promptitude, that by noon they were ready to march in considerable force; while lord Home, with a small number of cavalry and artillery, advanced first, followed by the king with the foot.

Bothwell, astonished at the celerity of this movement, and the loyalty of the citizens in so soon enrolling themselves under the royal standard, hurried out of Leith as fast as he could, and took the road to Dalkeith. He was closely pursued by Home; but when Bothwell perceived that the other troops were at a considerable distance, he rallied his men, and commenced an attack with such fury, that the pursuers became the fugitives, till the infantry came up in good order, at whose approach the rebels again took to flight, and dispersed in all directions. After this defeat, the turbulent earl, finding it useless to make another attempt, withdrew across the border, and took refuge among his old connexions in the north of England.

The king now sent a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the treachery of her ambassador, upon whom he demanded justice, saying, that if it was refused, he should look upon the conduct of Zouche as having been conformable to his instructions, and acceptable to his court. The queen, as if she had been conscious of the justness of the reproach, though she could not well

punish her own minister, issued a proclamation, interdicting all her subjects from giving any shelter or succour to Bothwell, who, after wandering about from place to place, went over to Normandy. Here he turned Catholic, as was well received, even at court, of which James complained in loud terms and desired that he should be either delivered up, or obliged to quit the French territories. To this requisition the king of France replied, that he should give no particular countenance to Bothwell; but, as he had taken shelter in his dominions, he could not forbid him the free air of the country. He remained there however, but a short time; for, being of a quarrelsome disposition, he challenged a gentleman to fight a duel, contrary to the royal edict, for which he was obliged to leave the kingdom. From thence he went into Spain, and next to Naples, where he lived many years in obscurity, and died in poverty, after the accession of James to the throne of England.

To return to the domestic state of Scotland. On the seventh of May, a general assembly met, and caused the sentence of excommunication against the popish lords to be published in all the churches of the kingdom; but Home, who had fallen under the same censure, now made his submission, renounced the church of Rome, subscribed the doctrine and discipline as established, and was absolved. On the 27th of the same month, the parliament was convened, and, though but thinly attended, the judgment of the assembly was confirmed; the earls of Angus, Huntley, and Errol, with the laird of Achindown, were denounced guilty of high treason, and declared to have forfeited their lands and honours. In pursuance of this decree, the crests of arms of those nobles were publicly torn by the heralds, and they were themselves proclaimed outlaws and rebels. In the same parliament, several acts were passed, some against robbery and usury; but the principal related to ecclesiastical affairs, for the security of the presbyterian government, and the prosecution of papists.

Though the king and his ministers, with the parliament and the clergy, proceeded to the adoption of extreme resolutions against the refractory nobles, it was not easy to carry the judgment that had been passed into effect. The proscribed lords had powerful connexions and numerous vassals, which enabled them to set the law and government at defiance. The treasury of James was reduced to a low state, and his forces were insufficient to contend with the associated clans, who were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their respective chiefs. In this emergency, the king applied for assistance to the queen of England, who sent him remonstrances instead of money. Meanwhile, it was discovered, by intercepted letters, that the excommunicated earls and their adherents had bound themselves in an obligation to take the field for their mutual defence; and on an intimation that James Cochrane and Allan Orme were implicated in the plot, they were apprehended, tried, and executed. This severity did no good, and instead of striking terror into those who were under interdict, only made them more desperate, and bent upon revenge. The proceedings of James at this time were strangely inconsistent, and exceedingly impolitic. He countenanced an intolerant sect, whom he in fact despised, and who, on the other hand, gave him no credit for his sincerity in what he did to please them. The papists, again, reproached him for his ingratitude towards those, who, by supporting his mother's right to the English throne, had contributed to the establishment of his own claim. The king could not be ignorant of this, nor was he insensible of the fierce and implacable spirit of the dominant ecclesiastics, who had as little respect for the rights of conscience as those whom they had supplanted. Had James possessed prudence, and a steadiness of judgment, he would have kept the two factions in such a state of opposition to each other, as, by preserving a due preponderance of authority over both, would have secured their obedience and strengthened his power. Instead of this, he created enemies on all sides; and while the presbyterian clergy insulted him to his face, the papists were goaded to rebellion by his same acquiescence in the enactment of penal statutes, compelling the most ancient and respectable families of the kingdom to renounce the religion of their forefathers, or lose their estates. That these men should think themselves warranted in defending their patrimonial possessions and personal liberty, was not to be wondered at; nor could their opposi-

ments and fruit with them for so doing, considering how often, and upon worse pretences, they had themselves taken arms in resistance of the sovereign authority. In the present instance, the king was himself the author of a civil war; for when he found that he could not muster strength enough to enforce the arbitrary decrees of the assembly and parliament against the Roman Catholic lords, he gave a commission to the earl of Argyle, lord Forbes, and others, to seize the forfeited lands, and appropriate them to their own use. Thus authorized, Argyle gathered his people in the highlands, and coming down to Badenoch, laid siege to the castle of Riven, which, however, was so well fortified, that he was compelled to abandon the enterprise. Having failed in this object, he endeavoured to force his way to Aberdeen, where Forbes had already collected a considerable body of chiefs and their followers. The troops of Argyle amounted to near nine thousand men, notwithstanding which, Huntley and Errol, at the head of little more than one fourth of the number, threw themselves in his way, and brought on a battle at Glenlivet, on the third of October. At first Argyle's men had the advantage, and the party of Errol was routed; but Huntley came up, and made so fierce an attack, that the highlanders gave way, and fled in all directions. In this combat the earl of Argyle lost seven hundred men, among whom were some of the leaders; while on the side of Huntley there were only twelve men killed, with his uncle the laird of Achindown. Forbes, who, on hearing of the approach of Argyle, had advanced to meet him, was entreated to commence an attack upon the victors; but a difference arising among some of the heads of the clans who were with him, it was not deemed advisable, under such circumstances, to run the risk of another defeat. When the king was made acquainted with the disaster, he hastened to Aberdeen, from whence he despatched the Earl Marischal with a military force to demolish the castles of Strathbogy, Slanes, and Newton. Meanwhile, Huntley and Errol took shelter with the earl of Sutherland, till an opportunity should occur to recover their habitations; but in this they were disappointed by the vigilance of the duke of Lennox, who guarded the passes so closely, that at length the fugitive lords offered to retire beyond sea, with a promise not to return without the royal permission. Their overture was accepted, and bond given for the performance of the conditions; after which, the king returned to Edinburgh.

A little before these disturbances, the young prince was baptized by the name of Henry Frederic, with great pomp, in the chapel of the castle at Stirling, where he was born on the 19th of February, 1594. At this ceremony the earl of Sussex appeared as the representative of queen Elizabeth, and presented the royal infant to David Cunningham, the bishop of Aberdeen, who officiated on this occasion; for though presbyterianism was now in the ascendant, the king could not so far get rid of the principles in which he had been educated, as to shake off his reverence for the ancient government of the church.

The prince was soon after committed to the care of John Erskine, earl of Marr, who, though he had been connected with the disaffected party in the affair of Ruthven, for which he was deprived of the command of Stirling castle, recovered the king's favour, was reinstated in his former government, and now had this important trust reposed in him, being assisted therein by his mother, Annabella, countess dowager of Marr, a lady of high spirit, who had been the nurse to his majesty. But the queen, in the following year, at the instigation of some persons who envied the credit of the earl of Marr, and being herself ambitious of forming a party in the kingdom, endeavoured to get the custody of her son into her own hands. In this design she engaged the chancellor, with some others of the principal courtiers; of which the king, who was then at Falkland, was no sooner informed, than he hastened to Holyrood House, and taking the queen aside, dealt with her in such a manner, that she consented to go and reside at Stirling. Immediately after her departure, he sent for the chancellor, and the rest of the council who had taken a part in this scheme, and gave them a sharp reprimand for their ingratitude and treachery. He then followed the queen to Stirling, where he did not stay long, but returned to Falkland, after leaving with the governor a warrant written with his own hand, in these terms:

"My Lord Marr.—Because in the surety of my son cometh my away, and I have credited unto you the charge of his keeping, upon the trust I have of your honesty: this I command you out of my own mouth, being in the company of those I like; otherwise, for any charge or necessity that can come from me, you shall not deliver him. And, in case God call me at any time, see that, neither for the queen, nor estates, their pleasure, you deliver him, till he be eighteen years of age, and that he command you himself. Stirling, the 24th of July. 1595."

The sense of the royal displeasure had such an effect upon the spirit of the chancellor, that he retired to his seat of Lander, where he fell into a languishing disorder, and finding himself past recovery, wrote a letter to the king, in which he made a solemn protestation of his fidelity, and recommended his family to the protection of his majesty. The king was much affected by the situation of this old servant, of whom he was in reality much attached, and therefore he endeavoured to comfort him in his sickness, by a letter full of kind expressions and gracious promises. "As for your requests," said he, "if God calls you, I need no remembrance; for, since I made you a patron of my constant favour during my life, (as you yourself have oft-times said) I am much more bound of princely duty, to make your wife, and posterity, that bear your image, a living representation of my thankful memory to you." The chancellor lingered till the third of October, and then breathed his last, much to the regret of his sovereign, who honoured him by writing an elegy, which, as a composition, is not destitute of merit.

Soon after this a change took place in the financial department of the administration. The king, finding that his revenues were in a very dilapidated condition, and that he had no prospect of pecuniary assistance from England, began to devise some measures for the improvement of his exchequer. To accomplish this desirable object, he constituted a board of eight commissioners, who were all of the legal profession, and from their number obtained the repellation of the Octavians. These were, Alexander Seaton, president of the session; Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, and lord privy seal; David Carnegie, John Lindsay, James Elphinstone, Thomas Hamilton, James Skene, clerk register, and Peter Young, the king's almoner. To these eight, or any five of them, was intrusted the full and free management of the rents and duties pertaining to the offices of comptrollers and collectors, with almost unlimited power of jurisdiction. The king bound himself neither to increase their number, nor to fill up a vacancy, without their consent. Their acts and decisions were declared to be of equal force with those of the civil courts. So that, by virtue of the same, any person indebted to the crown might be arrested and his goods confiscated. This exorbitant power soon gave them possession of the whole executive part of the government; so that every part of importance was at their disposal.

Authority so extensive and inquisitorial as this, could not fail to raise a host of enemies against the persons who were armed with it; and even the real substantial advantages rendered to the state by their economical measures could not screen them from popular resentment. The old courtiers were offended by the abridgment of their privileges and the loss of patronage; the younger ones became impatient under the restraint that was laid upon their extravagance; the very clergy complained, because some of the commissioners were suspected of being popishly, or, which in their estimation amounted to the same thing, prelatically inclined; the officers who were regarded for malversation joined of course in the outcry, and the people at large were clamorous on account of the strictness which was now observed in exacting the rents and legal imposts. Notwithstanding this general odium under which they lay, the commissioners continued firm in their seat, and were enabled to carry many salutary plans into execution, so that the national expenses were considerably lessened, the king was relieved from his exorbitant expences, and the public partook of the benefit.

About this time there arose a serious dispute, between the lord Scrymgeour, warden of the English marches, and the lord of Buccleugh, warden of Clydesdale. The matter in difference being referred to the deposition, was amicably settled, and the parties separated apparently on good terms. But the

mity was of short duration; for one Armstrong, happening to give offence to Salkeld, the English deputy, was arrested by him, and committed to the castle of Carlisle. As soon as Buccleugh heard this, he demanded the delivery of his vassal; but was told that the prisoner could not be set at liberty without an order from the queen and council. The king, upon this, wrote to Elizabeth, desiring the release of his subject; but received no answer, and the man still remained incarcerated. Buccleugh now resolved to liberate the captive by force, and accordingly prepared scaling ladders, with proper implements to break through the wall, or force the gate of the prison. Having got all things in readiness, he set out with two hundred horsemen for Carlisle, before which he came in the middle of the night. Arrangements were then made for ascending the wall by the ladders, but these proving too short, the party forced a breach, and succeeded in carrying off their countryman triumphantly, without doing any other damage, or committing the least outrage. Queen Elizabeth, however, took the business in a very serious light, and ordered her resident, Bowes, to remonstrate with the king and council of Scotland on the insult, declaring that peace could no longer continue between the two nations, unless the offender should be given up to be punished at her pleasure. Buccleugh, instead of being intimidated, appeared boldly before the council at Edinburgh, and declared that he did not enter England with any intent to commit wrong, either against the queen or her subjects; but merely to rescue a subject of Scotland, who had been taken prisoner in the time of peace, and closely confined, without any charge, contrary to the law of nations. He professed, however, his readiness to stand trial before such commissioners as his own sovereign and the English government should appoint. This answer being deemed reasonable by the council, the ambassador was informed that the king would send persons duly authorized, to the borders, to meet an equal number of deputies on the other side, who should hear and determine the cause according to evidence. The queen, however, refused to send any commissioners, but persisted in her demand of satisfaction, and the punishment of Buccleugh. The Scottish monarch now felt odignant in his turn, and declared that he had more reason to demand Scroop than the queen had to call for the surrender of Buccleugh, considering that the English warden and his deputy were the aggressors. Notwithstanding this, he was still willing to abide by the advice of his council, and, for the sake of peace, to put the inquiry upon an equitable footing. The overture was at length acceded to; Buccleugh appeared before the commissioners on the borders, and was acquitted. Soon after this, the kingdom was alarmed by the report of another attempt at a Spanish invasion, upon which the general assembly appointed a day of fasting, and renewed the solemn league and covenant for the defence of the reformed religion. The same body also drew up a plan for the security of the kingdom, by training the men to arms in every parish; and in addition to this, they required the king to raise a fund out of the estates of the banished lords, for the support of the soldiers. To these proposals the monarch was very adverse, especially to the last, which he considered as extremely unjust to the families of the condemned parties, who were already suffering enough by the rigour of the penal statutes. He thought that such severe measures were more likely to endanger than to promote the public tranquillity; and he justly feared, that by driving a powerful party to despair, he should only incur an enmity which might prove fatal to his throne. James was of opinion, that lenity might soften and reclaim the exiles, and he therefore resolved to adopt such a line of conduct towards them as would tend to render them peaceable subjects. For this purpose, he consulted with his chaplain, Robert Bruce, in whom he placed more confidence than in any other of the presbyterian ministers. Bruce approved of his majesty's intentions, as far as regarded Angus and Errol, but said that Huntley could never be pardoned. The king was astonished at the distinction, and endeavoured to reason his chaplain out of his prejudice; but Bruce was not to be convinced, and in conclusion said, "I see, sir, that you are resolved to take Huntley into favour; but if you do, I'll oppose you; so you may choose whether you will lose Huntley or me, for both of us you cannot keep." This impatient speech offended the king so much, that he withdrew his favour from



Bruce, who on his side took fresh occasions to display a want of respect for his majesty. At this time, the exiled lords, encouraged by the liberal sentiments of the sovereign, ventured to return home privately; soon after which they petitioned him for leave to reside in their own houses, and offered to enter into securities for their loyal and peaceable demeanour. Upon this a convention of the estates was called, and with their consent the king granted the petition. But this indulgence had very nearly kindled the flames of civil war; for the ministers of Edinburgh held a meeting on the subject, and in their zeal for the church, sent circular letters to all the presbyteries in the kingdom, exhorting them to stir up the people in defence of their rights; and commanding them, not only to read from all their pulpits the act of excommunication against the Catholic lords, but to pass a similar sentence, by summary process, upon all persons suspected of popery. Besides this, they summoned some of the most zealous ministers to Edinburgh, for the purpose of meeting every day, and acting as a standing council of the church in the present season of danger. These illegal proceedings, by which in fact the royal authority was completely superseded, highly offended the king; and yet such was the pliability of his temper, and unwillingness to proceed to extremities, that he endeavoured to gain over the clergy by concussions and entreaties. Accordingly, he inquired of them, whether the lords against whom the thunder of their spiritual artillery was directed, might not, on making due submission, be admitted into the bosom of the church, and be thereby exempted from further punishment on account of their former conduct. To this they answered, that though the gate of divine mercy was always open to the penitent, yet, as these lords had been guilty of idolatry, which was an unpardonable crime, the chief magistrate was bound to put them to death, by the law of God, whether they were absolved or not. This abominable judgment, which would better have become a set of inquisitors than an assembly of Protestants, provoked James to such a degree, that he broke off all further conference with the bigots on the subject. At the same time another circumstance happened to widen the breach between him and the clergy. David Black, minister of St. Andrew's, in one of his sermons, lauded the sovereign, his consort, and whole court, with the foulest abuse; and concluded with a climax, saying, that all kings were the children of the devil, and that the queen of England was an atheist. On this, he was cited to answer for his conduct before the privy-council; but, instead of appearing, he threw himself under the protection of the synod at Edinburgh, who sent a message to the king, stating, "that it would be dangerous to question ministers for trifling information, when the enemies of religion were spared." This allusion to the case of the Roman Catholic peers induced the king to publish the conditions upon which their pardon had been granted. Meanwhile, the prosecution of Black went on; but, being shielded by his brethren, he evaded the jurisdiction of the court. In consequence of this, it was decreed that the crimes alleged against him, and which had been proved, were seditious and treasonable; and that the king and council were competent judges in all matters, civil or criminal, as well of ministers as other subjects. Notwithstanding this, the king would still have willingly adopted a milder course, and accordingly be offered to reinstate the offender in his pastoral charge, on making moderate submission. This condescension was ill received; and Bruce replied in the name of the rest, "that, had the matter only concerned Mr. Black, the offer might have been accepted; but that, as the liberty of Christ's kingdom had been wounded by the royal proclamation, and the usurpation of spiritual authority, the affair was of greater consequence than the life of Black and many more; and that, if these proceedings were not retraced, the ministers would oppose them with their last breath." Further efforts were made to accommodate the difference; but the ministers, instead of meeting the overtures for conciliation, receded further than ever, and became so violent, that, by way of intimidation, Black received sentence of banishment beyond the river Spey; the members of the standing council of the church were ordered to quit Edinburgh; and the whole body of the clergy were called upon to sign an engagement, professing their submission to the jurisdiction of the civil courts. The flame now rose higher than ever, and

one of the nobles took part with the malcontents, in the hope of profiting by the confusion. Rumours were spread abroad, that religion was in danger; and the harangues of the preachers produced an alarming effect upon the public mind. So strong indeed was the excitement occasioned by these stimulants, that the multitude were wrought up to a state of desperate fury. A petition or address was framed, demanding of the king a redress of grievances; but James, instead of receiving it courteously, treated the deputation who presented it with harsh language, and asked how they dared to convene a public meeting, in opposition to his decree? Upon which lord Lindsay boldly replied, that they dared to do still more than this for the defence of their religion, which they would not tamely see destroyed. Provoked at this declaration, the monarch burst out of the room, and ordered all the gates to be shut. The delegates, in the mean time, returned to report what had occurred; which so inflamed the people, who were still in the church, that they became outrageous, one crying out, "that Haman should be destroyed;" while others vociferated, 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!' Thus inspired, they rushed towards the house where the king was, threatening his life, and demanding some of his counsellors. In the midst of the uproar, James preserved his fortitude, and, by promising the people to receive their petitions, he at last succeeded in allaying their fury. Apprehensive, however, of a recurrence of the tumultuary scene, he withdrew in the night to Linlithgow, where he issued orders for the public officers to leave the city, and the nobility to depart to their respective seats. This mandate appalled the citizens, who were sensible of the loss which they could sustain by the absence of the court. But the ministers, being determined to maintain their cause, continued to influence the minds of their hearers by seditious discourses, and plainly told them to take the supreme power into their own hands. For this purpose they not only collected money to provide arms, but enrolled men in an association to oppose the government. Their next step was to procure a leader, and accordingly they wrote a letter to lord Jamieson, saying, that the people, being animated by the motion of the divine spirit, had taken arms; but, that wanting a head, they had made choice of him, on account of his noble birth and zeal for the truth. They concluded with desiring him to hasten to Edinburgh, and accept that honour to which he was called by the church of God.

His lordship received the messengers courteously, and affected to make reparations for his journey; but instead of going to Edinburgh, he went to Linlithgow, where he gave the letter to the king; who was so irritated at this daring act, that he sent instant orders to the provost to arrest all the city ministers; but they, having had timely warning, got out of the kingdom. Upon this, the resentment of the monarch was directed against the city, which he deprived of its privileges, by suspending the magistrates from their office, and transferring the courts of justice to Leith. A convention of the estates was also called, by which the late insurrection was declared to be treason; civil magistrates were empowered to imprison any minister that should in his sermon impugn the measures of the king, or bestow any indecent reflections upon his character; all ecclesiastical meetings, without his majesty's license, were prohibited; and the judgment inflicted by him upon the city of Edinburgh was confirmed. Thus the capital of the kingdom had neither magistrates nor pastors; Perth became the royal residence; and some of the courtiers went so far as to talk of raising the rebellious city, as they called it, to the foundation.

At length the intercession of queen Elizabeth prevailed with the king to grant a pardon to the citizens, though upon the hard and humiliating terms of paying a fine of twenty thousand marks, and of being debarred the right of choosing their own magistrates or ministers. The power of the sovereign was hereby considerably increased, and, to strengthen it still more, he resolved to introduce some important changes into the church. To this end he called a general assembly at Perth, towards the end of February, 1597. At this national synod, fifty-five articles were brought forward, the substance of which was this; "that the ministers should abstain in future from all reflections on the government, and confine their preaching to matters of doctrine and practical exhortation drawn from the scripture, without any allusion to

temporal concerns, except in reproving of notorious vices : that there should be no provincial meetings held without license, and only for matters of religion ; reserving to the king a power to confirm or annul their decisions. In addition to these articles, the assembly were required to publish a declaration, testifying their abhorrence of the treasonable practices of the ministers of Edinburgh ; to subscribe a bond, acknowledging the royal jurisdiction in all causes ; and to absolve the earl of Huntley, upon his giving satisfaction to the church.

However inclined the members of this synodical meeting might be to the wishes of the king in regard to the body of the articles, many of them were far from shewing a willingness to accede to his supplementary demands. Upon this, he appeared in person, and told him, that "in calling them together he had no other object than to settle matters so as to prevent future disputes in regard to his own authority and their privileges ; that he only required a superiority claimed by every Christian monarch ; but that, since power took upon them, in the application of their doctrine, to meddle with affairs of state, and use such language in the pulpits as tended to sow sedition and raise tumult, he could not forbear expressing his just resentment of such misdemeanors, and to prescribe rules to keep ministers within their proper limits, which, if they observed, he would always protect them ; but that, as for the civil government, which belonged to him and his council, he desired they would not meddle with it."

This well-tempered speech had a proper effect, and brought the assembly into such good humour, that all the articles were agreed to without dissent. The rest of the excommunicated lords, as well as Huntley, were shortly afterwards absolved, and, on their submission to the church, were received into communion, though with what sincerity, on their part, ultimately appeared when every one of them died in the profession of the Romish faith. Such was the reliance to be placed upon compulsory conversions.

The assembly at Perth having been so obsequious to the wishes of the king conceived that they also had a right to claim something in return. Accordingly, they desired his majesty to pardon the ministers of Edinburgh ; what favour was granted, and the fugitives obtained leave to revisit their native country, but were not for some time suffered to preach.

About this time died at Brussels John Leslie, the Catholic bishop of Ross. He was a man of great learning, but memorable chiefly for his attachment to queen Mary, whose cause he pleaded with zealous affection while she lived and for whom he suffered imprisonment both in England and France. He wrote the history of Scotland in elegant Latin, but brought the narrative no lower down than to the year 1561.

The king having succeeded so well in bringing the clergy under subjection, now meditated the restoration of episcopacy, which he considered as indispensably necessary for the preservation of order in the church. With this view principally, he called a parliament at Edinburgh, where after passing an act to restore the lords, who had been excommunicated, to their paternal honours and estates, a motion was made to admit the clergy into the same by their proper representatives. This produced a long debate, but it was at length enacted that such persons as his majesty might deem worthy to fill the vacant bishoprics and abbeys, should have the same seats in parliament as their predecessors had enjoyed. To reconcile the ministers to a measure which was far from being a popular one, an assembly was convened at Dundee in March 1568. Here the king presided in person, and by his prudent management, after a long consultation, it was agreed that the number of dignitaries should be fifty-one, to be chosen from among the clergy, but the manner of their election, maintenance, title, and powers, were left for future consideration. Accordingly, on the 29th of July another synodical meeting was held at Falkland, when it was determined, that in every diocese the clergy should nominate six of their number, one of whom to be chosen by the king, to sit and vote in parliament ; that their income should accrue from the rents of the respective bishoprics ; and that their denomination should be that of commissioners, or any other which might hereafter be adopted. These articles were ratified, at the beginning of the following year, by the general

assembly which met at Montrose ; where it was farther enacted that the persons so appointed as the representatives of the clerical body should still be responsible to their presbyteries, and continue in the discharge of the pastoral office. It being ascertained that Robert Bruce, who had played so conspicuous a part in opposition to the king, was never ordained ; the assembly decreed that he should receive his commission to exercise the ministry by the usual ceremony of the imposition of hands ; which he declined, till the threat of suspension and expulsion induced him to comply, and the office was then performed with due solemnity.

While the attention of the king was thus engaged in settling the affairs of the church, he was called upon to correct some corruptions that had crept into the university of St. Andrew's ; where, instead of the lectures on theology and ethics which used to be delivered for the improvement of the students, political questions were introduced, by which their minds were more likely to be confused and inflamed than edified. The subjects on which these instructors chose to read, were—" the origin of government ; the extent of the legal power ; the difference between elective and hereditary monarchy : but the most delicate topic of all which these sages undertook to discuss was this, " Whether kings might be censured and deposed for an abuse of their trust ? " Alarmed at a proceeding so dangerous to the royal prerogative, James set out for the university, where he introduced some new regulations, and appointed professors of science, instead of the lecturers, who had so grossly perverted the preceptorial office.

On the 24th of December the king received another addition to his family in the birth of a daughter, who was baptized by the name of Elizabeth, out of compliment to the queen of England. At this ceremony were present the earl of Huntley and lord John Hamilton, upon each of whom the sovereign conferred the title of marquis.

The near prospect which the Scottish monarch now had of succeeding to the English throne, in consequence of the advanced age and increasing infirmities of its present possessor, made him anxious to secure his interest in every possible way abroad and at home. He was the rather induced to this, on account of the publications which were circulated, invalidating his claim to the crown of England ; and as it was doubtful what the sentiments of Elizabeth were upon this important concern, the king resolved to solicit the intervention of some of the foreign powers in his behalf. For this purpose he sent the bishop of Aberdeen and Peter Young as his ambassadors to Denmark and other courts, requesting the exercise of their good offices with Elizabeth, in the first instance, and their assistance against competitors, in case of necessity. Those princes prudently declined intermeddling with the internal affairs of a great nation, but they promised the king that he might rely upon their friendship and support as far as their means allowed, and justice required. In the mean time James adopted the wiser course of ingratiating himself with the English, and cultivating the friendship of the principal families. He therefore employed Edward Bruce, who held the title of abbot of Kinross, though a layman, as his resident in London ; and though this able statesman could not prevail upon the queen to give a decisive answer on the momentous business of the succession, to which she always evinced the greatest abhorrence, he rendered his master essential service, by engaging some able writers to vindicate his title to the throne on irrefutable grounds. All at once, however, a circumstance occurred of such a nature as threatened to overturn the hopes of the king, and to remove from him the good wishes of those who were friendly to his cause, both in England and Scotland. The master of Gray, after his exile, went to Italy, where he undertook an office for which he was well qualified in principle and ability, that of a spy in the pay of Elizabeth. While at Rome, he obtained sight of a letter, written in the name of James, and bearing his undoubted signature, to pope Clement VIII. In this epistle the king paid many high compliments to the pontiff, made great promises of indulgence to the Catholics, and solicited a cardinalship for Drummond, bishop of Vaison. Gray took a copy of this extraordinary document, and forwarded it to the English queen, who immediately sent Bowes into Scotland, with a message to James on the impropriety of his conduct. The king was sur-

prised at the accusation, and stoutly denied the fact, as also did his private secretary Elphinston, who was afterwards created lord Balmerinoch. Whether the expurgation proved satisfactory to Elizabeth, or her ministers cannot be determined: but here the matter rested for some years, and went probably have been forgotten, had not cardinal Bellarmine, in the heat of controversy, taxed James with tergiversation, in renouncing the favourable comments which he once avowed for the Romish religion, and, in proof of his assertion, referred to this letter. The charge then became serious; an investigation took place, and Balmerinoch confessed that he was the author of the letter, to which he had obtained the king's signature without apprizing him of its contents. The object, he said, was to gain over the Catholics to his master's interest; but this not being considered as a sufficient excuse, he was tried for high treason, found guilty, and would have been executed, had not the queen-consort interposed in his behalf. To complete this story, it has been necessary to break the order of time in the narration; which must now be resumed at the period when the ambassador of Elizabeth returned from his special mission to the king of Scotland, whose title became now more than ever the subject of public discussion. To remove, therefore, the bad impression which had been made upon the people of England by the libel reports that were industriously spread abroad to his disadvantage, James caused his book entitled "Basilicon Doron," that is, "The Royal Gift," to be printed. This performance, which is addressed to the young prince Henry, contains a variety of observations and rules on the art of governing a kingdom, and though somewhat pedantic, which was the fault of the age, is well written, and shews that the royal author, like many other instructors, bore his duty, however deficient he might be in the practice of it. The publication was very serviceable to the interests of the king in England, where the people very much approved of the liberal sentiments contained in it: but the case was otherwise in Scotland, and the ministers were so offended with the remarks made by James upon the presbyterian discipline, that in a synod held at St. Andrew's, a paper was introduced with these questions, "What punishment ought to be inflicted on a person who gave such pernicious advice to a prince?" and, "Whether he could be thought well affected to religion, who could deliver such precepts of government?" The king's commissioners made diligent search to discover the author of the libel, but without effect, though Mr. John Dyke, minister of Anstruther, fell under suspicion, and was cited to appear before the council; which order he disobeyed, and was outlawed.

About the same time the clergy gave fresh offence to the king, by intermeddling with his prerogative in a very extraordinary manner. A company of English comedians having visited Edinburgh, applied to his majesty for permission to exhibit dramatic representations in that city. The royal licence was granted; but the ministers were so shocked at the toleration of theatrical entertainments, that, not content with preaching against them, they held a session, in defiance of the law, and passed an act forbidding all persons from going to plays, under penalty of excommunication. For this attack upon the authority of the crown, the principal members of the assembly were called before the council, and commanded to revoke what they had done. Finding the king resolute and well supported, they rescinded the act, though it was with an ill grace; and the stage continued to be the object of ecclesiastical enmity in Scotland for a long period.

Soon after this, a conspiracy was formed against the life of the king, by John Ruthven, earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander; the two sons of that earl, who in 1584 was executed for high treason. On the fifth of August, 1600, as the king was about to mount his horse at Falkland, in order to carry his favourite sport of stag-hunting, Alexander Ruthven came and told him that the earl, his brother, had the evening before apprehended a strange man, whom he suspected to be a Jesuit, with a great quantity of gold about him, and that this person was now under close confinement, and that the earl wished his majesty to conduct the examination. James proposed that the magistrates of Perth should be employed in the business; but Ruthven raised so many objections to this mode, that the king consented, and promised that, when the

chase was over, he would come and dine with the earl at his house in Perth. Accordingly, on the death of the buck, he set out, attended by the duke of Lennox, the earl of Marr, and a few servants. After the repast, Alexander, in a low tone, told the king that now would be a good time to see the stranger in the room where he was kept. James upon this rose up immediately, and would have had sir Thomas Erskine go with him; which Ruthven prevented, and, in passing through the rooms leading to the one where he said the prisoner was, he locked all the doors behind him. At last he brought the king into a small apartment, where the latter, instead of seeing a helpless captive, was startled at the appearance of a man in armour, with a sword and dagger by his side. James had scarcely time to express his surprise, when his conductor snatched the dagger from the girdle of the man, and, presenting the point of it to the breast of the king, said, "Remember how you used my father; and now you must answer for it!" The king remonstrated, and observed, that being under age when the earl of Gowrie was put to death, it was the act of the council, in which he had no concern. All this time the man in armour stood affrighted, without offering to help the king, or to assist Ruthven. The latter himself hesitated, and at length said, that he would go and call his brother; at the same time enjoining James, as he valued his life, to make no noise. The royal attendants began now to be uneasy at the absence of their master, upon which one of Gowrie's servants came and informed them that the king had just rode away towards Falkland. Astonished at this, they all hurried from table, and began to call for their horses.

While this confusion prevailed below, Alexander Ruthven returned to the room where the king was, and said, "There is no remedy, you must die." James, however, having opened the window during the struggle, called out, "Help, Marr, Marr, treason, treason!" Some of the attendants in the court knowing the voice, rushed into the house, and ran up the great stair-case, but found all the doors shut. While the rest were endeavouring to force an entrance, sir John Ramsay discovered a private stair, which led to the place from whence the cry issued, and on entering the room, he struck Ruthven with his dagger, and pushed him into the passage, where he was met by sir Thomas Erskine and sir Hugh Herries, who demanding of him whether the king was safe, and receiving no other answer than that it was not his fault, they ran him through the body. In the scuffle, the other man got away unobserved. By this time Gowrie himself came up, having a drawn sword in each hand, and accompanied by his servants well armed, threatening instant death to the king and all his party. The gentlemen who had come to the assistance of their sovereign, were just enabled to thrust him into a closet and shut the door, when the assault commenced; and though the numbers were two to one, the king's friends made a gallant defence. Gowrie was pierced through the heart by Ramsay, and died instantly without saying a word; on which all his followers fled, most of them being severely wounded. While this combat raged, the lords on the opposite side made great efforts to break open the door, which having effected they ran to the king, who knelt down with all his attendants, and offered up thanksgiving to Providence for his deliverance. Still the danger was not over, for the inhabitants of the town, who were much attached to Gowrie as their provost, flew to arms, and hastened to the house, vowing vengeance upon the king for the death of their patron. James addressed the multitude from a window; and calling for the magistrates, gave them such an account of the circumstances as had the effect of satisfying them and dispersing the populace. On searching the earl, no papers of a treasonable kind were found; but in the narrative of this extraordinary transaction, drawn up by order of the king, it is said there was round the body a girdle containing magical characters, and that while these were about him, the wound of which he died bled not; but as soon as they were taken away, the blood gushed out in great abundance. Of the earl's servants who were personally concerned with him in this atrocious business, one died of his wounds, and two, named Cranston and Craggell, were taken, tried, and executed. They acknowledged the fact of being in arms, but denied all participation in Gowrie's designs upon the life of the king. Much inquiry was made after the man in armour, who had been concealed in the room to

which the king was conducted by Ruthven; but he could not be found till a proclamation offering him a pardon, on making an ample discovery, was issued. Upon this Andrew Henderson, the steward of the earl of Gowrie, came forward, and confessed that he was the man; but no information could be drawn from him to elucidate this mysterious business, and it was very evident that however disposed the domestics might be to obey the orders of their master, they were perfectly ignorant of his object. At the distance of nine years from this event, one George Sprot, a notary, dropped some dark hints respecting the conspiracy, which being communicated to the privy council, they caused him to be apprehended; when he confessed that being professionally employed by Robert Logan, of Restalri, he found among his papers several letters of the earl of Gowrie, to him, and a laird named James Bour, all relating to this transaction, and proving a combination against the king's life. Logan and Bour were dead, but the letters were examined, and fully established the fact, that the plot was not confined to the two brothers. Upon this evidence a process was instituted against Logan, as if he had been alive; his body was disinterred, his lands were forfeited, and his family pronounced infamous. Sprot also was brought to trial for misprision of treason, and sentenced to be hanged, which fate he suffered at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1686.

As soon as the king returned to Falkland after his wonderful deliverance, he despatched a messenger, with information of what had happened, to the privy council; who immediately ordered the ministers to convene the people, and give thanks to God for the great mercy which he had shewn to the nation in defeating this conspiracy. The clergy, however, were refractory, and declared that they would not deliver from the pulpit any thing of doubtful authenticity. In consequence of this disobedience, the council went in procession to the high cross at Edinburgh, where they caused a narration of the conspiracy to be read, and then proclaimed a day of public thanksgiving to be observed. Three days afterwards the king came to the capital; and finding how incredulous the ministers and people were on the subject of the plot, he went himself to the public cross, and gave an account of all that had occurred. Most of the clergy now submitted, and expressed their belief of the fact; but Robert Bruce still continued sceptical, and even threw out insinuations extremely injurious to the honour of the king, whose veracity he called in question, and charged him with having fabricated the story of a conspiracy, as a cloak to cover the murder of Gowrie and his brother. Shocked as James was at these aspersions, he was unwilling to go to extremities; but seeing at last that all his attempts to remove the prejudices which had been created, only made Bruce and some other refractory ministers more insolent and dangerous, he first suspended, and next banished them from his dominions. In the parliament which assembled at Edinburgh on the first of November, the particulars of the conspiracy were fully examined; the dead bodies of the two brothers were produced according to the Scottish law, and process for high treason being instituted against them, they were hung upon gibbets in the public street, after which the heads were placed upon the tolbooth. Besides decreeing a forfeiture of titles and estates against the family, an act was passed to abolish the very name of Ruthven; but afterwards the king was pleased to reverse the last sentence, in favour of those persons who had no concern in the plot. The parliament also appointed the fifth of August to be kept, for ever, as a day of public thanksgiving for the signal blessing which the nation had experienced in this deliverance. And further to mark the public sense which was entertained of the conduct of the king's servants, who had so nobly defended their master, rewards and honours were conferred upon all of them; but chiefly upon sir Thomas Erskine, and sir John Ramsay. At the breaking up of the parliament, the court removed to Dunfermline, where the queen was delivered on the 19th of November of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Charles, with great pomp, in the chapel royal, on the 23d of December, by David Lindsay, bishop of Ross. Henry the Fourth, of France, stood sponsor on this occasion, being represented by the duke of Rohan, who was accompanied by his brother the lord of Soubise. Soon after this, the intelligence arrived of the conspiracy that had been formed in England by the earl of Essex, with whom James had long kept up a correspond-

ence. Though much affected by the untimely end of that unfortunate nobleman, the king deemed it prudent to send off the earl of Marr, as his ambassador extraordinary, to congratulate queen Elizabeth upon her escape, and to give her an assurance of his utter abhorrence of all such treasonable attempts. At the same time the Scottish monarch despatched also the duke of Lennox on a mission to France, ostensibly to renew the ancient bonds of amity between the two kingdoms, but secretly, as it was said, for the purpose of securing the interest of that court in favour of the succession of James to the English throne. In his return the duke visited London, to pay his respects to Elizabeth, who received him courteously, and expressed sentiments of particular regard for his master. She was now advanced in years and much depressed in spirits, so that the prospect of a new reign made many of the English nobility and gentry very attentive to the Scotch ambassador, whose favour they courted by the tender of their services in support of the claims of his sovereign. The duke thanked them for their kindness, but very prudently waved all negotiation upon a subject which he knew was exceedingly offensive to the queen, whose jealousy was easily excited at a time when increasing infirmities made her very peevish and untractable. It was, however, gratifying to perceive that no formidable obstacles were likely to impede the advancement of James, who on the return of the duke declared himself well pleased with his conduct. One of the last acts performed by the king of Scotland before his removal from that country, was the laudable attempt to civilize the isles and highlands; a part of his native dominions that had lain long in a state of barbarism. Many useful regulations were indeed adopted from time to time for the reformation of the inhabitants of those countries; but it was extremely difficult to bring them to habits of industry, their favourite pursuits being robbery and the chase. At length the king required the heads of the clans to become responsible for the conduct of their dependants; while, in order to bring the people to a more social life, towns were built, and some families from the low lands were settled in them, that the effect of their example might operate in softening the ferocity of their neighbours. The first experiment was tried in the isle of Lewis, where a colony from Fife was planted, for the purpose of carrying on the fishing trade. But the islanders, with their chief Murdoch Macleod, fell upon the strangers, murdered several of them, and compelled the rest to abandon the place. While the king was thus occupied, his thoughts were called off to other objects of a more extensive nature; nor do we ever find that he afterwards renewed a scheme, the very idea of which, however, does honour to his memory. At the beginning of 1603, the English queen appeared so weak, that her dissolution being daily expected, the principal courtiers redoubled their attentions to the king of Scotland. Hitherto Elizabeth had preserved an absolute silence on the question of her successor, but it was not doubted that her inclinations leaned in favour of James. At last, when the hopes of life became so faint, that her dissolution was daily expected, she began to disclose her sentiments, and told the secretary, Cecil, that "her throne was the throne of kings; that she would have no mean person to ascend it; and that her cousin, the king of Scots, should be her successor." In this mind she continued, and when the lords of the council, on being apprised by the physicians that her departure drew near, attended her bedside to know her will in this important concern, she repeated what she had before explicitly declared. Accordingly, as soon as her demise took place, which was at Richmond, in the morning of the 24th of March, such privy counsellors as were in or near London assembled with the lord mayor, and proclaimed James the Sixth of Scotland, king of England, France, and Ireland, as being the lineal descendant of Henry the Seventh, whose daughter Margaret married James the Fourth, by whom she had James the Fifth, the father of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, mother of the reigning monarch.



## BOOK III.

As soon as Elizabeth was dead, and before the privy council had assembled to proclaim her successor, sir Robert Cary, the youngest son of lord Hunsdon, set out for Edinburgh, which distance he travelled in less than three days. It was late when he arrived, and the king had retired to rest; but on being informed of the quality of the messenger, he ordered Cary to be admitted, who, kneeling down by the side of the bed, saluted his majesty as king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; at the same time presenting a ring which lady Seroop his sister had taken from the queen's finger. The king gave sir Robert a courteous reception, but adopted no public steps until the arrival of the official despatches. Two days afterwards, sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset, the one brother to the earl of Northumberland, and the other, son of the earl of Worcester, reached the northern capital with letters from the council, containing the intelligence of what had occurred, but inveighing severely against Cary for having gone on such an important business, not only without, but absolutely in opposition to their positive commands. The king now caused a proclamation to be made of his accession to the English throne, and, after taking an affectionate leave of his old subjects in St. Giles's church, he set forward on his journey. But though he left Edinburgh on the fifth of April, he did not enter London till the seventh of May, being entertained in his route at several places, particularly Theobalds, the seat of the secretary Cecil, where he held a council, at which some of his followers were sworn in members, and upon others patents of nobility were bestowed. During his progress, the king was extremely lavish in conferring titles; in which respect his conduct formed a striking contrast to that of his predecessor, who knew that to make such honours cheap, was to render them contemptible. By this means, the distinctions which she granted became important in the public estimation; whereas James, by his profusion and want of discrimination, threw a ridicule over his royal favours.

On the fifteenth of July, the king and queen were crowned with great solemnity in Westminster abbey, the ceremony being performed by Dr John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury. But though hitherto every thing wore an auspicious appearance, and the new reign seemed to give universal satisfaction, there were not wanting causes of discontent, which soon began to ripen into plots and conspiracies. The title of James was not altogether free from objection, for the verbal declaration of Elizabeth in favour of her cousin, the king of Scotland, was but a weak foundation of itself, and there been any competitor, with a plausible claim, and a powerful faction to oppose his interest. There was against him the will of Henry the Eighth, and an act of parliament, by which that monarch was empowered to limit the succession after the demise of his daughters without issue, to the children of his youngest sister, Mary, the wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. This statute had never been repealed, and the testamentary settlement of Henry could not be called in question. Yet the Suffolk family were set aside, and they took no steps to support their rights. There was, however, another person who stood in a near affinity to the throne of England, though upon weaker grounds. This was the lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox, younger brother of Henry Darnley, the father of king James, by Elizabeth, daughter of sir William Cavendish. Being left an orphan and sole heiress of the house of Lennox, various matches were projected for her at home and abroad. As the English succession was at this time doubtful, some of the principal powers on the continent proposed husbands for her from among their connexions; as the duke of Savoy, the prince Farnese, and others. The lady herself, however, is said to have given the preference to the son of the earl of Northumberland, which so much displeased Elizabeth, that she placed her under confinement. On the death of the queen, some of the English took such umbrage at the preponderance of the Scottish influence, that a scheme



*James I*

JACOBVS I<sup>MS</sup> D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET HIB. REX



was projected, to place lady Arabella on the throne, and marry her to some English nobleman. For this contrivance, which never proceeded to any open act, lord Cobham, lord Grey, sir Griffin Markham, sir Walter Raleigh, and three others, were apprehended, tried, and found guilty, at Winchester, in November. All the principals were reprieved, but three persons of inferior note were executed; and Raleigh remained in the Tower twelve years. This mysterious transaction was never satisfactorily explained; and the treatment of Raleigh, whose offence, at the utmost, amounted to nothing more than misprision of treason, was peculiarly severe. As lady Arabella had no knowledge of the confederacy, she was not brought into trouble; but on her entering into a matrimonial engagement with William Seymour, son of the lord Beauchamp, of the Suffolk house, James became alarmed, and caused the young couple to be put under arrest. Mr. Seymour, however, soon after effected his escape; but his wife, in attempting to do the same, was taken, and lingered out the remainder of her days in the Tower.

The king having escaped this danger, now directed his thoughts to ecclesiastical concerns. The Puritans constituted a numerous body in England, but during the late reign, they had been kept down by the vigilant administration of the laws. Their hopes of a farther reform in the church were excited by the consideration, that James was brought up among presbyterians; and though they could not be ignorant of his contentions with the ministers of his native country, they seem to have thought that his sentiments, were, at least, moderate in regard to prelacy and ceremonies. Much therefore was expected of him by that party, and somewhat was dreaded by their opponents. To settle matters between both, James resolved to convene an assembly for a conference, and accordingly on the twelfth of January, several bishops and other dignitaries were met at Hampton Court by a select number of those divines who were denominated nonconformists. Here the king played the part of moderator; but in his opening speech he gave a plain indication of what the Puritans might expect, by "thanking the Almighty who had brought him into the promised land, where religion was purely professed; and he sat among grave, learned, and reverend men; not as before, elsewhere, a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave him to his face."

The conference lasted three days; but the only matter of importance that resulted from it was, the causing a new translation of the bible to be made by the most learned men of the two universities; and this is the authorized version now in ordinary use. In the month of March following the first parliament of this reign assembled at Westminster, when the king, after expressing his grateful acknowledgments for the readiness with which his title had been recognised, earnestly called upon the two legislative bodies to consider of the most proper mode of uniting both kingdoms under one form of government. This salutary measure was at first so favourably received, that a committee was appointed to carry the object into effect. A similar proceeding took place also at Edinburgh, when it was resolved that the commissioners on both sides should confer, treat, and consult upon a perfect union of the realms of Scotland and England, not derogating from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges and rights, offices, dignities, and liberties of the kingdom. Soon after this, the king appointed Westminster to be the place of meeting, and thither the Scottish commissioners repaired at the end of October. After consulting together many days, several articles were agreed upon to be presented to his majesty and the courts of parliament of both realms. In the mean time James, by virtue of his prerogative, assumed the title of king of Great Britain, and ordered that the same should be used in all proclamations, treaties, and other public instruments. He also issued an injunction against the further application of the name of borderers; and with the same view of abolishing all hostile appearances, he commanded that the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle should be discontinued. But however meritorious these acts might be on his part, they were far from being agreeable to the people of either country; and the alteration of the regal title proved so offensive to the English, that the projected union of the two kingdoms, after being far advanced, was suddenly relinquished. In Scotland also, considerable dissen-

faction arose on account of church government. An assembly had been appointed to be called at Aberdeen, but the ministers, who were jealous of the union, and thought that it portended the establishment of a splendid hierarchy, called a meeting of their own, in which they declared that the king intended to convene a number of bishops, and to make further innovations subversive of the purity of the national religion. For this irregularity several of the ministers were imprisoned; upon which the pulpits all over the realm resounded with bitter invectives against the king, who intended, the preachers said, to abolish their doctrine and discipline, and to introduce the rites of the church of England. Upon this, a declaration was published by the monarch, to justify himself from the calumnious reports that were raised against him, and to satisfy the people that he had no intention to make any sudden alteration in the church. He also appointed a general assembly to meet at Dundee, to examine into every kind of ecclesiastical disorder, and to settle all differences between himself and the clergy. The ministers in prison were next called upon to make an acknowledgment of their error in disobeying the royal ordinances: but, instead of submission, they persisted in maintaining the legality of their meeting at Aberdeen. A memorial, stating and defending their proceedings, was transmitted by them to the council; but it was rejected, and the parties who signed it, were even threatened with a prosecution for treason. The king, on being informed of this, ordered a legal process to be instituted against the refractory ministers, who were accordingly brought before the justiciary court at Linlithgow, where, by their advocates, they made exceptions to the indictment, which were overruled, and they were remanded to prison. Meanwhile a proclamation was issued, declaring that all persons guilty of calling in question the royal authority, and taking the part of the disobedient clergy, should be severely punished as seditious offenders, and disturbers of his majesty's lawful government; at the same time a convention of the estates was held at Edinburgh, at which a letter from the king was read, expressive of the unabated love and regard he had for his ancient and native kingdom, and recommending to them the improvement of trade, especially in the fisheries, and manufacture of cloth. To meet the royal wishes, several useful acts were passed, and some good measures were also adopted for terminating feuds between families. Amid these efforts to promote the tranquillity and prosperity of his realms, the enemies of James seemed to multiply in numbers, and to become furious in malignity. He had offended many parties, but none more than the Romanists, who at his accession had been led to expect, if not full toleration, at least some relief from the penal laws. Instead of this, within a few months after his arrival in England, he issued a proclamation for banishing all priests and Jesuits from his dominions, under pain of death. Exasperated at what they regarded as an ungrateful return for their attachment to the king and his mother, a band of Catholics combined to overturn the government, by blowing up both houses of parliament on the first day of the session.

When all things were prepared for the intended massacre, some of the actors began to feel a concern respecting particular persons, whose lives they wished to save on account of their principles or connexions; among others, lord Monteagle, a Catholic peer, became an object of pity to one of the conspirators, who sent him an anonymous letter, written in very ambiguous language, but warning him to keep away from a parliament which God and man had conspired to punish by a terrible blow, so secretly given that no one should see who hurt them. Monteagle carried this enigmatic epistle to Cecil earl of Salisbury, who at first treated it slightly, but afterwards thought proper to communicate it to the king. The fears or the sagacity of James led him to conjecture that an explosion by gunpowder must be intended, an idea which might have been excited in his mind by reflecting on the fate of his father. Be this as it may, the king had the credit of penetrating into the mystery which perplexed the courtiers; in consequence of which a search was made, the principal incendiary was apprehended, and most of the conspirators were taken or killed. Thus another wonderful deliverance was experienced by James: and as the 5th of August was yearly kept to commemorate the atrocious attempt made by Gowrie, so now the 5th of November was ordered by act of parlia-

ment to be observed with solemn thanksgiving for ever. Into the particulars of this infamous plot, it is unnecessary to enter, as the circumstances are well known, and belong rather to the history of England than that of Scotland. One thing, however, merits notice, because it is a striking proof of the wisdom of Providence in the disposal of human events, and making use of the same means for good, which the wicked chuse for evil. Part of the scheme of the confederates was to seize the infant daughter of James, and, after bringing her up in the Romish religion, to marry her to one of the same persuasion, in order thereby to secure the permanent establishment of popery in these realms. Yet it so happened in the course of time, that when the Protestant religion was actually endangered by the lapse of the male line of the house of Stuart to the Romish faith, the issue of this very princess became the instrument of fixing the civil and religious liberties of the nation upon a permanent basis.

To return to the affairs of Scotland: At the beginning of the following year, the ministers, who lay in prison for their conduct in convening a meeting at Aberdeen, made loud complaints against lord Fyvie the chancellor, upon whom they laid the whole blame of that transaction, declaring that they had his warrant for what they did, and that he had also promised to countenance their proceeding: upon this the matter was strictly investigated, but the accusers being unable to support by evidence what they had alleged, the king said they were not to be credited, and that they would make any excuse rather than submit to his government. The same nobleman, however, soon after fell into some disgrace by his conduct as a public officer. The parliament having been appointed to meet early in June at Edinburgh, under the direction of the earl of Dunbar as president, the chancellor thought proper to enter the city attended by a train of armed burghesses. This parade gave such offence to the earl, that he complained to the king, who at his desire prorogued the session, and ordered the members to meet on the 9th of July at Perth; where a quarrel arose between the lord Seaton and the earl of Glencairn, for which the former was cited before the council, and on his disobedience was pronounced contumacious. In this parliament several acts were passed, but the most important of all was one for restoring the temporalities of the bishoprics, which had been by a former statute annexed to the crown; but this measure was of little benefit to those for whose support it was intended, as the principal seats and estates formerly belonging to the church were alienated to the nobility, whose titles were now confirmed. The concession, however, plainly shewed the wish of the king to bring the two churches of Scotland and England as nearly alike as possible. For the same purpose he soon after ordered several of the Scotch clergy to attend him at Hampton Court. The professed intention of the meeting was simply to inquire into the circumstances of the late assembly at Aberdeen, but the effect shewed that the object extended much farther, and, that a complete change in church government was meditated. At the time and place appointed, here appeared on the episcopal side the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Orkney, Galloway, and Dunkeld. For the ministers, here were Andrew and James Melvil, James Balfour, William Watson, William Scott, John Carmichael, and Adam Colt.

At the same time the king ordered some of the English bishops to attend, one of whom preached by turns, on the royal authority in ecclesiastical as well as civil concerns, for the purpose of bringing the ministers to conformity. The king then addressed the latter, and said, that his reason for calling them so such a distance, was to have their opinion upon the subject of the proceedings at Aberdeen, and the conduct of the assembly in continuing to sit in defiance of his authority. To this James Melvil replied, "that his brethren having a warrant to convene, from the word of God, and his majesty's laws; such as came there by the direction of their presbyteries, he could not in conscience condemn."

Upon this, the king put the following questions to them all: "Whether it was justifiable in them to pray publicly for persons convicted by the lawful judge, as for persons in distress and afflicted? Or, whether he, as a king, by his royal authority, could convoke, prorogue, and dissolve, any assemblies within his dominions? Or, whether he could cite and convene before his council

any person, civil or ecclesiastical, for offences committed in any part of his realms, and cause them to be tried and sentenced according to law; and lastly, Whether or not any subject, being summoned before him and his council, was obliged to appear, and acknowledge them for his judges?" These questions James Melvil, said, were so weighty, that neither he nor his colleagues were prepared for them, and therefore he humbly desired time to deliberate. To this the king assented, and they were allowed till the next day to give in their answer. At the next meeting there were present some of the English nobility and clergy; upon which the ministers requested that none but natives of Scotland should bear what they had to say. The king repeated the petition in strong terms, and commanded them to speak as became subjects. The questions were then first put to the bishops; who upon being asked their judgment concerning the assembly at Aberdeen, all agreed in condemning it as turbulent, factioned, and illegal. The sentiment of the ministers was next demanded, when Andrew Melvil replied, evasively, that he could not condemn the assembly, being a private man; that he came to England in obedience to his majesty's letter, without any commission from the church of Scotland; and that as he did not know what the members of the assembly had to say for themselves, he could give no opinion on the point. Sentence, he observed, had been given against the ministers in a civil court, how justly, as referred to the great Judge of all; but that as for himself, he would say, as our Saviour did in another case, "Quis me constituit judicem?" The other ministers all concurred in this declaration; but James Melvil told the king that he had a petition, which was to have been presented to the late parliament, on behalf of his imprisoned brethren, and now he desired leave to lay it before his majesty, as expressive of his own sentiments, and those of his associates in regard to the assembly. The king took the petition, but perceiving that it contained very offensive language, he returned it, saying, "I see you are all set on maintaining that base conventicle at Aberdeen: but what answer have you to give to my questions?" They replied, that, as private persons, it did not become them to give an opinion upon matters which concerned the whole church. With this they were dismissed, but ordered not to revisit Scotland; and soon afterwards, Andrew Melvil was committed to the Tower for publishing some libels on the king and government. He lay in prison three years, and was then banished for life. The ministers who had incurred the royal displeasure by their conduct at Aberdeen, were also sentenced to perpetual exile, with this additional severity, that if any of them returned without permission, they should suffer death.

In July, 1607, a general assembly was convened at Linlithgow, the main business of which consisted in a prosecution of known or suspected Papists, and, among the rest who fell under ecclesiastical censure, were the marquess of Huntley, the earls of Angus and Errol, and lord Semple. The king confirmed the proceedings, and caused the excommunicated noblemen to be imprisoned. After remaining some time under the ban of the church, Huntley and Errol submitted; but Angus refused to compromise his principles, and preferred going into exile to the sacrifice of his conscience. Huntley gained nothing by his temporizing conduct, for the clergy continued to harass him by informations, and at last prevailed upon the council to commit him to the castle of Edinburgh. The chancellor, however, was so displeased with his colleagues, that he set the marquess at liberty by his own authority. This increased the resentment of the ministers to the highest degree, and they forwarded the complaints to the king, who sent for Huntley to court, and advised him to have a conference with the archbishop of Canterbury. The result of the interview was the conversion of the marquess to the Protestant faith, and he was in consequence formally absolved from the sentence of excommunication in the chapel at Lambeth. The ministers in Scotland had now another cause of discontent, and a new object of malignity. They openly inveighed against the primate for assuming an authority over their church; and indirectly they accused the king with intending to reduce the religious establishment to a native land under the jurisdiction of the English hierarchy. In vain did the monarch and the archbishop justify themselves from these aspersions. Nothing could satisfy these jealous spirits, whose influence over the people was

such, that it was deemed prudent for Huntley to humble himself before the assembly, and supplicate absolution in due form. This had the desired effect, and for a while peace was restored.

The establishment of episcopacy in Scotland being one of the principal objects that engaged the attention of the king, he sent for those divines whom he had nominated to the different dioceses, and told them, that though he had recovered the sees for them, and could nominate them thereto, the ceremony of consecration must be performed by bishops; but as there was not a sufficient number of that order in Scotland, he had thought it expedient to call them where the office might be administered with all regularity by the English prelates. The archbishop of Glasgow answered, in the name of the rest, that they were willing to obey his majesty in all things, but were apprehensive that umbrage would be taken in Scotland by this proceeding, as implying a subjection to the church of England. The king said, he had taken care to guard against that objection, by selecting for the service the bishops of London, Ely, and Bath; so that, as neither of the English primates would have the least concern in the consecration, all fear arising from the appearance of ecclesiastical supremacy was removed. With this explanation the elected prelates were satisfied; but now on the other side, a different scruple was started by Andrews, bishop of Ely, who contended that the ordination by presbyters was invalid, and that therefore these divines must go through the respective gradations of deacon and priest before they could be duly consecrated. This objection, however, was overruled by the other bishops, who maintained, that, as the superior order included the less, a layman might at once receive the episcopal character, of which the early history of the church afforded abundant instances. This argument prevailed, and the consecration took place in the chapel royal.

In the autumn of 1612, the elector palatine arrived in England as the suitor for the princess Elizabeth; but while preparations were making for the nuptials, the nation was thrown into the utmost distress by the death of the prince of Wales, which melancholy event occurred on the sixth of November, in the nineteenth year of his age. Though the disease which cut off this promising youth was a malignant fever, dark hints were thrown out of his having been poisoned; and even bishop Burnet, who must have read the report of the physicians on the state of the body, was so far under the influence of prejudice as to give currency to a calumny too shocking and gross for belief. In his person, prince Henry was remarkably handsome, and his accomplishments were so various and substantial, that great things were expected of him, which made his immature dissolution more generally lamented.

This calamitous event necessarily delayed the marriage of the princess Elizabeth till the month of February, when the ceremony was performed with unusual solemnity and magnificence. The city of London entertained the royal pair with a splendid feast, at which the court of aldermen presented to the bride a set of jewels of immense value. One cause of this joy was, the circumstance of the princess having married a Protestant, and thereby removing the apprehension of an alliance with Spain or Savoy, two of the most bigoted Catholic families in Europe.

About this time the tranquillity of Scotland was somewhat disturbed by an insurrection. Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney, having committed various acts of cruelty and oppression on the inhabitants of the isles, was sent to the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he was removed to that of Dumbarton, till the charges could be investigated. In the mean time, possession was taken, by the king's lieutenant, of his castles of Kirkwall and Birsay, which the earl had strongly fortified, and furnished with garrisons. Shortly afterward, Robert Stewart, the natural son of the earl of Orkney, collected an armed force, drove out the king's troops, who were few in number, and recovered the castles. Upon this, a commission was given to the earl of Caithness, who passed over to Orkney with about five hundred men, and laid siege to the castle of Kirkwall, which was obstinately defended till part of the wall fell down, and then the rebels surrendered at discretion. The other fortresses were soon reduced; and the leaders of the insurgents being conducted to Edinburgh, were executed. The earl of Orkney was also brought to trial, before the lords of the justiciary, on



various charges of high treason, which were so fully proved, that the court found him guilty unanimously, and on the 16th of February, 1613, he was beheaded on the castle-hill at Edinburgh.

Towards the latter end of the same year, one Ogilvy, a Jesuit, relying upon the tolerant sentiments of the king towards the Roman Catholics, visited Glasgow, where many members of that communion resided. Unfortunately for the poor missionary, the confidence which he expressed in the royal protection proved his ruin. The ministers pursued him with such inveteracy, that he was soon apprehended, tried, and hung for propagating his religion contrary to law.

But if justice was rigorously administered in the north, the case was otherwise in England. Of all his favourites, none gained a greater influence over James than Robert Ker, or Carr, who, from being a page, was advanced to the office of treasurer, and soon after created viscount Rochester. This worthless minion, though possessed of no virtue of his own, had the address to contract an intimacy with sir Thomas Overbury, a man of high talent and integrity. The connexion continued till Carr engaged in an amour with the young countess of Essex. After carrying on the intrigue some time, the guilty parties were desirous of forming an indissoluble union; to accomplish which, a divorce of the lady from her husband was necessary. But when Overbury was consulted on the subject, he earnestly endeavoured to dissuade his friend from the measure, saying, that it would be attended with disgrace. This advice increased both the earl and the countess to such a degree, that, by their management, Overbury was committed to the Tower. In the mean time, the divorce was procured by means too scandalous to be mentioned here; and the king, regardless of his character, not only sanctioned the new marriage, but, to give it splendour, created his favourite, earl of Somerset. Conscious, however, of guilt, and dreading a discovery of their criminal practices, should Overbury obtain his liberty, the abandoned wretches employed agents to despatch him in the Tower by poison. Immediately after his death, some suspicion arose respecting the cause of it; but the power of the principals was such, that no inquiry took place, and the murder might have remained concealed, had not a subordinate agent, on going abroad, dropped some hints in conversation, which produced an inquiry that led to a full development of the iniquitous transaction. Some of the parties, among whom was the lieutenant of the Tower, were executed; but though the earl and countess were tried and convicted, they both escaped the death they merited, and were pardoned.

At the beginning of 1617, the king communicated his intention of visiting Scotland: but his northern subjects, though they had not seen him for many years, were so little elated by the intelligence, that they importuned him to defer his journey till the following year. James, however, was not to be diverted from his purpose, and, in the middle of March, left London with a long train of persons of quality. On crossing the boundary-line of the two kingdoms, he alighted from his horse, and welcomed the English nobles into Scotland; then remounting, he went to the seat of the earl of Home; from whence the next day he proceeded to Seaton, the house of the earl of Winton; and on the day following he entered Edinburgh, where he was received by John Hay, the lord-provost, who presented to his majesty ten thousand marks in a silver basin. The king then marched with his retinue to St. Giles's church, where he heard a sermon preached by the archbishop of St. Andrew's; after which he went to Holyrood house, and at St. John's-crook in the Canongate, he conferred on the provost the honour of knighthood. On the 13th of June the parliament assembled, when the king made a long speech, in which he complained of several disorders in the church, and proposed some regulations for the correction of those abuses. This was enough to kindle the flame of discontent among the ecclesiastical body, even if they had not before been disposed to regard the proceedings of the crown with jealousy. The pulpits now resounded with lamentations that the church of Scotland was on the eve of dissolution, that the simplicity of divine worship was about to be superseded by antichristian ceremonies, and the doctrine of the gospel by articles and creeds of human invention. In these harangues, the church of England was vilified as a member of the great apostasy, and an

ally of the harlot of Babylon. But the dissatisfied ministers went still farther, and delivered to the parliament a protestation against every kind of alteration in the doctrine and discipline of the church. Though the king was much offended by this presumption, he took no other notice of the matter than to refer the declaration to an ecclesiastical meeting, which was summoned to be held on the 10th of July at St. Andrew's. There he sharply reproved the clergy for their want of decorum and liberality in abusing the church of England; which was, he said, as fully apostolical as their own. He then professed that it was not his intention to change the established religion, or to introduce any superstitious usages; but only to propose the adoption of some necessary regulations, such as festivals commemorative of the nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, directions for the better administration of the sacrament; and the practice of episcopal confirmation. When the king had concluded his speech, the ministers desired leave to withdraw for consultation. The request being granted, they went to the parish church, and on their return intreated his majesty to call a general assembly, wherein these articles might be solemnly considered, and determined by the majority of the church. At first the king expressed his disapprobation of the motion; but when Mr. Patrick Galloway, the royal chaplain, pleaded the cause of the ministers, and undertook to be answerable for their conduct, the prayer was granted, and the time of meeting fixed for the 25th of November. On leaving St. Andrew's, the king went to Glasgow, and after enjoying the diversion of hunting in that neighbourhood, he went by the way of Sanquhar to Dumfries, where he remained some days, and on the 6th of August crossed the river Esk into Cumberland; from whence he proceeded through Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Cheshire, to London, which capital he entered on the 15th of September.

This journey was productive of a measure which excited as much uneasiness in England, as the late proceedings of the king had done in Scotland. In coming through Lancashire, a county which abounded in Roman Catholics, James was informed that numbers of that persuasion were very much prejudiced against the established church, by the rigorous conduct of the magistrates and clergy, in prohibiting all kinds of recreation on Sundays. Upon this a royal declaration was issued, allowing the people, after divine service, to amuse themselves in dancing, archery, vaulting, and other lawful sports. To prevent the abuse of this liberty, however, the indulgence was guarded by certain restrictions, particularly in not allowing any persons to take advantage of it, but such as had attended the public worship of the church.

Notwithstanding this, the book of sports, as it was called, gave great offence, and the parochial ministers throughout the kingdom were so much alarmed by it, that many of them began to run into an opposite extreme, and to enforce from the pulpit the indispensable obligation of keeping the Lord's day with the same strictness that distinguished the law of the Sabbath among the ancient Jews. But the more serious consequences of this declaration were reserved for the ensuing reign.

At the end of November, the assembly in Scotland met for a consideration of the articles proposed by the king; but though the ministers had promised to come to a determination on the several points, they now demanded a farther delay, and the convention of another meeting. When the king was informed of their conduct, he sent down a peremptory order for the observance of Christmas, then approaching, and at the same time directed that those ministers who disobeyed the injunction should be deprived of their stipends. This had its effect, and, to preserve their incomes, most of the dissidents outwardly complied. To follow up the advantage, another general assembly was convened, on the 25th of August, 1618, at Perth, where, doubtless under the influence of the same principle, the articles were confirmed; but the injunction for reading them in all the parish churches throughout the kingdom, was very partially obeyed.

While the king was thus embroiling himself with his northern subjects, he stained his reputation deeply by a monstrous act of cruelty, in causing the illustrious Raleigh to be put to death, pursuant to the sentence that had been passed upon him fifteen years before; but which was virtually remitted by

his liberation from prison, and by his having been entrusted with a royal commission, that gave him a power of life and death over those whom he commanded. What rendered the conduct of James still more odious in this affair was, the circumstance of his suffering himself to be overawed by the menaces of the court of Spain, whose resentment Raleigh had incurred by conducting an expedition to the neighbourhood of their western settlements.

Another instance in which the British monarch shewed his weakness and want of consistency at this period, was, in sending representatives to the Presbyterian and Calvinistic synod of Dordt, while in his own country he was strenuously endeavouring to support the divine right of episcopacy, a prescribed form of prayer, and a literal confession of faith.

At the beginning of 1619, queen Anne died of a lingering disorder at Hampton Court, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. She was a woman of violent passions, vindictive, and ambitious; so that her death does not seem to have much affected either the king or the people.

The remainder of this reign exhibited nothing but profligacy in the government, and discontent in both nations. In Scotland, the minds of the people were so much set against the changes introduced into the divine worship, and numbers forsook the churches, and frequented conventicles in the mountains and other secret places, where the religious service was conducted chiefly by laymen. In England, the public resentment was more justly directed against the political measures of the monarch, and the extravagance of his court, but particularly the overbearing arrogance of the king's special favourite, George Villiers, successively earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham. Amidst these various causes of domestic vexation and contention, the mind of James was disturbed by a circumstance which threatened to involve him in foreign war. The states of Bohemia having chosen Frederic, the elector palatine of the Rhine, to fill the vacant throne in opposition to Ferdinand of Austria, who claimed it by hereditary right; a general expectation prevailed among the Protestant powers, that the king of Great Britain would support the pretensions of his son-in-law. But James soon undeceived those who had formed such an erroneous idea of his character. He hated elective monarchy, as repugnant to his darling notion of the divine right of kings; and he resented the conduct of Frederic in accepting the proffered dignity without asking his consent; besides which, he had a natural aversion to war, and, to crown all, he was at this very time negotiating a marriage between prince Charles and the infanta of Spain. On all these accounts he turned a deaf ear to the call of honour and the voice of his subjects; in consequence of which the new monarch was not only driven out of his acquired dominion, but also lost his paternal estate, and became a pensioner of Holland. It would be uncharitable to suppose that king James was unmoved by the calamitous condition of his daughter and her family; but he cannot be cleared from the charge of having cruelly neglected to employ the ample means which he possessed, in defending their native rights, when unjustly attacked by the emperor. The spirit of the people was very different from that of the king; for while in Scotland, as well as in England, the most liberal grants were made to enable him to recover the Palatinate, the only use he made of the money, was to send ambassadors to negotiate at the imperial court, where they were treated with such contempt, that the very players were encouraged to ridicule the British monarch upon the stage. Yet so little sensible was he of the degradation to which he had exposed himself, that, on the contrary, he persevered in his exertions to bring about the matrimonial alliance with Spain; and at last consented to let the prince and Buckingham visit Madrid, for the purpose of hastening the union. They set out at the end of February, 1623, and, passing through France, reached the Spanish court in safety, on the 17th of March, but after remaining there nearly the whole of the summer without being able to accomplish the object of their journey, they returned by sea, and on the 5th of October landed at Portsmouth. Notwithstanding this, the negotiation went on till the particulars were communicated to the parliament, which met on the 19th of February, 1624, when a joint address was presented to the king by both houses, advising him to discontinue the treaty begun with Spain, as well for the restitution of the Palatinate, as for the marriage. At the same

time, they voted a subsidy for the prosecution of a war with Spain, the prospect of which rupture occasioned a general joy in London, and throughout the kingdom; but though the grant was large, only six thousand men were sent over to Holland, to serve under the command of the prince of Orange, who took an active part in favour of the elector palatine.

Meanwhile a negotiation was entered into for a marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. of France. But during the progress of the treaty, and while the dispensation from Rome was expected, king James was seized with a tertian ague, occasioned or increased by the grief he felt at the loss of two noble relatives, the duke of Lenox and Richmond, and the marquis of Hamilton. The former was found dead in his bed on the 10th of February, 1625, and before the king could recover from the shock produced by the intelligence, he was apprised of the dissolution of the marquis; on which he said, "If the branches are cut down, the stock cannot stand long after." The prediction proved true, for on Sunday, the 27th of March, about noon, he breathed his last, at the palace of Theobalds, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned over Scotland fifty-eight, and over England twenty-two years.

The character of this monarch has been variously drawn, according to the peculiar bias of the writers who have narrated the history of his reign. In his own time it was the fashion to compare him to Solomon for wisdom and moderation. But were we to credit modern authorities, his learning was mere pedantry, and he only wanted courage to have equalled any of his predecessors in tyranny. Between such opposite estimates, the truth perhaps may be found. That James was fond of displaying his acuteness as a dialectician and controvertist, is certain; but this must be ascribed to his education, and the age in which he lived. Yet were his talents far from being despicable; for some of his Latin verses, particularly those which he wrote at the observatory of Tycho Brahe, when he went to Denmark for his bride, evince both judgment and taste. Unfortunately, however, the literary as well as the moral reputation of the royal author has suffered by a strange admixture of opposite qualities; so that, if he gained credit by his *Basilicon Doron* and other works, he became ridiculous by his treatise on Demonology and his *Counterblast to Tobacco*. The love of peace, on which he prided himself, though it enriched his subjects, was no virtue in the king, who became an object of general contempt, by his want of spirit to resent the insults which he repeatedly received from the potentates with whom he was ambitious of forming an alliance. In his disposition he was generous; but his favours were ill bestowed, so that, instead of procuring respect by his liberality, he only incurred public reproach, and experienced the mortification of private ingratitude. The person of James was altogether clumsy, and his countenance exhibited a striking contrast to the beauty for which his parents were celebrated. Neither were these deficiencies in his external appearance atoned for by gracefulness of manners. On the contrary, he delighted in vulgar language and low familiarities, which created as much disgust among his subjects, as his political conduct rendered him contemptible in the estimation of foreign states. Notwithstanding these blemishes, James is entitled to considerable respect as a scholar, and a patron of learning; nor let it be forgotten, that if he was sometimes inclined to stretch the prerogative beyond its due bounds, his predecessor did the same to a much greater extent, without having the same excuse for her conduct. The difference between them lay in this, that Elizabeth secured the affection of the people, by making them believe that she consulted their wishes in every thing; while James acted as if he thought the popular opinion unworthy of his attention; in consequence of which he lost their regard.

CHARLES THE FIRST, *the hundredth and ninth King of Scotland, A. D. 1625.*

Upon the death of king James, his only surviving son, Charles prince of Wales, was proclaimed first at Theobalds, and next in London. He was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age; but though he had been educated by puritanical tutors, and was remarkable for the gravity of his temper, he soon evinced a marked dislike to the people of that persuasion, on which account he was made to feel their resentment at the very commencement of his reign. His marriage with the princess Henrietta Maria of France necessarily produced some relaxations of the penal statutes against the professors of the Romish religion: but though the indulgence was limited agreeable to the articles of the treaty between the two courts, the first step adopted by the parliament was to demand of the king the enforcement of the laws in all their rigour against popery. Ungracious as this requisition was at such a time, the young monarch took it in good part, and said, that he was very glad to see the zeal of the two houses for religion, and that he would readily concur with them in any reasonable plan to promote that object: but when the house of commons went farther, and proceeded to call Dr. Mountague, the king's chaplain, to their bar, for publishing a defence of the Arminian doctrine, his majesty felt offended, and considered it as an unwarrantable attack upon his prerogative.

As the nation had but just embarked in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, the king thought that it became the parliament, instead of agitating thorny points of theological controversy, to direct their primary attention to a concern which was of general interest, and of their own advising. They did indeed pass a vote for two subsidies; but the grant was inadequate to the purpose, and the exchequer was completely exhausted. Such was the unprosperous state of things, when, in consequence of the violence of the plague, then raging in the metropolis, the parliament adjourned to Oxford. On the 4th of August, the two houses having assembled in the great hall of Christ Church, were again reminded by the king of the necessity of his affairs, and the impossibility of prosecuting the war without ample supplies. The commons, however, on returning to their own house, instead of taking into consideration the matter for which they had been called together, resumed the subject of grievances, and particularly the toleration of popery. Upon this the king returned the petition which had before been sent to him, with distinct answers to the several points stated therein, and giving his pledge that he would exert himself to the utmost to remedy the evils of which they complained. It might have been expected after this, that the legislative and executive branches would have gone on in unison. But this was not the case. For the commons, regardless of the royal promise, came to a resolution that religion should have the first place in their debates, next the kingdom's safety, and lastly the supplies. In this spirit the popular party, who constituted the majority of the lower house, entered upon an inquiry into the conduct of the duke of Buckingham; upon which, the king, perceiving that he had no hopes of succeeding in his object, and that in fact all his measures for the campaign were completely broken by the predominant faction, came to the hasty determination of dissolving the parliament. The commons having some intimation of his design, immediately prepared and passed a declaration, in which after professing their unshaken loyalty, they asserted that their only aim was in a legal way to discover and reform the abuses and grievances of the realm and state, and to afford all necessary supply to his majesty, upon his present and other just occasions and designs.

It being now evident that no subsidies would be granted, Charles, who was unacquainted with the art of government, dissolved the parliament, which in the whole had not sat to do business above three weeks. Notwithstanding this, the preparations for the war went on, and the duke of Buckingham was sent to Holland to negotiate a league with that republic against Spain. In the mean time recourse was had to the expedient of a forced loan, for which purpose letters under the privy seal were directed to the Justices of the several counties, calling upon them for a return of the names of such

persons as were able and willing to furnish the king with money for his necessities. Though this measure was not without precedent, in the present instance it only tended to increase popular discontent, and was far enough from answering the end for which it was adopted. An armament indeed was equipped, and sailed at the beginning of October, with the intention of attacking the plate fleet in the bay of Cadiz; but after landing the troops, and plundering some villages, the whole were reimbarbed, and the ships returned to England. The failure of this expedition inflamed the people still more against the court; but their indignation was chiefly levelled at Buckingham, who was considered as the sole contriver and director of the disastrous project. The king being now wholly without money, and consequently unable to carry on the war, summoned another parliament to meet on the 6th of February; four days previous to which, the ceremony of the coronation was performed in Westminster Abbey. As soon as the new parliament assembled, it was obvious that the same spirit prevailed among the commons that had been displayed by their predecessors. Instead of proceeding immediately to a grant of supplies, they began to appoint committees for the examination of grievances, amongst which were reckoned the mis-carriage of the fleet, the retention of evil counsellors about the king, innovations in religion, and the misapplication of the subsidies which had been already voted for the recovery of the Palatinate. After much intreaty on the one side, and many remonstrances on the other, three subsidies were voted, the total amount of which did not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, a sum too contemptible either to annoy the enemy or to defend the nation.

While the commons were thus exposing their sovereign to the ridicule of foreign powers, they exerted their utmost efforts to weaken him at home. Accordingly, they commenced an impeachment of the duke of Buckingham, but on charges of such an equivocal description, that, if proved, they would hardly have justified the virulence with which he was pursued. Unfortunately for Charles, he made the cause of the favourite his own, and ventured to encounter the ill will of his subjects, rather than give up a minion who possessed no merit that entitled him to the royal protection and esteem. Had the king suffered the parliament to go on in their own way, or had the duke prudently retired from public life, the ardour of the commons would in all probability have abated, and the differences been compromised. But the obstinacy of the monarch, and the pride of Buckingham, produced fatal effects. During the heat of the contest, Digges and Eliot, the two most active and inveterate leaders of the prosecution, were arrested and sent to the Tower, on the charge of having uttered speeches derogatory to the royal person and dignity.

At the same time, an infringement of the privileges of the upper house was committed, in the arrest of the earl of Arundel for espousing his son to the daughter of the late duke of Lenox, which lady the king had intended to be the wife of lord Lorn, eldest son of the earl of Argyle. The peers upon this drew up a remonstrance, in which they asserted it as their indefeasable right, that none of their members should be imprisoned without their order, except for treason, felony, or breach of the public peace. The monarch upon this deemed it prudent to relax, and the earl of Arundel was liberated. Happy would it have been for Charles and the public tranquillity, had he descended a step or two lower, and effected, by conciliation, a union with the other branch of the legislature. But the breach with the commons was not so easily closed, where both sides appeared resolute; one in maintaining, and the other in encroaching upon, the prerogative. It was now obvious that the resistance of the king to the popular will only increased the strength and confidence of his opponents. The legal sources of supply being cut off, various methods were devised to raise the money necessary to meet the public expenditure. Among these, was the institution of a commission, enabling the Roman Catholics to purchase an exemption from penalties and forfeitures, not only of such as were already incurred, but such as might hereafter arise. This measure gave extraordinary offence to those zealots, who would have had the laws against popery rather multiplied than abated.

Another scheme was, that of laying an impost upon the several ports and maritime counties, under the pretext of providing a sufficient number of ships for the defence of the kingdom. Lastly, the privy council ordered a strict enforcement of the payment of tonnage and poundage, upon all articles of commerce throughout the kingdom. In addition to these exactions, another compulsory loan was demanded; and as the corporation of London refused to grant the required sum of one hundred thousand pounds, the city was ordered to equip twenty ships, or pay a sum equivalent to that purpose. While the executive government was employed in these vexatious proceedings, the king of Denmark, who had embarked in the war for the recovery of the palatinate, with a promise of assistance from England, was totally defeated by the imperial general count Tilly. Urgent application was in consequence made to Charles for a supply to assist his uncle, the Danish monarch, who, it was stated, must otherwise submit to such terms of peace as the emperor should dictate. In this exigency, the British cabinet, which was already sufficiently embarrassed, and driven to the utmost extremity, demanded a general loan from all subjects, accordingly as each had been assessed in the last subsidy. These expedients, however, failed to produce any favourable change in the state of affairs. On the contrary, the prospect of things abroad grew desperate; the people at home were universally dissatisfied; and to aggravate the evil, the king became suddenly embroiled in a dispute with France. The cause of this contest has never been clearly explained; but it is commonly attributed to the conduct of the queen's domestics, who behaved in such a manner, that they were all sent out of the kingdom. This provoked the resentment of the French court, and as a virulent animosity already subsisted between Richelieu and Buckingham, who directed the councils of the respective nations, a rupture ensued, and thus England, without the means of combating one enemy, was all at once engaged in a war with the three most formidable potentates in Europe. As the Huguenots, or Protestants, were now in arms throughout France, and particularly at Rochelle, which was closely besieged, it was resolved to send a fleet and an army, under the command of the duke of Buckingham, to their relief. The armament accordingly sailed; but the magistrates of Rochelle declined the proffered aid, from an apprehension, probably, that some sinister design was intended. Upon this disappointment, the duke directed his course against the Isle of Rhé, the garrison of which made such a defence, that the English were obliged to retire with great loss. Buckingham, conscious that he had rendered himself still more unpopular by this disgraceful enterprize, persuaded his master to call another parliament, thinking that the recommendation of such a measure would abate, in some degree, the public resentment. In the same spirit of conciliatory policy, the court thought proper to release the gentlemen who had been imprisoned for opposing the measures of government.

On the 17th of March, 1628, the parliament assembled, when the commons began, as before, with investigating the public abuses, or grievances, a statement of which they laid before the king, in firm, but respectful language. His majesty replied in more condescending terms than he had hitherto used; and thus there appeared a fair prospect of a restoration of that harmony, which had been so long desired by every well-wisher of his country. Still the spirit of jealousy was not allayed; and though this parliament seemed more inclined to meet the royal wishes than those which preceded it, the grant of supplies was withheld till the personal freedom of the subject was secured. For this purpose, the commons prepared a bill, in which, under the denomination of a Petition of Rights, they stated the recent violations of the ancient statutes of the realm, and required from the king a declaration that the proceedings therein explicitly detailed were repugnant to the laws, and should not hereafter be drawn into precedent. Having completed this important instrument, which was to serve as a new charter of public liberty, the framers of it called upon the lords for their concurrence in the measure. Such, however, was the influence of the king in the house of peers, that various expedients were suggested to prevent the progress of the petition, and to annul it altogether. But the commons were not to be diverted from their course. Though they readily promised to supply the wants of the state by liberal grants, the acceptance of the

petition, and an assent to the articles contained therein, was made an express condition for the passing of the subsidies. At length the lords and the sovereign finding resistance fruitless, and that no artifices could elude the vigilance of the patriotic party, yielded to necessity, and the petition of rights received the royal sanction in due form, as an act of parliament.

Great rejoicings took place upon this happy termination of the dispute; the subsidies were granted without farther impediment, and the session closed in apparent concord.

Rochelle being now vigorously pressed by the king of France, it was resolved to make an effort for its relief. Accordingly, a formidable armament was equipped at Portsmouth, the command of which was again given to the duke of Buckingham; but while preparing for embarkation, he was assassinated by a discontented lieutenant, named Felton, who gloried in the deed as a service rendered to his country; nor were there wanting persons to admire his conduct, and the fortitude which he displayed at his execution. This catastrophe did not hinder the departure of the fleet; but the French government had, in the mean time, taken such preparations, that the expedition returned without effecting any thing, and soon after the place was taken.

At the opening of the parliamentary session in January, 1628-9, the king strenuously urged the commons to take into consideration the subject of supply; particularly the bill for tonnage and poundage. But instead of devoting their attention to those matters which belonged to them, they began with inquiring into the state of religious opinions, and to complain of the progress of Arminianism. Under the influence of this fanatical spirit, they petitioned, or rather demanded, of the king to appoint a fast, for the purpose of intreating the divine favour towards the reformed churches. Charles, though he granted their request, could not help reproving them for their hypocrisy. He said, that the custom of fasting every session was an innovation of recent date; and that, as for the defence of the reformed churches abroad, he was of opinion that fighting would do them more good than fasting.

In yielding to the wish of the commons, Charles thought he should bring them to a compliable humour; but he was mistaken, for they were deaf to his reiterated demands, and refused to vote any supplies until they had purged the church of what they termed false doctrine and superstition. The king being thus driven to necessity, caused the officers of the revenue to exact the duties called tonnage and poundage, without the consent of parliament. This was the very thing which the refractory party wanted, and immediately they left off considering the subject of religion, to complain of the arbitrary conduct of the crown. Under these circumstances, the monarch first prorogued, and next dissolved the parliament. But when the speaker of the house of commons was about to quit the chair, in obedience to the royal authority, an uproar arose, and some of the more violent members forcibly held him in his seat, while the majority passed a protest, on the plea of religious and civil grievances. For this outrage, warrants were issued against the persons who had been most active in the business, and four of them were sent to the Tower.

In consequence of these internal differences, Charles was obliged to conclude a peace with France, which was soon followed by one with Spain. Being thus released from a disgraceful war, he turned his thoughts to the situation of his brother-in-law, the elector palatine. Accordingly, he despatched sir Robert Anstruther on an embassy to Vienna, for the purpose of prevailing with the emperor to restore the exiled prince to his hereditary estates. The imperial cabinet, however, acted so evasively, that it was evident no justice could be expected. On this the ambassador returned home, and Charles then entered into a secret negotiation with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had declared his intention of relieving the Protestants of Germany from the oppression under which they laboured. That prince was then in Poland, and engaged in besieging Warsaw; to which place the English monarch sent an envoy extraordinary with the order of the garter. At the same time, a commission was given to the marquis of Hamilton to raise six thousand men in Scotland, who were to act with the Swedish army. To support these demands, the duty on wines imported into Scotland was approp-



propriated; besides which, the king, by the advice of the attorney-general, revived an obsolete law, whereby all young persons of quality, who had not purchased a year landed estate, were required to take up the honour of knighthood. By these means, the marquis of Hamilton was enabled to embark with the troops, and a train of artillery, in July, 1631. These auxiliaries were the more acceptable to Gustavus, as they brought with them three hundred thousand dollars; but after displaying great courage, and penetrating into the palatinate, a pestilence broke out in the army, which so reduced its numbers, that the marquis returned home, and the death of the king of Sweden, in the battle of Lutzen, on the 6th of November, put an end to the expedition. The unfortunate elector was so affected by this loss, that at the close of the same month he died of grief, leaving his widow with a large family, to the protection of her brother, who sent over the earl of Arundel to conduct her to England; but she declined the invitation, and chose to remain in Holland.

For the first seven years of this reign, the Scottish history is extremely barren of incident; nothing of moment being recorded, except the attempts made by the ministers to procure the abolition of the articles of Perth, a which they failed. Finding, therefore, the king immoveably fixed in the same principles as his father, the Presbyterian clergy had recourse to other expedients for carrying their object. The temper of the times, and the ferment excited in England, favoured the designs of those zealous opponents of prelacy. They held frequent assemblies, and took incredible pains in preaching against ceremonies and forms of prayer; by which means the body of the people, especially in the western parts of the kingdom, became so infatuated as to think it lawful to oppose antichristian institutions by force, and that in such cases private persons were released from all obedience to the civil authority. Too many of the nobility gave encouragement to this dangerous doctrine, and promised the ministers to use their efforts for the suppression of episcopacy, not out of regard to religion, but to gain by the spoil.

Such was the state of the country, when Charles, at the beginning of 1633, deeming it expedient that he should be crowned king of Scotland, sent to the council at Edinburgh for the regalia, intending to have the ceremony solemnized at Westminster. In answer to this application, the nobles stated, that it was contrary to the laws and constitution of the realm, to suffer the crown of Scotland to be carried out of the kingdom; but that, if his majesty would be pleased to receive it in the seat of his ancestors, he should find his subjects of that nation as loyal as those of England. Upon this, the king resolved to visit Scotland, and, on the 18th of June, he was crowned with great splendour at Holyrood house; where, soon after, he called a parliament, which passed several acts without opposition or debate. As there was nothing which he had more at heart than the union of his kingdoms in the same form of worship, he directed his favourite divine, bishop Laud, to hold a conference with the Scottish prelates on the subject; the consequence of which was, that the latter received orders to prepare a liturgy and book of canon for the use of their church. Having thus, as he thought, laid the foundation of a perfect agreement in religious matters between the two nations, Charles left Edinburgh on the last day of August, and arrived in London about the middle of the following month. But though this journey afforded great pleasure to the king, he was soon undeceived in the confidence which he had formed of being able to reduce his dominions to the same order of religious worship. Immediately after his arrival in Scotland, the ministers prepared a memorial against the prelatical form of church government, which they intended to lay before the king and parliament. In the mean time, however, the instrument was privately delivered to the earl of Rothes, who laid it before the sovereign; when his majesty became so irritated at the boldness of the language, that he exclaimed, "No more of this, my lord, I command you." The earl then returned the memorial to the parties who had subscribed it, and upon consultation it was suppressed. Nothing more occurred on the subject, till the following year, when it was discovered that lord Baillie was not only concerned in framing the obnoxious petition, but that he was then privately engaged in promoting another to the same effect. On this, it was resolved to impeach him upon the old statute against leasing-making, or

the sowing of disaffection among the king's subjects. Pursuant to this law, he was found guilty, and received judgment of death; but the sentence was remitted. This imprudent prosecution, however, was productive of serious effects, for it alienated the minds of the people from the government, and created such jealousy among the nobles, that some of the leading families in the nation took the part of the violent Presbyterians against the bishops, under the impression, that they were the instigators of the impeachment. Another circumstance which occurred at this period, served to increase the spirit of opposition to the measures of the crown. This was the appointment of Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, to the office of chancellor, on the death of the earl of Kinnoul; which nomination, while it provoked the resentment of those who had aspired to that high dignity, seemed to confirm the prevailing idea, that all the places of public trust were about to be engrossed by ambitious and time-serving ecclesiastics. The disaffected ministers did not fail to profit by these incidents, which were so favourable to their cause; and thus episcopacy, which, with prudent management, and a separation from secular connexions, might have been quietly established, lost ground, and became odious to the body of the nation. Every man in an elevated station began to be apprehensive that his post would soon be filled by a priest; and the earl of Traquair, who held the office of high treasurer, being made to believe that Maxwell, bishop of Ross, was about to supplant him, encouraged the malcontents, while, in appearance, he seemed ardent in promoting the designs of the court. With this view he repaired to London, where he urged archbishop Laud to forward the completion of the liturgy and canons for the church of Scotland; telling him, that though the old prelates were timorous, no danger was to be feared from the people, and pledging his life to accomplish the great work of reformation without any disturbance. By these representations the treasurer obtained the king's warrant, commanding the Scottish bishops to proceed vigorously in the important business of bringing the two churches to a nearer conformity to each other in the form of worship as well as in ecclesiastical order. Having obtained this commission, with an injunction to see it duly enforced, the treasurer returned to Edinburgh, where he told the elder prelates, that if they were dilatory in the discharge of the trust reposed in them, their places would be given to men of a more active disposition. Under this imperative decision, the bishops hastened the compilation of the liturgy and canons, both of which differed in many respects from those of the church of England; the common prayer, in particular, being modelled chiefly upon the plan of the first liturgy framed by Cranmer, and the other reformers in the reign of Edward the Sixth. When the books were finished, and had been submitted to the archbishop of Canterbury and other English divines, for their revision, an act of council was issued enjoining the ministers of Edinburgh, to give notice in their respective churches, on the sixteenth of July, 1637, that the office of the common prayer would be read on the Lord's day following.

It was impossible that a measure of such a nature could pass without some counteracting proceedings on the part of the Presbyterians, adverse as they ever had been to a prescribed form of public devotion. While, therefore, the court was imposing this unpopular work upon the bishops of Scotland, their enemies were busily employed in spreading abroad the most mischievous reports, tending to excite a rebellion, not only in that country, but in England and Ireland. These scoundrels, and their active emissaries, gave it out every where, that there was a conspiracy formed between the prelates of the two kingdoms, to bring in the mass book, and that the trial was to be made at Edinburgh, after which the idolatrous service would be extended through every other part of the British dominions, to the destruction of the Protestant religion. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, on being made acquainted with the reports which prevailed, the credence they received, and the effects already produced among the people, wrote to the English primate, recommending a suspension of the liturgy till the minds of the people should be better prepared for its reception. This prudent advice was disregarded, through the artifices of Traquair, and the eagerness of the younger bishops, the one to ruin the hierarchy, and the other to please the court.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the bishop of Edinburgh, a number of privy counsellors, the lords of session, and the magistrates, went in procession to St. Giles's church, where a large congregation had already assembled. Among the multitude not a murmur was heard, till the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, opened the service book, and began to read the hortatory sentences of Scripture, when instantly an old woman, who was sitting near him, stood up, and cried aloud, "What the de'il does the false foon think to say his black mass at my lug?" Then, snatching up her stool, she threw it at the dean with such violence that he very narrowly escaped with his life. The uproar now became general, so that not a word could be heard; upon which the bishop mounted the pulpit to appease the tumult, but the fury of the people, instead of being allayed, increased, and was directed against the prelate, who was glad to descend, to avoid the shower of missiles that were aimed at his head. The attempt of the chancellor to restore order proving equally ineffectual, the guards were called, who, with some difficulty, succeeded in clearing the church of the rioters; after which the worship proceeded, though not without interruptions from the mob on the outside, battering the doors, breaking the windows, and keeping up a dreadful noise during the whole service. In returning from church, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities experienced similar treatment from the rabble; and the bishop of Edinburgh would have been murdered, had not the earl of Roxburgh taken him into his coach, and ordered his servants to keep off the mob with their swords. The reception of the liturgy was much the same in the other churches; but in most of them the ministers gave way to the people, and declined reading what they saw would only bring upon themselves the popular vengeance. On the following morning a meeting of the privy council was held, at which the magistrates attended, and professed their readiness to maintain order, and enforce obedience. After this, matters remained somewhat peaceable, till the harvest was over, and then such multitudes of all ranks flocked to Edinburgh, as gave room to suspect that an immediate insurrection was meditated. Nothing was heard in the streets but abuse of the liturgy, and denunciations against the bishops and conforming clergy. Upon this, the ecclesiastics, finding their lives in danger, and that the council, instead of affording them support, rather encouraged the disaffected party, despatched an express to the king, giving a full account of what had occurred, and humbly desiring advice and protection in their present difficulty. His majesty being highly offended at the conduct of his northern subjects, sent down a letter to the lords of the council, expressing his displeasure in strong terms at what had taken place, and charging them to appear more vigorous for the future in suppressing tumults. In the mean time, the refractory ministers and their adherents presented a petition to the council, praying, that the order for reading the liturgy might be suspended. The lords were accordingly summoned to attend a meeting for the consideration of this subject, and other ecclesiastical matters, but before the time of assembly, the king having received private information that the majority of the members favoured the dissenting party, sent down an injunction, prohibiting the council from meddling with ecclesiastical affairs, and ordering all strangers to depart from Edinburgh to their respective places of residence within twenty-four hours, on pain of being treated as rebels. When this proclamation was read at the high cross, it provoked the people to such a degree, that instead of obeying the mandate, they collected in great numbers, vowing vengeance upon the whole episcopal body, without exception. While the populace were collected in this infuriated state, the bishop of Glasgow happened to pass along the street, and, being recognized, was attacked with the utmost ferocity, for no other reason than that of being a prelate. He was fortunately rescued from his perilous condition by the officers of the city, who conveyed him safe into the council-house, which was instantly surrounded by the multitude, threatening vengeance upon the magistrates, if they did not promise to join in resisting the liturgy. Their demand was complied with, and then the mob dispersed. Similar outrages occurred in most of the other great towns of the kingdom, except Aberdeen; so that it was extremely dangerous for any episcopalian to continue in a place where the people

action prevailed. But their main strength was concentrated at Edinburgh, and though the royal proclamation interdicted all assemblies of the people here, the order was disregarded by the Presbyterian ministers, who held several congregations to consult about the most effectual means of getting rid of the liturgy, and abolishing the episcopal name and authority. The persons who confederated for these purposes assumed the appellation of supplicants, though there was more of arrogance than humility in their manner; and the whole course of their proceedings manifested a spirit the very reverse of Christian feeling. They stimulated the people to acts of violence, and upon being remonstrated with for employing the drags of human nature in the cause of Presbytery, they pleaded in justification, that this spirit in the people was as much the act of the Lord, as the enduing of Balaam's ass with the power of speech.

But the leaders of this opposition were as successful in gaining over to their side the higher classes of society, as in exciting the brutal passions of the vulgar and misinformed part of the community. Among others who joined the malcontents at this time, was the earl of Montrose, a nobleman of high character, and hitherto considered as being firmly attached to episcopacy. The Presbyterian party, relying upon their numbers and influence, now acted in open defiance to the royal authority, and held a public council at Edinburgh, the meeting of which they resolved should be permanent. In proportion as this faction acted with confidence, the proceedings of the king were marked by imbecility. Proclamations were issued interdicting all public convocations and private meetings; but these mandates were treated with such contempt, that immediately after, two extraordinary petitions were presented to the council of state, one from the men, women, children, and servants, of Edinburgh, against the service-book; and the other, from the nobility, gentry, ministers, and burghesses, to the same purport. After this, the privy council removed to Linlithgow, and next to Stirling, that it might be still farther from the seditious capital. Here another feeble proclamation was published, confirming the liturgy, and declaring, that all the measures adopted against it were treasonable. This, however, instead of reducing the people to obedience, roused them to rebellion. The earl of Home, lord Lindsay, and some others, published a protest against the royal decree, in which, after setting forth their pretended grievances, they declared open hostility to the liturgy and canons, the suppression of which was the object of their association.

Their next step was of a still more decided and alarming nature. A vast body of malcontents assembled in arms at Stirling, at the head of whom the confederated lords marched to Edinburgh, where the multitude disposed themselves into different classes, according to their ranks. These were called tables, each of which sent deputies to a select committee for the regulation of the general concern. From this deliberative assembly emanated the Solemn League and Covenant, consisting of a renunciation of popery, and a bond whereby the subscribers obliged themselves to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against opposition, for the glory of God, and the public advantage; the whole concluding with the most tremendous imprecations upon such as should desert the covenant. When this famous instrument was completed, the people were convened in the Gray Friar's church-yard to hear it read, upon which all ranks and conditions of each sex and every age, flocked to subscribe it, with as much eagerness as if it had been to get their names enrolled in the book of life. The original of the covenant, which is still preserved, is a large skin of parchment, four feet long, and three feet eight inches broad. It is so crowded with names on both sides, that there is not the smallest space left; and when there was no longer room for subscribing at length, the zealous adherents to the covenant filled the margin with their initials. After this, copies of the deed were transmitted to all the boroughs and presbyteries in the nation, for signatures; but though the covenant was received and subscribed with great joy in the southern and western parts, in the north, and particularly in the highlands, it experienced a strenuous opposition. On the whole, however, the public mind was raised to such a ferment by this contrivance, and the preaching of the covenanting

ministers, that the archbishop of St. Andrew's gave up the cause of episcopacy as lost, saying, "All that we have been doing for these thirty years, is now thrown down at once." Grieved at the calamity which he had seen, and endeavoured in vain to prevent, the venerable prelate hastened to London, where he died soon afterwards. Several other bishops, however, were so daunted by the violence of the triumphant party, followed the example of their primate, and sought refuge in England; so that none of the episcopate remained in Scotland, except Alexander Ramsay, bishop of Dunkeld; James Graham, bishop of Orkney; James Fairlie, bishop of Argyre; and John Guthrie, bishop of Murray; of whom the three former apostatized, renounced their episcopal function, but the latter continued firm, and refused excommunication, imprisonment, and various sufferings besides, rather than abandon his principles.

When the king was informed of what had taken place, he became alarmed, and immediately nominated the marquis of Hamilton his commissioner to treat with the malcontents. As soon as the leaders of the covenant became aware of this appointment, they exerted their utmost influence to prevent any accommodation. Their pulpits resounded with invectives against the court; and the terrors of the divine vengeance were held out to intimidate the people. Inflammatory resolutions were circulated throughout the kingdom, binding the clergy and laity, under a desperate vow; to maintain the covenant, and to defend it by the sword; in the same spirit new committees were elected, military weapons were provided; and, in Edinburgh, all communication between the castle and the city was cut off by the armed populace, whose numbers now amounted to upwards of sixty thousand.

Such was the arrogance of the covenanters, that on the approach of the king's commissioner, they prohibited all their adherents from paying him any respect. In his way from Dalkeith to Holyrood house, however, he was met by the ministers and an immense multitude, who were drawn up for the purpose of making an ostentatious display of their force. As the marquis passed along, a preacher, named William Livingston, offered to entertain him with a speech; but he knowing what kind of matter the harangues of these sects consisted of, declined the compliment. On coming to the palace, the marquis received a deputation from the covenanters; to whom he tendered his propositions, which were, "to be informed what they expected from the king in satisfaction for their complaints; secondly, that on their side they should return to their obedience, and renounce the covenant." To these terms they replied, "that all they demanded from the king was, to convene a general assembly and parliament;—that as to what was required of them it was absurd to call upon people to return to their obedience, who had never departed from it;—and that in regard to the covenant, they would never renounce their baptism than give up one syllable of it." They even went further, and demanded of the commissioner to subscribe the covenant himself, telling him, "with what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of God's people; what revolutions, and beginnings of reformation of manners, were sensibly perceived in all parts of the nation, beyond what had ever before been experienced, or could have been expected; and what consideration they had, that God would, in consequence of it, make Scotland a blessed kingdom."

Of the improvement produced in the manners of the people by the covenant, the marquis had sufficient evidence in the declaration which he received, that if he suffered the English liturgy to be read in the chapel royal during his stay, the officiating clergyman should infallibly be put to death. Finding that it was in vain to negotiate with a faction so regardless of every sentiment of honour and humanity, the marquis returned to London for fresh instructions upon which he was sent back to Edinburgh, where he informed the court that he had obtained his majesty's warrant to convene both a parliament and an assembly, provided the covenanters would agree to some concessions of a moderate nature on their part. Instead, however, of complying with the requisition, or attending to healing counsels, the faction made new demands and behaved with such insolence, that the marquis once more quitted the kingdom, without having furthered, in any degree, the object of his mission.

as soon as the commissioner left Edinburgh, the covenanters published a declaration, containing, what they termed, "Reasons for the Church's power to call and hold assemblies without the magistrate's authority, in case he denied the same." Thus the mask being thrown off, the king was given to understand that his jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs was at an end. Under these embarrassing circumstances, Charles, in order to get rid of the covenant, proposed substituting in its place the national contract entered into in the year 1680, when his father, and the estates of the realm, made a solemn renunciation of popery. As an inducement to bring the predominant party into a compliance, a royal proclamation was issued, discharging the liturgy, anons, and high commission. At the same time, a general assembly and parliament were summoned, the former to meet at Glasgow, on the 24th of November, 1638, and the latter on the 15th of May, in the following year.

By these concessions, the sovereign yielded in effect every thing to the covenanters, who treated the proposed compromise with contempt, and even protested against the proclamation for not being sufficiently explicit. In the mean time, they took care to manage the election of members for the ensuing assembly, in such a manner as to secure an overpowering majority in their favour. According to the existing law, the bishops were entitled to a seat in the council; but the faction contrived to get rid of the whole body, by accusing them of the most horrible crimes, the very recital of which shewed the falsity of the charges, and the villany of the calumniators. This infamous libel was ordered to be read in all the churches immediately after the communion; notwithstanding which mockery of religion, when the assembly met, where an inquiry ought to have been instituted, not the least notice was taken of the matter, nor was any attempt ever made by the party to prove that they had advanced, so that it was evident they had no other motive for stigmatizing the episcopal order, than to exclude them from their seats, where they might both vindicate their rights and their characters. But not content with defaming their superiors, the hypocrites set up a prophetess, for the purpose of deceiving the people. The instrument chosen for this pious fraud was a young woman named Mitchelson, the daughter of a minister, and such an enthusiastic admirer of the covenant, that she said it was ratified in heaven, and that the one proposed by the king was the work of the devil. She never mentioned the Redeemer under any other appellation than that of the Covenanting Jesus; and when the fits of inspiration came upon her, she was surrounded by multitudes of all ranks, eager to catch the oracles of truth from her mouth. Her ravings were regarded as divine revelations; and when Rollock, the minister of the collegiate church, was desired to pray with her, he answered, "that he durst not, for it would be ill manners in him to speak while his master, Christ, was speaking in her."

At the time appointed, the assembly met at Glasgow, where a vast concourse of people, and almost all the nobility, were present. Something like order, decorum, and impartiality, might have been expected in a body made up of men professing to be guided by the love of truth and righteousness. But the case was otherwise, for all propriety of behaviour was set at defiance; and as the covenanters were determined to carry every thing their own way, the commissioner suddenly dissolved the meeting by proclamation, and interdicted the members from sitting, under penalty of high treason. In despite of the royal authority, however, the party continued to meet daily for several weeks, and were joined by the earl of Argyll, whose example was followed by several others of the principal nobility. They now proceeded to annul all acts of assembly passed since the accession of king James to the throne of England, although many of them had been confirmed by parliament. Afterwards they pronounced sentence of deprivation against the bishops, condemned the articles of Perth, proscribed the liturgy and canons, and ordered every person, of what condition soever, to subscribe the covenant, under pain of excommunication.

Having carried these objects, they broke up on the 20th of December; and two months afterwards, a meeting, assuming the name of a parliament, was held at Edinburgh, where the opinion of some lawyers and divines was consulted, concerning the lawfulness of taking up arms in their own defence, which was de-

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

d in the affirmative. War being thus resolved upon, David Lesley, lately commanded with reputation in Germany, was appointed general of the army. He began his operations by investing the castle of Edinburgh, being unprovided with an adequate garrison and provisions, surrendered immediately. This capture was followed by that of Dalkeith, where a quantity of military stores was taken. In the next place, it was resolved to fortify a fortification at Leith; and such was the ardour of zeal manifested by the people, that an incredible number of volunteers, among whom were many women, engaged in the work, considering themselves as highly favoured in contributing to so pious a cause. The covenant, in fact, operated as a charm on the population, and every fourth man throughout Scotland was enlisted to bear arms. Still there was a great difficulty in raising money for the object. In the first place, the party prevailed on a wealthy merchant, Dick, to advance them twenty thousand pounds; after which, they tried his vanity by making him lord provost of Edinburgh; but the loss of him his whole estate, and he died a beggar. They next called upon any person to bring in his plate, for which he received a bond from the king; but this demand was not well relished by the people, till the preacher, who the covenant prevailed upon their female adherents to recommend as sure, and then it was generally adopted. When the Covenanters appeared in rebellion, the marquis of Huntley repaired to Aberdeen, at the desire of the king. Lesley being apprised of this movement, immediately marched the earl of Montrose against the royalists; and that nobleman acted with such promptitude, that the marquis of Huntley was taken unprepared, and, with his eldest son, sent to the castle of Edinburgh. The king, hearing that the covenanters were in arms, caused a fleet of twenty ships of war to be equipped, with five thousand troops, under the command of the marquis of Hamilton, who was ordered to land at Leith. On the 21st of May, a squadron arrived in the Forth, but instead of reducing the rebels by force, a treaty was suddenly concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the castle of Edinburgh, and every other fortress, should be restored to the king, who, on his side, pledged himself to call an assembly and a parliament in the month of August. Pursuant to this agreement, the two armies were disbanded, and the prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh obtained their liberty.

At the time appointed, the general assembly met, and passed two acts condemning episcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and other in confirmation of the covenant, which was ordained to be subscribed by all the subjects in the realm. The first thing done by the parliament, was to ratify these acts. This encouraged the covenanters to propose innovations in the civil constitution; which were resisted by the earl of Glamis and Montrose, the former of whom, as the king's commissioner, was sent to the parliament. This inflamed the faction to such a degree, that they refused obedience; and when the mandate of prorogation was repeated, they continued to sit, in defiance of the royal authority. The covenanters were prepared for a renewal of the war; and though they pretended such extraordinary zeal against popery, they made no scruple of soliciting the aid of France, and to further their cause, they even entered into a correspondence with cardinal Richelieu. One of these letters, being intercepted and communicated by Charles to the English parliament, which, under the name of necessity, he had been induced to call, at the beginning of the year 1640; but though a promise was given, that the king should be used against the Scottish rebels, it soon appeared that no dependence was to be put upon the declaration, for when urged to grant supplies, the king refused, and a dissolution took place.

In the mean time, it being discovered that the earl of London had written a letter to the French government, he was apprehended, and sent to prison; on which, the covenanters held a general meeting, and appointed a committee to collect his forces. The parliament of Scotland having assembled in opposition to the writ of prorogation, began with summoning Ruthven,

governor of the castle of Edinburgh, to surrender that fortress; and on his refusal, an act of forfeiture was passed against him. Two committees of the estates were also appointed; one to sit in the capital, for the transaction of civil affairs, and the other to attend the camp for the direction of military operations. The covenanters having raised a considerable force, now crossed the Tweed; but on passing the borders, they issued a declaration, protesting that no injury was intended to the English nation, nor any diminution of the king's honour or power.

Notwithstanding this, they directed their course towards Newcastle, which they knew contained a magazine of stores and provisions. In their progress they encountered a body of the royal troops, commanded by lord Conway, who, after a short conflict, abandoned the field, and thus the invaders completely succeeded in their object; after which they made themselves masters of Durham, where, and in the neighbourhood, they levied heavy contributions upon the peaceable inhabitants. While committing these robberies, the rebels blessed the Lord for showering down such abundant treasures upon them; and so confident were they of success, that the most zealous among them boasted they would carry the triumphant banners of the covenant to Rome itself.

The king was at Northallerton, with the main body of his army, when Newcastle was taken; but instead of proceeding against the enemy, he retired to York, where he received a memorial from the covenanters, demanding a ratification of all the acts of the general assembly and parliament. In answer to his supplication, as it was termed, Charles caused his secretary to inform him, that he proposed calling a council of the peers, and in the mean time desired a more categorical statement of their complaints and claims. They accordingly sent a long catalogue of grievances, which was accompanied by another memorial from several English lords and gentry, desiring the king to convene a parliament for the restoration of harmony between the two nations. This coincidence surprised the monarch, but it proved, what he must have seen long before, that the disaffected in Scotland acted in perfect correspondence with those of England, and that the object of both was to reduce the crown to a state of inefficiency. However, the request was complied with by Charles, who appointed commissioners to treat with the covenanters at Rippon, where cessation of arms was agreed upon until the 16th of December, and that, meanwhile, the Scotch army should be allowed the sum of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day, to be paid weekly.

On the 3d of November, the English parliament met, and the further consideration of the treaty was, in consequence, adjourned to London. Here the negotiation stood still, for the house of commons was too busily engaged in prosecuting the earl of Strafford, archbishop Laud, and other great men, to concern themselves with the differences between the king and his northern subjects. The Scottish army, however, had no reason to complain, for the parliament borrowed, at the very beginning of the session, one hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, on purpose to satisfy their brethren of the covenant; and in less than three months afterwards, a vote was passed for a further grant of three hundred thousand pounds to the party in Scotland.

On the 14th of January, 1641, the committee of estates reassembled at Edinburgh; but it soon appeared that a schism had broke out among the nobility who had hitherto adhered to the covenant. The conduct of the earl of Argyll created him many enemies, and the rigid spirit of the ministers was very disgusting to men of liberal principles. Some of the lords, therefore, at the head of whom was the earl of Montrose, formed a bond of association, the object of which was, to oppose the overbearing designs of the prevailing faction. This combination, however, was discovered, and the heads of it would have suffered death, had not Argyll, who dreaded the vengeance of their partisans, interposed to save their lives. John Stewart, commissary of Dunkeld, was not so fortunate, for having imprudently divulged some of the seditious speeches of the earl of Argyll, particularly one respecting a design to depose the king, he received judgment of death for defamation, and was beheaded at the high cross of Edinburgh.

About the same time, the earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, and some others



were committed to the castle for conspiring against Argyle, and though, when the king came to Edinburgh, on the 16th of August, they applied for their liberation, an order was issued to continue them in prison. So infatuated was Charles at this period, that he gave up almost every branch of his prerogative to the parliament of Scotland, retaining only to himself an empty title and the shadow of sovereignty. The nomination of the privy council was no longer to be the act of the king, but of the parliament, in whom also was vested the power of appointing the lords of the session. This assembly proceeded in the next place to erect a new court of judicature, the members which bore the name of conservators of the peace; their employment was to regulate all things for the welfare of the kingdom. Besides assenting to these innovations, and those before made in regard to religion, Charles conferred titles of honour, and places of trust, upon the very persons who had manifested the most virulent enmity to his person, and contempt of his authority. The earl of Argyle, the avowed opponent of the king, was created a marquis; Lesley, who had headed the rebel army, was made earl of Leven, and keeper of the castle of Edinburgh; while Alexander Henderson, the great oracle of the covenanters, and preacher of sedition, was rewarded with the revenues of the chapel royal; and all the professorships in the universities were filled by persons of the same party, with large stipends out of the episcopal estates.

During the visit of the king to his northern capital, an express arrived with the information that a rebellion had broken out in Ireland: upon which the parliament of Scotland offered to raise an army to be sent over to that country, provided the same should be supported by England. This motion being approved, commissioners were nominated to go to London, for the purpose of treating with the English parliament on the conditions for carrying it into effect. On the 17th of November, the parliament of Scotland broke up, with many complimentary addresses to the king, for having given them full satisfaction in all things concerning religion and liberty. Charles, on his part, appeared equally pleased, and after entertaining the nobility splendidly, he set out for London, where he arrived on the 25th, and was welcomed here with a magnificent feast by the corporation.

But whatever pleasure this parade might afford the king, it was somewhat damped by the differences which broke out between him and the English parliament. During his stay in Scotland, he discovered that a tremendous correspondence had been carried on between certain persons, five of whom were members of the house of commons, and the covenanters. On his return, therefore, he ordered the parties, who were thus implicated, to be apprehended; in consequence of which, the house resolved, that if an attempt was made to seize any of their members or their papers, they should stand on their defence. Undismayed by this menace, Charles went in person to the house, where he demanded the five members to be delivered up; but they were not present, and as soon as the king retired, a vote was passed, declaring his conduct in coming there a breach of privilege. This was the signal for a civil war; the mob arose, and carried the obnoxious members in triumph to their seats, for which they received the thanks of the commons, who at the same time mustered a military force as a guard of security. Upon this the king removed to Windsor, from whence he sent conciliatory messages to the house, which, however, were treated with contempt.

Meanwhile the Scottish commissioners in London sent notice to the committee at Edinburgh, that they had agreed to furnish England with an army of ten thousand men, for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, whose force was to be supported by the parliament. The troops were accordingly raised, and the command given to the earl of Leven; but only two thousand five hundred were actually employed on that service. As the king was charged with having authorized the Irish Catholics to take up arms, he offered to refute the calumny by going against them in person; but his proposition was rejected by the house of commons, the zealots of that assembly being unwilling that he should do any thing to gratify the people. During these divisions in England, the committee at Edinburgh sent the chancellor to wait upon the king, who was then at York, tendering their mediation for the accommodation of mat-

ters between him and the parliament. But Charles knowing that those very commissioners kept up a secret correspondence with his enemies, ordered the chancellor to return, and convene a council of the nobility for the consideration of public affairs. The council accordingly met on the 25th of May, when two supplications were presented, one by the covenanters, demanding that nothing should be transacted prejudicial to the great work of reformation going on in the two nations; and the other of an opposite tendency, from some of the nobility, pleading for the independence of the kingdom, and the rights of the sovereign against foreign influence. The first of these was favourably received, but the nobles who tendered the latter were sharply reprimanded as disturbers of the public peace. Charles having received information of the temper of the council, sent down the marquis of Hamilton to interpose his good offices for the preservation of tranquillity. On his arrival, the marquis held some conferences with Argyll and others of the covenanters; but his conduct excited such suspicion among the royalists, that they communicated their fears to his majesty, though without being able to shake his confidence in the fidelity of Hamilton, who was soon after created a duke.

In the month of July, the general assembly met at Aberdeen, where the earl of Dunfermling, the royal commissioner, presented a letter from the king, intreating the ministers, by their doctrine and example, to recommend peace and obedience to his subjects. At the same time the assembly received the copy of a declaration published by the English parliament, signifying their intention to abolish episcopacy and superstition. This declaration was accompanied by a letter from the puritanical clergy of England, soliciting the co-operation of their dear brethren in Scotland, in the great work in which they were engaged. Upon this, debates arose about the answers to be returned to the different applications; when it was resolved that the king's message should be dismissed generally, and that affectionate letters of concurrence, with a promise of assistance, should be transmitted to the English parliament and ministers. It was also moved and carried, that a committee should sit permanently at Edinburgh, for the purpose of corresponding with the reformers of England. Having come to this conclusion, by which they violated their bond of allegiance, and all the promises of fidelity they had spontaneously made to their sovereign, the assembly adjourned on the 6th of August till the first Wednesday of the same month in the following year.

At the time when the Scots made a common cause with the English parliament, the latter was in open rebellion against the very king to whom the former professed obedience. Having raised forces in London, by their own authority, to the amount of twelve thousand men, the two houses ordered the lieutenants of the several counties to muster the militia, after which they voted, that all who took up arms for his majesty, or assisted him in enlisting soldiers, were guilty of treason. This usurpation of the royal prerogative, in its most efficient part, was immediately followed by a suitable declaration, that the sovereign power was lodged in both houses, and that the king had not so much as a negative upon their resolutions. The breach being now irreparable, an appeal to the sword became unavoidable. Accordingly, on the 22d of August, the king set up the royal standard at Nottingham; while the parliament appointed the earl of Essex commander-in-chief of their forces. After the battle of Edgehill, in which both sides claimed the victory, the English parliament sent another declaration to the standing committee at Edinburgh, representing the danger of religion, and calling upon the brethren of Scotland for their assistance in the common cause. The king having notice of his communication, sent the earl of Lanerok, with a letter to the privy council, in opposition to the parliamentary libel. By a plurality of votes, it was ordered, that the royal appeal should be printed; whereupon the marquis of Argyll, and his adherents, summoned the zealous covenanters of the western counties to Edinburgh, to consult upon the proper measures to be pursued. Accordingly, in January, 1643, the conservators of peace and the committee of the general assembly met together in the capital. They began with demanding of the council a reason for their printing the king's letter; while at the same time, they, of their own authority, published the declaration of the parliament. The royal party upon this petitioned the council to suppress the

declaration, but this was refused, and the committee of the assembly then sent copies of the letter to all the presbyteries of the kingdom, with orders to the ministers to read it in their pulpits, and explain it to their congregations.

The earl of Montrose being now convinced that the Covenanters were aiming at the subversion of monarchy, resolved to leave them, and support the king; but in the mean time he requested a conference with Henderson from whom he expected to obtain certain information of the private views of the party. The preacher very readily complied with his desire, and freely told the earl, that it was determined to send as strong an army as could be raised to join the brethren in England; that the Covenanters of both nations had unanimously agreed, either to die, or bring the king to their terms; that nothing could be of greater advantage to his lordship, than to continue firm to the cause; and that his example would have a great effect upon those who idolized the empty shadow of royalty. This zealous divine added, "but for his own part he would give most hearty thanks to his Lord God, if he vouchsafed to make him the minister and mediator of so great a work."

The earl having thus gained the knowledge which he sought, imparted the particulars of what Henderson had said to some of his friends, who joined him in drawing up a letter to the king, informing him of the designs of the Covenanters. His majesty, however, could not be brought to believe what was obvious to the rest of the world; and he had even such confidence in the hollow promises of those men, as to slight every remonstrance, until he received notice that an army was actually prepared in Scotland, amounting to eighteen thousand foot and two thousand horse.

Hamilton was at this time in Scotland, with his brother the earl of Lanrick, and they by the king's orders attended the parliament, which had been called by the Covenanters without the royal authority. Other noblemen, who were attached to the monarchy, received similar instructions to be present, for the purpose of outvoting the faction; but Montrose and his associates refused to appear, without a promise from Hamilton, "that, in case they could not bring the parliament to reasonable terms, he would endeavour to convert them by the sword." To this the duke answered equivocally, that he had no commission from the king to fight; upon which the earl of Montrose retired to his own house. By this difference, the Covenanters gained a majority in the parliament of above seventy voices; the consequence of which was, that they wholly laid aside the royal authority, and ratified the solemn league and covenant, which all men by proclamation were required to subscribe, and, such as were able, to be in readiness to march whenever called upon, at twenty-four hours notice. Meanwhile the Lord Maitland and Alexander Henderson proceeded to London, to get the covenant subscribed by the parliament there, which was cheerfully complied with; and at the same time the further sum of fifty thousand pounds was voted to the committee at Edinburgh, to carry on their work. The king now finding that the earl of Montrose had given a true account, created him a marquis, and granted him a commission to raise forces in Scotland for his service. The earl of Antrim was also advanced to the same dignity, and sent to Ireland to promote the royal cause in that kingdom. Montrose now took leave of the king, and proceeded to Scotland, where he held several meetings with such noblemen and gentlemen as were attached to the royal cause, and who readily promised to appear in arms with their followers whenever called upon to take the field. About the same time the duke of Hamilton repaired to the king at Oxford, but met with a very ungracious reception, being sent prisoner first to Bristol, next to Exeter, and last to Pendennis castle in Cornwall. At the beginning of 1644, the citizens of Edinburgh, who had been so forward in plunging their country into a civil war, were made to feel the pressure of the evil, by the imposition of an excise on their goods, for the maintenance of the army. This measure was unpopular, that the people rose in a mass, and surrounded the house where the committee sat, which they threatened to destroy, and those who were unable to escape the tax was repealed. To appease the multitude, the committee yielded, but soon afterwards the ministers took up the cause, and preached so earnestly on the obligation which all orders of men were under to support the covenant, that the inhabitants submitted to the impost without murmuring.

The royal standard being hoisted by the marquis of Huntley, he was not only joined by a number of his own vassals and tenants, but by several of his neighbours. Upon this, a convention of the estates put in force the sentence of excommunication against the marquis and his adherents; and at the same time the earl of Argyle was despatched, to reduce him by force. On the approach of the Covenanters, Huntley disbanded his followers precipitately, and fled for shelter to the house of lord Rae. This pusillanimous conduct gave great offence to some of his associates, particularly the laird of Haddo, who being well supported by captain Logie, kept a few of the soldiers together, and bravely defended his castle for a considerable time; but at last Argyle gained an entrance by a stratagem, and sent the gallant owner of the mansion, and his friend, prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were executed. On the 13th of April, Montrose, with a small party of horse and foot, entered Scotland from Carlisle, and soon after raised the king's standard at Dumfries, intending to wait there for the coming of the earl of Antrim with the Irish forces. The Covenanters on being apprised of this invasion, immediately mustered an army of five thousand men, the command of which was given to the earl of Callander; but Montrose finding his own force inadequate, and not to be depended upon, made a sudden retreat to Carlisle. He did not, however, remain inactive at that place, for learning that the enemy had collected a store of provisions at Morveneth, to supply their besieging army before Newcastle, he came upon the town with such rapidity, that the rebels were defeated, and the whole magazine proved a seasonable relief to the royal garrison.

The city of York being closely invested by Lesley, Manchester, and Fairfax, an army was sent by the king to its relief. This force was commanded by prince Rupert, on whose approach the confederated generals broke up their camp and retired to Marston Moor, followed by his highness, who gave them battle; and at the first onset put Manchester and Fairfax to the rout, but Cromwell and the younger Lesley coming up with fresh forces, turned the scale, and the royalists were defeated with great slaughter. This unfortunate affair proved very disastrous in its consequences, for the city of York surrendered immediately; and Montrose, who was upon his march to join the prince, returned to Scotland. By this time the Covenanters at Edinburgh having called a parliament without any authority, appointed the earl of Lauderdale president, and caused several of their prisoners to be put to death as rebels. Montrose, on receiving notice that fifteen hundred Irish soldiers, sent by the marquis of Antrim, had landed under the command of Alexander Macdonald, proceeded immediately to raise another army; in which he met with much success, that within a few days he found himself at the head of about three thousand men. Against this force the Covenanters marched, under the earl of Elcho; but though double the number of the royalists, they were totally defeated at Tipper-Moor, on the first of September. After this victory the town of Perth surrendered to the marquis, who hastened to Dundee, of which town he also gained possession. From thence he marched towards Aberdeen, which place he also entered in triumph, after routing another army of the Covenanters with great slaughter. By these exploits he struck much terror into his opponents, that the marquis of Argyle and the earl of Lothian gave up their commissions. Upon this the committee at Edinburgh appointed sir John Urry to the command of their forces. Argyle then resumed his courage, and gave orders for raising his highlanders to join Urry; but when he heard that Montrose was advancing, he again disbanded his followers, and took refuge at Dumbarton. In January 1645, the parliament of Scotland met, and pronounced judgment of degradation against Montrose and the earl of Kirky, with the forfeiture of their estates. At the same time the general assembly held a session, and gave their public approbation to a book written by Samuel Rutherford, entitled "Lex Rex," in which King Jesus was set in opposition to king Charles, and it was maintained that pastors, as being the ambassadors of Christ, were superior to earthly sovereigns, and might in cases of emergency release subjects from their allegiance. Montrose being now in the shire of Murray, and understanding that two bodies of the Covenanters were advancing against him in different directions, one under the command of sir John Urry, and the other led by the marquis of Argyle, de-

terminated to anticipate the latter, with whom he came up near Inverness on the second of February, and put his forces completely to the rout. After this success the victor marched to Elgin, where he was joined by lord Gordon, and several other chiefs; with whom he proceeded against Urry, and defeated him on the fourth of May, at a place called Old Eara, in Moray. These triumphs of the royal arms in Scotland threw the Covenanters into great confusion; and alienated many of their partisans from the cause, among whom were some ministers, who, in consequence, fell under the censure of the assembly, and were deposed. The confidence of the faction, however, which had been so much depressed by the victories of Montrose, was revived by the intelligence of the fatal battle of Naseby, fought on the fourteenth of June, and which quite ruined the king's cause in England. The covenanting assembly were so elated by this event, that they celebrated it with a public thanksgiving, and all the outward demonstrations of joy. But in the midst of this hilarity, the faction sustained another mortification, for having raised a new army to crush the intrepid Montrose, they intrusted the command to another Baillie, who came up with the royalists at Alford on the second of July, where a sanguinary action ensued, which ended in the total rout of the Covenanters. The slaughter on the other side was also great; and among those who fell in the king's cause, was lord Gordon, whose death was very much lamented. Alarmed by this new victory, the parliament which, on account of a pestilential fever raging at Edinburgh, had removed to Perth, issued a proclamation commanding all noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors, to be in readiness to march with a force of at least ten thousand men. Montrose upon this removed to Dunkeld, where he waited the coming of the Gordons, and when joined by them, he returned to the south, and pitched his camp near Killalyth. The Covenanters having notice of his advance, hastened on the 15th of August to give him battle; but the marquis, according to his usual mode, attacked them before they could form in order, and the shock threw them into such confusion, that, after losing a great number of men, the main body dispersed in all directions. The magistrates of Glasgow, in consequence of this victory, sent to invite the marquis of Montrose into their city, where he asked pardon for their former disloyalty, and made great promises of fidelity. Their example was followed by several other corporations, all of whom endeavoured to excuse their past conduct, by throwing the blame on the ministers. The marquis received their acknowledgments in good part, and assured them of his protection; in which he acted with more lenity than his opponents, who inflicted summary vengeance upon all of the rebel party that fell into their hands. As there were several persons of distinction then lying in prison at Edinburgh under sentence of death, for no other cause than their attachment to the king; Montrose lost no time in despatching a force for their release, which was accomplished. The Covenanters were now struck with such terror, that the principal leaders gave up their commissions, among whom were the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, while Argyle with some others removed to Berwick to wait the issue; and several chieftains quitted the republican standard, and tendered their services to the marquis, who received them gladly. At this time the king sent to Robert Spotswood with a commission, appointing Montrose captain general of Scotland, and empowering him to call parliaments, and confer the honour of knighthood. In pursuance of this authority, a parliament was summoned by proclamation, to meet at Glasgow on the 20th of October: upon which the leaders of the Covenanters who had gone to Berwick, urged Lewis to return home immediately with the Scottish cavalry; and at the same time they sent private notice to all of their party, to exert themselves in raising new forces for the prevention of the meeting, and the suppression of royalists. Such, however, was the treachery of the rebels, that while engaged in preparing the means of destroying Montrose, they entered into a negotiation with him, congratulated him on his success, and offered to unite their forces to his for the service of the king. The marquis, deceived by these hypocritical professions, signified his intention of marching to the south, for the purpose of joining Argyle, and the rest of the penitent Covenanters. In this sudden change in those men appeared so suspicious to the friends of

Montrose, that most of them refused to leave the highlands; so that when he reached Bothwell, he had little more than one thousand horse and foot under his command. With this reduced force, however, he resolved to proceed; till the discovery of the base designs of his enemies, who were now joined by Lesley, obliged him to retrace his steps. The Covenanters being on the alert, soon followed him, and with such alacrity, that they forced him to an engagement at Philiphaugh, on the 13th of September, when, after a brave resistance against a vast superiority of numbers, he was completely defeated, and sought his safety in flight.

Lesley having gained this victory, marched to Edinburgh, and conveyed the committee of estates from thence to Glasgow; where they sat several days in deliberation on the course to be pursued, to improve the advantage which had been gained. They also voted a large reward to their general, but stained their character by causing a number of their prisoners to be put to death in cold blood. Among these sufferers for loyalty, were sir William Rollo, Alexander Ogilvy, the head of a respectable family, and sir Philip Nisbet, a youth not eighteen years old. Notwithstanding this disaster, the spirit of Montrose remained undaunted, and on regaining the highlands he began to collect fresh forces; with whom he marched for Glasgow, as well to avenge the blood that had been shed by the Covenanters, as to hold the parliament which he had summoned to meet there on the 20th of October. On his arrival before the city, however, he found it occupied by the enemy, who, though greatly superior in number, declined an engagement; so that, after waiting several days without being able to draw them forth, he retired to the north, and there took up his quarters for the winter.

In the mean time, the opposite party held a public convention at St. Andrew's, for the trial of the prisoners taken by Lesley in the battle of Philiphaugh, when sir Robert Spotswood, Mr. William Murray, brother of the earl of Tullibardin, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Mr Andrew Guthrie, son of the bishop of Murray, were privately executed. The earl of Hartfield and lord Ogilvy were also condemned, and ordered for execution; but the former obtained grace through the interest of the marquis of Argyll, and the latter escaped from the castle in his sister's clothes.

At the beginning of 1646, the Covenanters, whose avarice equalled their cruelty, were mortified by the information, that the English parliament refused to keep the Scotch army any longer in pay. At the same time, it was signified that the sums which had been already advanced on that account amounted to a full compensation for the services they had rendered to the common cause. This treatment stirred up the wrath of the northern brethren, and they resolved upon an expedient, either to bring the English republicans to a compliance with their terms, or to oppose them by force of arms. For this purpose, they began to hold out favourable overtures to the king, and at the same time sent Argyll to Ireland, to bring over the Scotch forces from thence, that they might make a formidable appearance. Meanwhile, Montrose marched with a small, but loyal band, into the shire of Ross, where being joined by several heads of clans, a bond of association was entered into, by which they pledged themselves to deliver their country from its oppressors. As soon as the committee at Edinburgh obtained information of this union, they issued a proclamation condemning the associates; which had such an effect, that some of them seceded from their engagement, and asked pardon of the Covenanters for their transgression. Montrose, however, was not dispirited by this defection, but went on gathering an army with such success, that he was soon in a condition to take the field; when the duplicity of his opponents rendered all his energy of no effect. The Covenanters carried on their negotiation with the king so artfully, that he fell into the snare, and on the 27th of April left Oxford in disguise, to put himself under the protection of Lesley, at whose head-quarters he arrived on the 5th of May. Having thus secured their prize, the Scotch army marched to Newcastle, where, for a short time, the king was treated with the greatest respect. But it soon appeared that he was only a prisoner, for all his motions were watched, and the chiefs in whose honour he had implicitly confided, obliged him to send orders to Montrose and Huntley to disband their forces. The two noblemen

## HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

it refused obedience, judging very truly that the king was not a free man; but when they received a peremptory mandate to the same purpose, reluctantly submitted; and Montrose in disgust went over to the ene-

committee at Edinburgh now opened an active correspondence with parliament of England; in consequence of which, the latter sent resolutions to the king, in which he was required to confirm all their proceedings, and to condemn his own since the beginning of the war. He was called upon to subscribe the solemn league and covenant, to leave the nation of religion, the appointment of all officers of state, and the government of the militia, to the parliament. In addition to these degrading terms, which if the king had assented to, he would have rendered his name actually infamous; for these conscientious demagogues, not satisfied with taking the crown of all efficient power, had the assurance to demand of the sovereign that he would exempt from pardon every man who had fought in defence. Among the noble personages who were denounced by name, the two nephews of the king, prince Rupert, and prince Maurice, the earls of Derby and Newcastle, and the marquises of Huntley and Montrose. Charles rejected the dishonourable proposals with becoming indignation, upon which, the English rebels demanded that the Scots should deliver up, and return home. The Covenanters at first made a show of resistance; but when an offer of two hundred thousand pounds was made to their spirit yielded to the powerful temptation, and the bargain was made in a formal manner, by a decision of the parliament of Scotland, in May, 1647, that their army should be withdrawn, and the king left in the hands of his English subjects. When this atrocious measure came under discussion in the senate house at Edinburgh, the duke of Hamilton, who had recently been liberated from confinement, made a noble speech, in which he said, "Is this the effect of all your protestations of duty and affection to us? Is this the keeping of your covenant, wherein you have sworn to defend the king's person and authority? Is this a suitable return for the goodness both in consenting to all your desires, and in trusting us to you? What censures will be passed upon this action through the world? What a stain will it be to the reformed religion, and in short, danger may be apprehended to the king himself, and also to Scotland, the party which is now predominant in England?" Notwithstanding this energetic appeal to their feelings and consciences, the assembly were for every thing except the mammon of unrighteousness, and the proposals of the English rebels being acceded to, the king was delivered into the hands of the commissioners appointed to receive him; and who conveyed him to Holmby House in Northamptonshire, from whence he was removed to Hampton Court, and lastly to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight. The Scotch army in the mean time left Newcastle laden with the spoils for which they had sold their sovereign; but such was the popular rage on this occasion, that the inhabitants followed them out of the town with stones and execrations. Of the sum thus wickedly acquired, the duke of Argyre received thirty thousand pounds as his share, and the rest was divided among the ministers and other persons who had shown zeal in the cause of rebellion. But though the betrayers of their king gladly took the wages of iniquity, they were far from being free from the reproaches which their treachery brought upon them, even in Scotland. In their contract with the English faction, the Covenanters made it a condition that the person of the king should be safe. But whatever sincerity might be on the one side, it was quickly seen that the other party were determined to observe this article of the treaty. From the moment the money was paid, and the Scots had retired to enjoy their reward, the murderous designs of the rebels in England became obvious to the whole world. They indeed affect to enter into a negotiation with the king: but instead of making any concessions, they imposed terms, the acceptance of which would have been a renunciation of the regal authority. It was evident, therefore, that the English faction had no wish to conclude an amicable settlement; and of this the Scotch commissioners were so convinced, that they remonstrated in strong

language against the conduct of their former associates. The committee of estates at Edinburgh approved of the protestation which their representatives in England had made; and immediately ordered them to conclude a treaty with the king on a liberal basis. Accordingly, the commissioners went to the Isle of Wight, at the beginning of 1648, and there the articles of agreement were agreed upon, between his majesty and the parliament of Scotland, by which it was stipulated, that the religion, as established, should continue undisturbed; in which case, the parliament undertook that the kingdom of Scotland should acknowledge his majesty's royal authority, and defend the same by force of arms. As soon as Charles came to a good understanding with his northern subjects, the English parliament passed an act, that no further addresses should be made to the king; and that any person guilty of so doing, should be punished as a traitor. Though this arbitrary ordinance could not be applied directly to the Scots, it was intended to have the effect of creating divisions among them. Accordingly, when the commissioners returned home, and had made a report of their proceedings; the committee of the assembly opposed that of the estates, in all that had been done, as destructive of the covenant. Thus there were now two parties in Scotland, one headed by the duke of Hamilton, in favour of the king; and the other led by the marquis of Argyle, the active correspondent of the rebels in England, who were bent upon the extinction of the monarchy. In the midst of this contention, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 2nd of March, when the committee of the assembly delivered in a protestation against the treaty of the Isle of Wight; but as no regard was paid to it, the framers caused it to be printed and sent to all the ministers in the kingdom, to be read in the churches. The faction of Argyle next proposed to the parliament certain articles, binding the king to subscribe and swear to both covenants; and to extirpate popery, prelacy, Erastianism, and every sect differing from the establishment; to hold no communion with malignants, in either of the three kingdoms; and to be without a negative on any public measures. These articles were to be added to the coronation oath, and, if refused, the party to be deprived not only of the succession, but of his private estate. The propositions, however, were rejected, and, instead of them, it was resolved that the parliament of Scotland should demand the liberation of the king from his present confinement, with a pledge of security for the safety of his person in future; and that the English should disband their sectarian army, and establish religion there according to the covenant, and stipulated treaties. Argyle and his most zealous adherents made a great resistance to these articles; but several persons of the same party went over to the other side, and urged the parliament to proceed in the design of delivering the king from his confinement, and restoring him to the executive power. In the mean time, colonel Marshal was sent to England with a remonstrance on the breach of the treaty, and to demand satisfaction.

The senate of Scotland next passed a vote to levy thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse; and at the same time, orders were despatched to general Monro, who was then in Ireland, to hasten home with his army. These measures were warmly opposed by Argyle and the rigid Covenanters of the assembly, who made a public protestation against the proceedings of parliament, for which it was moved that a vote of censure should be passed upon the marquis; but out of prudence, it was declined: the preparations for war, however, went on vigorously, the chief command being entrusted to the duke of Hamilton, who had under him the earl of Callander, and the majors general Middleton and Baillie.

On the 20th of May, the duke entered Edinburgh at the head of about four hundred horse; and the parliament, after a short adjournment, resumed its sitting: but Argyle, and the earls of Cassilis and Eglinton, were absent, being employed in preventing the raising of the levies. About this time colonel Marshal returned from London, and reported to the committee of estates, that the English parliament, instead of sending by him any answer to their propositions, had signified an intention of doing so by their own commissioners. This evasion only served to stimulate the king's party to redouble their exertions; especially as it was now certain that the adherents of Argyle were



assembling in force to resist the measures of the parliament. The duke of Hamilton having obtained intelligence that a great multitude had collected arms at Mechlen, despatched thither general Middleton, who defeated the Covenanters, and took several prisoners. Upon this, Lambert, the English general, who had advanced as far as Carlisle with a body of two thousand horse to co-operate with the Scottish insurgents, made a sudden retreat, and the city was soon after entered by sir Philip Musgrave; while Berwick surrendered to sir Marmaduke Langdale. These advantages induced the duke of Hamilton to march into England; and, having concentrated his forces at Carlisle, he pushed forward as far as Preston in Lancashire, where his progress was arrested by Lambert and Cromwell. These generals finding the Scottish army widely separated, commenced, on the 17th of August, an attack upon Langdale's division, which was posted at Wigan; and, after a brave resistance, succeeded in putting the whole to the rout. On the following morning, the victors fell with the same impetuosity and success upon the main body at Preston. The duke of Hamilton, being unable to rally his men, fled with sir Marmaduke Langdale into Staffordshire, where they were both taken, and carried to London. The earl of Callender effected his escape to Holland; and general Monro, who had advanced as far as Appleby, having collected the fugitives, returned with all haste into Scotland. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition, and the royal cause; for though Monro afterwards gained some particular advantages over the Covenanters, and the earl of Lanerick was appointed by the parliament to the command of the national troops, it soon became evident that no effectual stand could be made in a divided country, and accordingly by the end of September all the forces were disbanded. Upon this Argyle and his adherents entered Edinburgh, where they formed, what they called, the Committee of Estates; and, with the same assumption of authority, they proceeded to call a parliament, which was to meet on the fourth of January.

In the mean time, Cromwell and Lambert crossed the border, and were conducted to the capital by Argyle and his party, who issued a proclamation ordering all the king's friends to leave the city. Cromwell, however, soon left Scotland, and hastened up to London for the purpose of completing the tragedy which had long been meditated. In his absence, the moderate members of the two houses had re-opened a treaty with the king, at which the Scottish commissioners assisted; and from the mutual concessions that were making, a favourable result was expected. While this negotiation was going on, an insurrection broke out among the troops on Hounslow Heath, where the soldiers, acting upon the principles which had long been theoretically prevalent, entered into an association for the assertion of their natural rights. These men called themselves Levellers; and, in conformity to that appellation, they demanded an abolition of all distinctions, and the introduction of a perfect system of equality. In the midst of their consultations, Cromwell appeared on the ground with his chosen troops, and, after inflicting summary vengeance on the ringleaders, put an end to the mutiny.

Having succeeded in suppressing this revolt, Cromwell was at full liberty to carry his desperate designs on the government. In the first place, he caused the king to be brought from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle; and when the assumption of authority gave offence to the parliament, he surrounded the house with his troops, who seized and imprisoned all the members that were opposed to the views of the usurper. Every thing being now under the control of the army, it was easy to see that the fate of the sovereign was sealed. Having removed him to Windsor, the rebels ordered a solemn fast to be kept, in directions from the Lord respecting the murder of the king. On this occasion Hugh Peters preached before Cromwell and his confederates, on the petition of saints, to "bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron." After hearing this blasphemous harangue, the members went to the house, where a motion being made to proceed capitally against the king, Cromwell said, that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking, to restore the monarch to his pristine dignity, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, so that he could not speak one word more. This he understood to be an answer to his prayer, and a token that God had rejected the king. After such an assurance, the vote passed as a matter of course.

The English Presbyterians now began to stir themselves, to save the life of their sovereign: but it was too late, for their power was gone; and Cromwell, in reply to their protest, taunted them severely by saying, that they had no right to interfere, after having fought against Charles Stuart in the field, next deprived him of his sceptre, and lastly thrown him into prison.

The parliament of Scotland, which met in January 1648-9, also made a feeble effort to rescue the king from his inveterate enemies; but while they instructed their commissioners to intercede in his favour, they neutralized the application by a charge to forbear from using any language likely to provoke hostilities. The faction of Cromwell having now gained the entire ascendancy, proceeded at once to complete their sanguinary work. The king was brought from Windsor to St. James's, and on the 20th of January the mock trial began, before the pretended high court of justice in Westminster Hall. Never did Charles appear to such advantage as on this awful occasion. Three times he refused to admit the jurisdiction of the court; and though treated with barbarous ferocity, he preserved the equanimity of his temper, and conducted himself with the dignity of a sovereign and the piety of a Christian. On the 27th, the brutal president Bradshaw proceeded to deliver the sentence; and, after enumerating a series of charges, he concluded thus: "For all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy, shall be put to death, by severing of his head from his body."

This unrighteous judgment was carried into execution on the 30th of the same month, before the palace of Whitehall; when it may truly be said, that the trivial errors of the monarch were lost in admiration at the heroic piety of the martyr.

The king was in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign, when he fell by the hands of an infamous faction; for to call the murder a national act, would be a gross piece of injustice, since of those who first took the field for the parliament, in the civil war, by far the greater number were shocked at the parricide committed by Cromwell and his associates. The living issue of the king, at the time of his death, consisted of five children: three sons, Charles, James, and Henry; and as many daughters, Mary princess of Orange; Elizabeth, who died in Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, in 1660; and Henrietta Maria, who became duchess of Orleans.

#### BOOK IV.

**CHARLES THE SECOND, the one hundred and tenth King of Scotland; born May 29th, 1630; proclaimed February 3, 1649.**

WHEN the parliament at Edinburgh received the intelligence of the king's murder, they immediately protested against the regicides, and evinced their own sincerity by proclaiming the prince of Wales, with the title of Charles the Second. They at the same time sent a deputation to the young monarch, who was then in the island of Jersey, inviting him to Scotland for the purpose of being crowned. Meanwhile the triumphant party in England caused the duke of Hamilton to be tried and condemned for high treason; styling him, in the indictment, Earl of Cambridge; which was done to give a colour to an illegal sentence. Before his execution, an offer of pardon was made to him, on condition of his making discoveries for the public safety, as the rebels pretended, or, in other words, of betraying his friends. The duke, however, spurned the overture with indignation, and said, that if he had as many lives as there were hairs on his head, he would lay them all down, rather than redeem them by such perfidy. At the same time and place with him suffered the earl of Holland and lord Capel, who, as well as the duke, deported themselves with heroic fortitude on the scaffold.

While these tragic scenes were passing in England, a number of noblemen and gentlemen fled to Holland, where they were joined by the young king,

whose sister had married the prince of Orange. From hence the royal exile and his little court removed to France, and in autumn passed again over to Jersey, which had not as yet been reduced by the parliament. Here, on the first of October, the king received another pressing invitation from the commissioners of estates; but the call was clogged with some very hard conditions, the worst of which were, "subscription to the covenant, and a revocation of the commission given to Montrose." Charles, though strongly urged by the Scottish nobility to make an agreement with the Covenanters, positively refused to comply with terms, which he considered as derogatory to his own honour, and injurious to his friends. At length Montrose himself interposed, and entreated the king to comply, saying, that he would gladly endure banishment, if he could thereby be instrumental to the restoration of his sovereign. Still Charles continued fixed in his determination; but when the prince of Orange assigned various political reasons for laying hold of an opportunity, which might eventually put him in full possession of his rights, he so far yielded as to allow a negotiation to be carried on with the Scottish commissioners.

The parties accordingly met in the month of March, at Breda; but these new conditions were brought forward, the Covenanters insisting that all civil matters should be settled by parliament, and those of religion by the general assembly. Though highly offended by these restrictions of the prerogative, Charles prudently restrained his feelings, and coolly said, that he would give ample satisfaction to his good people of Scotland. With this message the commissioners were dismissed; but their employers, not being so easily satisfied as the king would have had them believe, despatched two other deputies to Holland, peremptorily demanding that all their propositions should be acceded to; and, that neither Montrose nor any of his associates should be allowed to return to their own country. Charles, upon this, was about to break off all connexion with the dominant party, when the prince of Orange again interfered, and persuaded him to close with the Covenanters in every thing. During these transactions, the indefatigable Montrose was heavily employed in soliciting aid for his royal master at the courts of the German princes. From several of these potentates, as well as from the king of Denmark, he received such liberal promises, that he told Charles, nothing was now wanting to insure success, but to land in Scotland, and hoist the royal standard, which would instantly be surrounded by a host of noblemen and gentlemen. The king, elated by these flattering assurances, readily gave his consent to the enterprise, and clothed Montrose with full powers to raise forces for his service, both on the continent and in Scotland. The ardent chief, on taking leave of his majesty, earnestly desired him to send major-general Monro to Ireland, for the purpose of expediting the embarkation of the royal troops there, under the command of the marquis of Ormonde. From the Hague, Montrose proceeded immediately to Hamburgh, expecting to find a considerable portion of the promised supplies already assembled; but to his great mortification, all the princes failed in the fulfilment of their engagement, except the duke of Holstein, who sent four ships with about six hundred troops to that port. Inadequate as this force was for any effectual object, the loyal enthusiasm of Montrose, would not suffer him to recede from what he conceived to be the path of duty. He still hoped that a good cause would not want support, under which impression he set sail for the Orkneys, where he was joined by a few loyalists, and then crossing over to the main, landed on the coast of Caithness. Wherever he came, the inhabitants expressed their wishes for his success; though the number that enrolled themselves under his banner was but small. The committee of estates, on hearing of this sudden irruption, lost no time in despatching an army under colonel Strachan, for its suppression. The two parties soon met, and a desperate conflict ensued; but, owing to the superiority of the rebel cavalry, the loyalists suffered a total defeat, and almost the whole of them were slain or taken prisoners. Their commander fled in disguise to the house of Macleod, laird of Assy, who, contrary to the general good faith of the highlanders, betrayed the illustrious fugitive for the sake of the reward. On Saturday, the 16th of May, the noble Montrose was brought to Edinburgh

led with ropes, and bare-headed, in a common cart, drawn by the hangman. In this manner he was conducted to the tolbooth amidst an immense concourse of spectators, who, instead of exulting over the fallen hero, lamented his misfortune with sighs and tears. Next day he was visited by the ministers, who loaded him with reproaches for the iniquities of his past life, and said that the temporal punishment which awaited him was only the prelude to an eternity of torment. Notwithstanding this pious judgment, they offered to pray with him for his conversion: but the marquis, knowing that they were as cruel in their devotions as in their exhortations, declined their services. At the same time the pulpits resounded with invectives against him, as the grand enemy of all religion; and the people were also abused for having on the preceding day been guilty of shewing tenderness towards a reprobate. So low did these zealots descend in their malice, that the General Assembly passed a decree, suspending from church communion all persons who drank the health of Montrose. On the following day he was brought before the parliament, where he bore with heroic resolution the scurrility of the chancellor in passing sentence upon him to be hanged and dismembered.

His conduct at the place of execution was equally becoming his character. In the morning he dressed himself in rich apparel, as if he had been going to review an army; and when the hangman brought a book which had been published, containing an account of his exploits, and tied it about his neck, he said with a smile that he accepted this testimony of his valour and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the garter. After inquiring whether they had any more such honours to confer upon him, he spent a few minutes in private devotion, and then submitted to his fate. His enemies caused the body to be suspended three hours, after which the head was placed on the tolbooth, and the four limbs on the gates of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, and Glasgow.

When the king heard of this horrible tragedy, his mind became agitated by grief and indignation. In the first heat of his resentment, he sent off a letter to the committee at Edinburgh, in which he told them that no faith could be put in men who, while making professions of peace and loyalty, had shed the blood of one of his best subjects for acting under his commission.

The faction, in reply, protested that their fidelity remained unshaken, and that what they had done was a proof of it; for, as Montrose was the only obstacle to the desired settlement, his removal became necessary to the royal interest and the national welfare. The party concluded with again urging the king to hasten home, and take possession of the throne of his ancestors. Charles, after advising with his council, assented, and on the 23d of June arrived in the river Spey; but he was not suffered to land till he had subscribed the solemn league and covenant. Having performed what was required, the clergy allowed him to go on shore; but when his friends, who had come with aim from Holland to defend his cause and share his fortune, attempted to follow, they were ordered back, and none but the creatures of the ruling faction were permitted to approach the king. He was now literally a prisoner, and his keepers made him undergo such a rigorous discipline, that the severest penances of the Roman church were light and easy compared with the austerity and gloom of the Presbyterian ordeal. On one day they made him hear six sermons of an intolerable length; and they wholly debarred him from amusements of every kind. This treatment not only alienated the mind of the young king from a religion which he afterwards used to say was not fit for a gentleman, but it had the effect of creating in him a prejudice against all appearance of piety. The despotic bigots went still further in their insults, and obliged the royal captive to issue a declaration, in which he was made to load his father's memory with the foulest reproaches, and to vilify his mother as an idolatress. Charles felt this insult more keenly than all the rest of the contumelies which were put upon him; but his situation was such that he did not dare to reject the bitter pill prepared for his humiliation. Not satisfied with these indignities, the Covenanters were about to make the king do public penance; and the general assembly actually drew up twelve articles, in which they mustered all the sins of his majesty, and those of his ancestors, for four generations. Having made out this head-roll of transgressions, they

ordained that the king, his household, and the whole nation, should mortify themselves by fasting and prayer. But before the day came for this solemn mockery, an event occurred which saved the king from the intended danger, and covered his oppressors with confusion.

While the Covenanters were engaged in purging the land from impurity according to their views, Cromwell marched suddenly into Scotland, and reached Dunbar; here, however, his further progress was arrested by the judicious management of Lesley, who took care to occupy the fastnesses of the country in such a manner, that the English were soon reduced to the greatest difficulty for the want of provisions. Cromwell, in this exigency, was about to retreat, when the fanaticism of his opponents turned the scale in his favour, and gave him a decided victory. The Scottish army was under the direction of a committee of divines, who, in the first instance, dismissed about four thousand persons as ungodly characters. Having thus formed a host of saints, they concluded that success was certain, and accordingly demanded of the general to march down into the plain, and destroy Agag and the Amalekites, meaning Cromwell and the English. Lesley remonstrated, but the enthusiasts were obstinate, and on the morning of the 3rd of September, the whole army broke up from their entrenchments, and began to descend the hill. Cromwell, observing the movement, cried out in a rapture, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands;" and in a few minutes the Scots were put completely to the rout. The authors of this misfortune, instead of taking the blame upon themselves, ascribed it to the wickedness of the king and his adherents; but they went further, and in their prayers told the Lord that he had acted cruelly, in suffering his elect to be destroyed by the apostates. This defeat, which under other circumstances would have been extremely disheartening to the king, proved the reverse; for the faction relaxed in their severity, and instead of the penance that had been designed for him, they caused him to be crowned with great formality at Scoon, on the 1st of January 1651. After this ceremony, active preparations were made to raise fresh forces, and by the end of May the royal standard was hoisted at Aberdeen, from whence the king proceeded to Stirling, where he appointed the duke of Hamilton lieutenant general, David Lesley major-general, and Middleton commander of the cavalry. At this time Cromwell, having reduced most of the garrisons, including that of Edinburgh, advanced against the royalists; but finding them strongly intrenched, he withdrew to Brunst Island and sent to Perth, which surrendered without resistance. Meanwhile general Lambert defeated a body of Scots at Inverkeithing, upon which the king held a council of war, when it was resolved to march into England; but Argyll and his followers decamped, and returned home. Notwithstanding the defection of this chief, who had sworn to defend the crown at the risk of his life, the royal army crossed the borders, and at the beginning of August entered Carlisle. From this place, general Massey was detached into Lancashire, to announce the king's approach, and raise men for his service. The Rump parliament now became alarmed, and began to reflect in severe terms upon their general Cromwell, for his apparent negligence in suffering the king to pass him unmolested. Cromwell being apprised of these censures, prepared to clear himself, and to take vengeance upon his accusers. Leaving Moss, therefore, with a sufficient force to keep the Scots in awe, he hastened after the royal army, which by this time had reached Worcester, where the king was joined by several of the neighbouring nobility and gentry. Unfortunately, however, the earl of Derby, in his march for the same purpose, was intercepted and his force put completely to the rout at Wigan; so that a very few of the men, with their gallant commander, succeeded in effecting their escape to the city. This was only the prelude to a more terrible misfortune; for while the royalists were cut off from all supplies, the rebel army received daily an increase of strength, till their number exceeded that of the aggregate amount of the united Scots and English, in the proportion of more than three to one. Under these circumstances, the king came to the desperate resolution of cutting his way through the enemy, who by this time had drawn a line completely round the city. Accordingly, on the morning of the 3rd of September, the royal forces, both horse and foot, made a desperate attack upon the main

body of the rebels, and compelled them to give way; but fresh troops coming up, the assailants were driven back into the city, followed by the enemy, when a murderous conflict took place in the streets. After fighting three hours, the rout of the king's party became general; and the monarch, who had two horses shot under him, got away with great difficulty. The slaughter was dreadful, and many of the officers, English and Scotch, fell into the hands of the victors. Among these prisoners was the duke of Hamilton, who died soon after of his wounds. The king escaped almost miraculously, and reached France; but the earl of Derby, on leaving the monarch in a place of security, was taken by the rebels, who barbarously put him to death, amidst his own tenants, at Bolton in Lancashire.

The fatal battle of Worcester was productive of important changes, particularly in Scotland, where, on the reduction of Stirling, Dundee, and Edinburgh, the conquerors introduced an entire alteration of the constitution. New courts of law were erected, and a council of state, modelled upon the republican system, was established; and at the same time the general assembly was abolished, as well as the parliament, in the room of which last, thirty commissioners, or representatives, were to be sent by the nation to the English house of commons. Thus not even the shadow of independence was left in Scotland; but the subjugation was not rendered complete, till Cromwell assumed the sovereignty of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the title of protector. One of the first measures of the usurper was, the passing an act of indemnity in favour of the Scots; but it abounded with so many exceptions, that no person who had ever borne arms for the royal cause could claim any benefit from the pretended indulgence. The state of things in England was not much better; and the grievances which the people suffered under the iron sceptre of the despot, made them every where desirous of a revolution. In Scotland the sentiment prevailed universally; and it was encouraged by the administration of general Monk, whose conduct excited such strong suspicions in Cromwell, that in all probability another war would have been the consequence, had not a fever, heightened by chagrin, carried off the protector on the 3d of September, 1657. Oliver was succeeded by his son Richard; but his government was of short duration, and Monk, by the prudence of his management, brought about the restoration of the ancient monarchy without bloodshed.

On the 1st of January, 1661, the parliament of Scotland met according to ancient usage at Edinburgh, when the oaths of allegiance were administered, and ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom. At the same time, the solemn league and covenant was abrogated, and the right of his majesty to make peace and war was recognized. During the same session, a bill of attainder was brought in against the marquis of Argyll, and that nobleman being found guilty of treason, received judgment of death, which was executed at the high cross of Edinburgh on the 24th of May. His head was then placed on the very pike from whence that of the noble Montrose had some time before been taken down for solemn interment. But though Argyll deservedly suffered the punishment due to his offences, which were of no ordinary magnitude, his estate was saved from confiscation, and bestowed upon lord Lorn, his eldest son; a favour to which he was entitled on account of his loyalty during the late troubles. This act of justice, however, gave such offence to those noblemen who had eagerly expected to share the forfeited lands among themselves, that they soon after prosecuted the young lord for writing a private letter to lord Duffus, in which he complained of the malice of his enemies, and exulted at having defeated their efforts to ruin him in the estimation of his sovereign. This was called, in the old Scottish phrase, *leasing-making*, or raising sedition, and Lorn was actually sentenced to be beheaded by virtue of an obsolete law; which would have been put in force, had not the king reversed the iniquitous proceedings. To show his abhorrence of the spirit that originated the atrocious measure, Charles conferred upon lord Lorn the earldom of Argyll, which title had been granted to his grandfather.

About this time one Guthrie, a violent preacher of the Covenanters, was condemned and hanged at Edinburgh, for publishing a defamatory book entitled, "*The Causes of God's Wrath upon the Nation.*" At his trial he behaved

with uncommon firmness, and on the ladder he justified what he had done with equal fortitude. Indictments were also prepared against the lairds of Warriston and Swinton, for the zealous part taken by them in the rebellion; but the former effected his escape, at this time, to Holland; and Swinton, who had turned Quaker, made a confession of his errors, and was pardoned. Another offender, of a worse description, who obtained grace, was Minto, lord of Assyn, the infamous betrayer of Montrose. This wretch was saved from the gallows on account of his debaucheries, which rendered him a meet companion to the men in power, who did not scruple to partake of his entertainments.

After the rising of parliament, a Scottish council was held in London, when the expediency of restoring the episcopal form of church government was taken into consideration, and resolved upon without opposition. Four divines were accordingly sent for from Scotland, to be duly consecrated by the English prelates. The persons so elected were Sharp, nominated to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, Farifoul to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, Leighton to the bishopric of Dunblane, and Hamilton to that of Galloway, in the room of Sydsorfe, who was translated to Orkney. As Sharp and Leighton had only been ordained in the presbyterian form, they were now required to pass through the preliminary orders of deacon and priest: though this was contrary to the precedent that had been laid down, on a like occasion, in the reign of king James. Immediately after the ceremony, the new bishops went down to Edinburgh, where they consecrated six other divines to fill up the rest of the vacant sees; that of Edinburgh being allotted to Dr. Wishart, the friend and chaplain of Montrose, for his attachment to whom he had suffered a long and severe imprisonment.

At the next meeting of parliament, two acts were passed, one in confirmation of episcopacy, and the other for regulating the ecclesiastical revenues. In the next place, the oath of allegiance and supremacy was ordered to be taken by every person in public trust, whether clerical or civil; but the worst of all was the rigorous injunction, from which there was no exemption, that every one should abjure the covenant. These harsh impositions had the effect of turning a great number of conscientious ministers out of their livings, and sending them into exile; so that the churches, in many parts of the kingdom, were shut up for the want of pastors.

Another business which engaged parliamentary attention this session was the act of indemnity. In England, the amnesty had been general, none being excepted but the actual regicides. It was, therefore, natural to expect that a similar indulgence would take place in Scotland, where the most furious opponents of the royal cause had fallen far short of their brethren of the sister-country in violence. The high commissioner, Middleton, and his party, however, proposed a vast number of exclusions from the act of grace, for the purpose of profiting by the fines and forfeitures that would be thereby incurred. Lauderdale and Crawford, with their friends, on the other hand, so powerfully set forth the injustice of a limited indemnity bill, that the king and government rejected the measure, so that the exceptions were very few. Middleton and his colleagues, in consequence of this, devised a scheme to avenge themselves upon their opponents, by introducing a bill for incapacitating certain persons, among whom were Lauderdale, Crawford, and Marra, from filling any public office. This project also failed, and the king was so highly offended with Middleton on account of it, that he deprived him of his place, which was given to the earl of Rothes.

On the 18th of June, 1663, the parliament met again at Edinburgh, when the laird of Warriston, who had been apprehended in France, and delivered up by the government there, was brought to trial; and though so imbecile a mind as to be incapable of distinguishing his own relatives, the sentence against him for treason was put in execution.

About the same time, an act was passed in the English parliament for suppressing all conventicles, and empowering justices of peace to convict offenders summarily upon information. Any meeting for religious worship, in which five were assembled more than the family, was to be considered as coming within the meaning of the statute; and every person present at it, above the age of

sixteen; became liable to a heavy fine, or imprisonment. When the intelligence of this arbitrary proceeding reached Scotland, the party in power became so elated, that they instantly framed a statute in close imitation of it, which was passed with very little opposition. At the same time it was enacted, that a national synod should be called, composed of the prelates, deans, and several deputies, as the representatives of the presbyteries. Nothing rendered this measure so offensive as the giving of a veto to the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was to be the perpetual president of the assembly. In this session two other acts were passed in favour of the crown; one empowering the king and council to regulate the duties upon goods imported from England, and the other for raising an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, in case of a rebellion or invasion.

The death of the earl of Glencairn, in 1664, produced some strife for the vacant office of chancellor, which was generally expected to have been bestowed upon the earl of Tweeddale; but the primate, Sharp, solicited the place, and, on missing it, he exerted his influence in behalf of the earl of Rothes, who was accordingly appointed. This nomination met with the entire approbation of Lauderdale, who was now the leading minister for the affairs of Scotland in the English cabinet, and had a great influence over Rothes. Thus in one person were united the several offices of high commissioner, lord treasurer, president of the council, captain of the guards, and chancellor; an extravagant combination for any kingdom, but especially for one so poor as Scotland.

From a government so constituted, the people had nothing to look for but an accumulation of grievances. The penal laws, recently enacted, were rigidly put in execution, particularly those against the nonconformists: notwithstanding which, the conventicles multiplied, and in the western counties tumultuous scenes occurred. Upon this, a party of the guards, under the command of sir James Turner, was despatched to suppress those illegal meetings; in which the soldiery acted so promptly, that most of the leaders of the Covenanters fled, and their followers dispersed. The spirit of fanaticism, however, still prevailed to an alarming extent, and it was very evident that an opportunity only was wanting to produce a general insurrection among the Whigs, as the disaffected were now called. Their principal dependence was upon Holland, after the breaking out of the Dutch war; and some of the party went thither, as well to solicit an invasion, as to procure money and arms, with both which they were well supplied. These preparations could not escape the vigilance of the cabinet, and, in consequence, orders were given to levy more forces, the chief command of which was given to general Dalziel and colonel Drummond, who were recalled for the purpose from the Russian service.

By this time, however, the Covenanters had so well managed their affairs, that taking advantage of the distress produced by the plague, and fire, in London, they suddenly rose in arms, and came upon sir James Turner at Dumfries with such surprise, that he was entirely defeated and made prisoner. The rebels, flushed with success, and increased in numbers, now marched towards Edinburgh; but Dalziel was quickly in motion, and saved the capital by concentrating his forces, and marching westward. The Whigs had now become so strong and confident, that they held a fast-day at Lanerick, in Clydesdale, where, after much praying, they renewed the covenant, and published a manifesto, denying that they had risen against the king, but only for the abolition of episcopacy, and the restoration of the presbyterian discipline. Their next movement was to the Pentland hills, where, at break of day on the 28th of November, Dalziel came up with them. At his approach the ministers struck up a psalm, and, after a long prayer, they exhorted their followers to fall on with good courage, for that the Lord would assuredly give them the victory. Thus animated, they endured the attack of the royal cavalry undauntedly; but when the rest of the forces came up, they fell into confusion, and fled in all directions, leaving about sixty on the field, and double the number in the hands of the victors. Of these prisoners, ten were hanged at Edinburgh, and several others at different places in the country. Such was the enthusiasm of these sufferers, that though offered a pardon on condition of their renouncing the covenant, they, to a man, refused to par-



chase life at such a rate. After these examples, it might have been expected that government would have endeavoured to gain over the rest of the party by lenient measures, instead of which, the soldiery exercised the most scandalous outrages all over the country, under the inspection and with the full approbation of their commanders, whose manners seemed to have been rendered more than naturally barbarous by their residence in Russia.

In the month of May, 1687, the country was thrown into great confusion by the entrance of a Dutch fleet of men-of-war into the Frith of Forth; but though the harbour of Leith was entirely defenceless, the enemy sailed away without doing any injury. The danger, however, that had been incurred, raised so great a clamour against the earl of Rothes on account of his negligence, that, to allay the popular resentment, he was deprived of all his places, except the chancellorship. The administration of Scotland was now wholly in the hands of Lauderdale, who put affairs into a much better state than they had been for some years. An attempt was also made to put an end to religious animosities, by abridging the episcopal power, and allowing the presbyterian clergy the use of the churches, according to their own mode of worship; but the liberal project failed of success, through the violence of the Covenanters, who refused to hold any communion with those whom they called idolaters. In proportion as the one side evinced a disposition to peace, the other party became outrageous: and they carried their animosity so far as to recommend assassination from the pulpit, upon scriptural authority. The principal object of their malevolence was archbishop Sharp, who soon experienced the effect of this diabolical spirit.

One afternoon, in the summer of 1689, as this prelate, with the bishop of Orkney, passed through Edinburgh, a pistol was discharged into the coach by a presbyterian minister, named Mitchell. The balls, instead of destroying the primate, lodged in the arm of the bishop of Orkney, and shattered the bone in several places. Though a strict search was made for the assassin, he contrived to effect his escape, nor was he discovered till six years afterwards, when he was executed on his own confession. This atrocious act produced some new statutes, by which the executive power was enlarged, and a scheme was likewise set on foot to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland under one form of government; but though a conference was held on the subject, the design, through national jealousy, proved abortive.

Lauderdale, who in 1672 was created a duke, not being able to bring the presbyterians to accept of a toleration upon reasonable grounds, now became so exasperated against them, that he caused several of their leaders to be thrown into prison; while, on the other hand, the Covenanters had so little respect for law or property, that they appeared in arms, and plundered the houses of the episcopal clergy. The preachers, instead of correcting and checking these scandalous outrages, encouraged and justified them, by appealing to the sacred history, where it is said, that the Israelites received a divine command to spoil the Egyptians, and destroy the Canaanites.

By this time the administration of Lauderdale had raised him so many enemies, that a confederacy was formed to produce a change of men and measures. At the head of this combination was the duke of Hamilton, who took the opportunity of commencing his attack when the Scottish parliament was called upon, in 1673, to assist the king in his war with Holland. On this occasion, the leader of the opposition moved an inquiry into the state of the nation, for the purpose of ascertaining what grievances existed which required consideration and redress. The motion being well supported, so alarmed the high commissioner, that he put an end to the session, and summoned a council to whom he said, it was the king's intention to remove every cause of complaint, without the interference of parliament. This declaration, however, was so far from giving satisfaction, that it only increased the popular discontent. Lauderdale, who united meanness with passion and pride, now courted the presbyterians, and granted them several indulgences, merely to acquire popularity, and to avenge himself upon his enemies. In the next session, the storm increased, and new complaints were exhibited against the minister; but he stood his ground, and even made fresh encroachments upon the rights of the people. Freedom of election, in most of the royal boroughs, was overturned

the corporation of Edinburgh received a peremptory inhibition from choosing new magistrates, and soon after twelve members of the town council were expelled by the king's mandate. About the same time, another affair occurred which produced a great sensation. On the determination of a cause in the supreme court of session, the party against whom the decree was made, entered an appeal to the parliament. The lords of the session treated this as a contempt of their jurisdiction, and, upon their complaint, twelve refractory advocates were banished to a distance of twelve miles from Edinburgh, until they should acknowledge the supremacy of the court. Burnet, and Hume after him, have said, that public justice was suspended for a year in consequence of this edict. But this is an error, for though several lawyers were exiled, a sufficient number remained to conduct all the business that required legal assistance. Nor were the judges or government to blame in the measure they adopted; for the independence of the court was not only settled by an express statute, but essential to the impartial administration of justice.

During these transactions, the conventicles, which were generally held in the open air, multiplied exceedingly. The western counties abounded with them; and as the men came to them armed, government naturally took an alarm; but the expedient adopted for the suppression of these illegal assemblies was more offensive than the evil it was intended to eradicate. All the persons of landed property in those districts were required to become bound for their domestics and tenants, that none of them should be present at conventicles, nor harbour any of the itinerant preachers. An obligation so dangerous to personal security, and destructive of property, was not likely to meet with a favourable reception. In fact, it was generally resisted; in consequence of which, about eight thousand Highlanders were quartered upon the disobedient inhabitants. These freebooters, who never entertained much respect for the rights of property, made a prey of whatever came within their reach; upon which they were sent home, but not till the country was laid waste, and the houses were nearly abandoned. In the mean time, the laws against conventicles continued to be most rigorously enforced; notwithstanding which, the oppressed people persevered in following their preachers to the mountains and valleys, where they sometimes remained for many days in the exercise of a wild devotion.

In these gloomy assemblies, the effect of the oratory upon the minds of the discontented people was terrific. All the harangues of the preachers turned upon the necessity of avenging the cause of a violated covenant, the duty of resisting an unrighteous government, and the lawfulness of punishing tyrants and persecutors. The scriptures were converted into stimulants to excite rebellion as a holy warfare, which the Lord would not fail to bless, provided it was undertaken in faith. Upon this principle, that the end sanctified the means, every man was exhorted to follow the impulse of his heart as a divine monition, even though it should lead to the shedding of blood. The first person who fell a sacrifice to the bigotry of these fanatics, was the archbishop of St. Andrew's, against whom the popular resentment was heightened by the execution of Mitchell for the former attempt upon the life of the prelate.

As his grace was returning home from a visit, with his daughter, on the 3d of May, 1679, a party of fanatics descried the coach, and perceiving it unguarded, they concluded that, "the Lord had delivered him into their hands." Upon this, they rode in pursuit, which the coachman observing, hastened his speed, but in vain; for the murderers soon came up, and discharged several pieces into the coach, without wounding either the archbishop or his daughter. The assassins then became more enraged, and having dragged out their victim, stabbed him in a number of places, till they were satisfied that he was dead.

This horrible deed was the prelude to an open rebellion, on the part of the Covenanters. On the 29th of the same month, being the king's birth-day, a body of these people assembled in arms at Rutherglen, near Glasgow, where they began by proclaiming the Covenant, and burning the acts of parliament or establishing prelacy. Upon the news of this rising, Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards created lord Dundee, was despatched by the privy-council to disperse the insurgents; but when he came up with them, their numbers had increased to some thousands. A conflict ensued, and Graham, after

having his horse shot under him, was obliged to take shelter in Glasgow, from whence he retreated to Edinburgh. Elated by this success, the Covenanters now summoned their adherents from all parts, and so confident were they of victory, that they erected a large gallows in their camp, for the purpose of executing judgment upon their enemies.

In the mean time, the administration called out the militia, and issued orders to the country gentlemen to appear in arms with their dependants. The trained bands of Edinburgh also joined the royal army, and an express was sent to London for a body of English forces. In the mean time the passages of the Forth were secured, military stores were seized for the use of government, and great diligence was employed in strengthening the fortresses. The earl of Linlithgow, who was made major-general on the death of *George Monro*, collected all the troops that were in readiness, and being joined by lord Ross and Claverhouse, proceeded to attack the insurgents; but on the march, counter-orders arrived, the king's forces were recalled to the capital, and the commander-in-chief was superseded. This extraordinary versatility at so critical a period naturally occasioned general surprise: nor was the cause ever explained, though the most intelligent observers attributed it to the earl of Shaftesbury, who was then carrying on very dark designs in England, and endeavouring all he could to throw the kingdom into confusion. Let this be as it may, the king sent down the duke of Monmouth to take the military command in Scotland, and on the 19th of June he joined the army, which three days afterwards came up with the rebels, who were vastly superior in numbers, and strongly posted on the opposite bank of the Clyde. Instead of fording the river, as the officers advised, the duke gave orders that the army should pass over Bothwell bridge, which was barricaded, and guarded by three thousand of the rebels. Accordingly a troop of dragoons, with eighty musketeers and four pieces of artillery, were detached to clear the passage.

On their approach, the insurgents beat a parley, and sent two persons to propose terms, which were, "That they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and that a new parliament and general assembly, unshackled by oaths, should be called, to settle the affairs in church and state." The duke replied, That he could not negotiate with them till they had laid down their arms: upon which the conference terminated. The field-pieces now began to play with such effect, that several of the rebels were killed, and the rest fell into disorder. A general rout soon followed, and about seven hundred were slain in the pursuit. Of the prisoners who were taken, only two of the most seditious suffered death. About two hundred and fifty were shipped off for the plantations, but, unfortunately, they all perished on the voyage by shipwreck. The lenity shown by the duke of Monmouth in suppressing this rebellion, and tranquillizing the country, gave general satisfaction in Scotland, but at court it produced a different effect, and he was not only recalled, but banished to the continent.

England at this time exhibited a strange scene of perfidy and infatuation, occasioned by the pretended discovery of a plot among the papists to destroy the king and overturn the constitution. Extravagant as the tale was in every respect, several innocent and some noble persons suffered death, on the evidence of the most worthless of mankind. The object of this scandalous contrivance was to inflame the nation against the duke of York, whose succession being dreaded on account of his attachment to the Romish religion, a bill was brought into the commons for the purpose of excluding him from the throne; but it was rejected by the lords.

Amidst these confusions, the duke was sent down to Scotland, where, in the summer of 1681, he called a parliament, which passed two acts, one declaring that the crown by inherent right, and the nature of the monarchy, as well as by the laws of the realm, is transmitted and devolved by direct succession, according to proximity of blood; and that no difference in religion, or legislative enactment, can alter or divert the lineal descent from the nearest and lawful heirs. The other act imposed a test upon persons in office, by which they acknowledged the king's supremacy in all causes, and professed, without exception, their assent to the doctrine of passive obedience. These extraordinary compliances gave offence to many, but the earl of Argyle

None opposed them in his place, for which he was marked, and soon after prosecuted on the charge of leasing-making, or uttering treasonable expressions, merely because he took the test, with a reservation that he did not bind himself from making any alteration in church or state, if he deemed it consistent with his religion and loyalty. This innocent explanation being turned into a capital offence, the earl was found guilty by a perjured jury, and condemned by as infamous a court; but at this time he evaded the scaffold, and got out of the kingdom in disguise.

The laws were now rigorously enforced against all those who refused the test, or were suspected of favouring the conventicles; and these severities co-operating with the spirit of fanaticism, produced new scenes of disorder, to suppress which, the government let loose a licentious soldiery upon the people.

There existed at this time a set of enthusiasts who were first called Cargillites, and next Cameronians, from two furious preachers, by whom they were made to believe that obedience to the king was rebellion against God. Cargill, at a numerous field-meeting, went so far as to pronounce a solemn anathema in these words, "I being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having authority and power from him, do in his name, and by his spirit, excommunicate, and cast out of the church, and deliver up to Satan, Charles the Second." He then proclaimed a similar curse against the duke of York, and all the great officers of state; after which, the declaration was affixed to the market cross at Dumfries. It was now necessary to send a military force against these rebels, who were in arms near the town of Ayr. A conflict ensued, in which Cameron was killed; but Cargill and Hackston, which last was one of the murderers of archbishop Sharp, were taken and executed. Some of the other prisoners, on being convicted, were offered a pardon if they would only say, "God save the king;" but, with the exception only of one or two, they refused to purchase life even at that cheap rate. Obstinacy like this savoured of madness; and so the government justly estimated it, by causing most of the delinquents to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction.

In March, 1682, the duke of York went to visit his brother; but on his return by sea, the frigate, in which he and his suite had embarked, was lost on a bank of sand off the Humber. The ship's crew and most of the passengers perished, but the duke escaped in the boat with a few of his attendants. On his arrival in Scotland, he executed the orders with which he was charged, of making a change in the ministry, lord Haddo, afterwards created earl of Aberdeen, being appointed chancellor, and president of the court of session, the earl of Queensberry treasurer, and the earl of Perth justice general. His royal highness then embarked again for England with all his family, and, such was the fickleness of the people, the citizens of London welcomed his return with illuminations and bonfires, though it was but a few months before, that his picture was torn down and defaced in Guildhall.

In 1683, the nation was again thrown into confusion by the discovery of a design to destroy the king and overturn the constitution. This conspiracy, from the place where it was formed, (a farm near Haddeson, in Hertfordshire,) obtained the name of the Rye-house plot. Among the persons who suffered on this occasion were lord William Russel, son of the earl of Bedford, and Algernon Sydney. Some Scotchmen were also involved in this dark business, the chief of whom was Robert Baillie, of Jerviswood, who, after a long confinement in London, was sent down to Edinburgh, where he was executed, on the 24th of December, 1684.

The death of the king soon followed. On the second of February he was attacked with a stroke of apoplexy, and though he recovered out of that fit, another succeeded, and on the sixth he breathed his last. He died in the communion of the church of Rome, and received the sacrament from a Romish priest, named Hudleston, who had been a principal instrument in saving him after the battle of Worcester. On the 14th of the same month, the royal remains were deposited privately in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster.

The character of this prince has been drawn in different colours, according to the prejudices of the writers who have narrated the history of his reign. All agree that he was a man of polished manners, easy of access, and affable

in his deportment. It is admitted also that he possessed considerable talents, and had a penetrating judgment. But, on the other hand, he was so extremely indolent, and devoted to his pleasures, that corruption pervaded every department of the state, while the court in profligacy exceeded every other in Europe.

Though Charles had been many years married to Catharine of Portugal who survived him, he had no issue by her; but his natural children were numerous, and his descendants by different mistresses are still high on the roll of the British peerage.

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**JAMES THE SEVENTH, the one Hundred and eleventh King of Scotland.**—*Boys to reign, A. D. 1684; dethroned, A. D. 1688; died, A. D. 1701.*

**JAMES** the Seventh, king of Scotland, and the Second of England of this name, was born at the palace of Somerset House, October 15th, 1633, and baptized on the 24th of the same month in the chapel royal, by Dr Laud archbishop of Canterbury. Soon afterwards he was created duke of York and Albany with great pomp, and the gentlemen of the four Inns of court entertained the king and queen with a masque on the occasion, as also did the corporation of London. According to bishop Burnet, his education was very much neglected; but this is not to be wondered at considering his age when the nation was thrown into confusion by the civil war. At the beginning of those troubles he was taken to Oxford, on the surrender of which place the parliament put him under the care of the earl of Northumberland, who treated him kindly, and permitted him to visit his father a little before the trial of the unfortunate monarch. Shortly after this affecting interview, the young prince effected his escape to Holland, from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he obtained a military commission under the great Turenne, who held him in considerable estimation. He continued in that service till the conclusion of a treaty between the French government and Cromwell, when all the English exiles being obliged to leave that kingdom, the duke and his brother retired into Flanders. After this, his royal highness obtained the command of an army in the service of Spain, and distinguished himself very gallantly in the battle of Dunkirk. While abroad, he changed his religion; and a little before the restoration he married, secretly, Anne, the daughter of Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, by which lady he had two daughters, who eventually became queens of England.

In the Dutch wars of 1665 and 1672, he commanded the English fleet as lord high admiral, and fought two desperate actions, in the first of which the English were completely victorious, but the last battle, though obstinately contested, proved indecisive. From this period the duke of York became the object of great jealousy, on account of his religion; especially after the death of his first wife, and his marriage to the princess of Modena. Party spirit in consequence ran very high, and repeated attempts were made in parliament to alter the line of succession, by an act to exclude all papists from the throne. These efforts, however, proved unavailing, and at length the spirit of opposition evaporated to such a degree, that for two or three years before the demise of Charles, the heir apparent had almost the sole direction of public business; and if his accession to the crown was not marked by exuberant joy, it neither created alarm, nor produced any commotion. The first speech of the new king to the privy council tended very much to remove whatever apprehensions might have been raised to his prejudice: for he told the lords, that so far from being inclined to arbitrary power, he would endeavour to preserve the government, both in church and state, as it was by law established. He said also that he knew the principles of the church of England were for monarchy, and that the members of it had shewn themselves good and loyal subjects, on which account he would always take care to defend and support that communion. In conclusion, he observed, that as he would never depart from his just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so neither would he ever invade any man's property. This speech, though short, gave much satis-

ral satisfaction, that numerous addresses, full of loyalty, were immediately sent up to the throne, from the city of London, and all parts of the kingdom.

Notwithstanding this, the people had soon a foretaste of what they might expect; for on the following Sunday, the royal chapel, in defiance of the law, exhibited the pompous celebration of mass, at which the king was present; who also sent an accredited minister to Rome, with letters of obedience to the pope. Still, under these circumstances public tranquillity remained undisturbed, and the increase of flattery continued to delude the infatuated monarch into a false security. In Scotland the new reign was welcomed with uncommon demonstrations of outward gladness. On receiving the intelligence of what had occurred in England, the earl of Perth, as lord chancellor, and the duke of Queensberry, as high treasurer, called a privy council at Edinburgh, where all the members took the usual oaths of allegiance, and the test. After this, an order was issued for proclaiming king James, which ceremony was performed with the customary solemnity at the High Cross. Addresses expressed in the most hyperbolical language, with offers to defend the royal title and person against all his enemies, were now forwarded to the king from the lords of the council, the bishops and clergy, and the corporation of Edinburgh. On the 23d of April, the coronation took place at Westminster; but though the Protestant ceremonial was adopted in all other respects, the sacrament was omitted; and for a compliance with the rest, it is supposed that a papal dispensation was procured. On the same day the parliament of Scotland assembled, in which the duke of Queensberry presided as high commissioner; and so extravagant was the loyalty of the estates, that they seemed to glory in the surrender of their liberties to a sovereign who had commenced his reign by an open violation of the law. In this servile spirit they passed an act, the preamble to which contained a pompous and fabulous narrative of the felicity enjoyed by the nation for two thousand years, under a lineal sceptre swayed by one hundred and eleven monarchs. In the next place, the obsequious legislators proceeded to acknowledge the king's sacred, supreme, and absolute power and authority, with which, as they said, neither individuals nor collective bodies could interfere, but in an entire dependence upon his will, and by virtue of his commission.

As a further evidence of their submissiveness, they declared that all the male population from sixteen to sixty should be in readiness to assist his majesty, where, and as often as he might be pleased to require their services. At the same time, the whole of the excise upon inland and foreign commodities was annexed to the crown for ever. And in addition to these exorbitant grants, statutes were made, to render the laws against treason still more arbitrary and severe than those which already existed. This courtly complaisance of the parliament of Scotland was, however, exceeded by that of England, which increased the royal revenue to a degree far surpassing what had been enjoyed by any preceding monarch, except Henry VIII. Upon this, the northern senate met again, and made a voluntary offer to the king of a further annual grant of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, to be paid into his treasury half yearly. However gratifying this profusion of loyalty might be, a spirit of disaffection was spreading in both kingdoms, on which account a proclamation was published at Edinburgh early in May, for putting the country into a state of defence, and calling upon the people to be in readiness to assist the government in case of domestic insurrections or foreign invasions. This was no false alarm, for within a few days afterwards, the earl of Argyle, who, from the time of his escape to Holland, had been making preparations, with other exiles, to bring about a revolution, landed near the castle of Dunstaffnage, and having put a garrison into that fortress, marched into the interior. In his advance, the earl circulated what he called, "The declaration of the Protestant people, that is to say, of the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and commoners of all sorts, within the kingdom of Scotland, with the concurrence of the true and faithful pastors, and of several gentlemen of the English nation, joined with them in the same cause." This manifesto began with praising the covenant, and then proceeded to abuse the government for having abrogated the ordinances of God, in order to establish the inventions of men.

The right of the king to the throne was expressly denied, upon the principle of the bill of exclusion; and the parliament of England, called by his writ, was declared an illegal assembly. On these grounds, Argyle and his followers professed that they had taken up arms for the restoration of the Protestant religion, the extirpation of popery, and the satisfaction of all who had been sufferers in the cause of truth. In conclusion, they maintained that they would enter into no treaty, capitulation, or agreement with the king; but continue the war till their object should be attained. Lastly, they promised indemnity to all who would join them against a persecuting tyrant and an apostate party.

Besides this proclamation of a general nature, Argyle issued one in particular reference to himself, promising, upon the recovery of his estate, to pay both his own debts, and those of his father. He said, that he had patiently endured an exile of four years, by an unjust sentence pronounced against him in the reign of the late king, on whose death, and the invasion of the religion and liberties of the nation by the duke of York, he thought it his duty to God and his country, to oppose the present tyrannical usurpation; and to invite all true Protestants to concur with him in his undertaking. The parliament, immediately upon the news of this invasion, passed an act against field preachers and conventicles, with a denunciation of death to those who should frequent such assemblies. By another act, it was declared treason to take the solemn league and covenant; and all persons were required to swear allegiance to the king and government. Besides these legislative measures, the greatest exertions were made to raise forces, so that in the course of ten days there were near twelve thousand men in arms between Caithness and the Frith of Forth. By this time, Argyle, who was assisted by sir John Cochran, having collected a small number of volunteers, marched to Campbellton, where, being joined by some of his vassals, his force was increased to two troops of horse, and seven hundred foot. Soon afterwards he received a further accession of strength by the arrival of three hundred men from Iona, with whom he embarked for Bute, where he took the town of Rothesay. This advantage, however, was temporary, for on hearing that two of the king's ships were near, the earl suddenly returned to the main, and having fortified a castle called Allangregg for the protection of his vessels, he marched to the head of Lochfyne. On the 11th of June the marquis of Athol with a party of three hundred infantry, put to the rout a superior force belonging to Argyle; and, at the same time the king's ships took possession of the castle of Allangregg, which had been previously abandoned by the garrison, who left behind them a large quantity of arms and military stores. The earl, having still twenty-five hundred men, now directed his course towards Stirling, closely pursued by the king's troops under the command of the earl of Dunbarton, who overtook the insurgents at Killern; but night coming on, the royal forces rested till morning. At break of day it was found that Argyle's men had retreated and made their way across the Clyde, upon which Dunbarton, taking the cavalry and leaving the foot to follow, hastened after the fugitives, who, being fatigued and dispirited, had by this time separated. Argyle himself endeavoured to effect his escape in disguise, but was taken by a peasant and conveyed to Edinburgh, where he suffered death on the 30th of the same month, by virtue of his former sentence. He behaved with remarkable fortitude, and on the day of his execution ate a hearty dinner, at the end of which, when the minister came, the earl said, pointing to the fragments, "*Sero venientibus ossa.*" On the scaffold he made no speech, but the steadfastness with which he met his fate excited general commiseration. After the flight of the unfortunate chief, sir John Cochran and his party proceeded towards the coast, but seeing themselves hard pressed, they took up a strong position, from whence they were not dislodged without considerable loss to the king's troops. Cochran and his son, with colonel Ayloff and Thomas Rumbold, two Englishmen, were taken and carried to Edinburgh. Rumbold, who had been proscribed for his concern in the Rye-house plot, was hanged in the grass market; but Ayloff, after making some desperate attempts upon his own life, was sent up to London, where the king admitted him to his presence, and, for the purpose of drawing a confession from him, said, "You know it is in my power to

pardon you ; therefore say that which may deserve it." The prisoner replied, that " though he knew it was in the king's power, it was not in his nature, to pardon." And it proved so, for though Ayloffe was nearly related to the earl of Clarendon, he was hanged in Fleet-street, before the gate of the Inner Temple, of which society he had been a member. Cochran, however, who was the son of the earl of Dundonald, purchased his life by bribing the priests with five thousand pounds, and making some discoveries concerning the designs of the prince of Orange. During these transactions, the duke of Monmouth effected a landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, but this expedition proved as unfortunate and sanguinary in the result as that of Argyle. The duke, after penetrating into the heart of Somersetshire, and circulating a flaming manifesto which did him little credit, was defeated on Sedgemoor, taken prisoner, and conveyed to London, where he had an interview of the king, to whom he made many servile submissions in the hope of saving his life. But this meanness could not avert his doom, and he suffered decapitation with more resolution than his previous conduct had indicated.

Instead of acting with moderation, and endeavouring to reconcile the people to his government, the king now became so elated by the advantages which he had gained, that he seemed to take a delight in cruelty. The judicial murders, perpetrated under the mockery of law by the infamous Jefferies, while they excited general consternation and horror throughout the land, afforded pleasure to the monarch, who gave a decided proof of his satisfaction by making this tool of arbitrary power, lord high chancellor of England.

In Scotland the proceedings of the court exhibited the same headlong indiscretion and violence. Mass was openly celebrated, and attended by the chief officers of state, among whom were the earl of Perth, and his brother, the earl of Melfort, who, on the dismissal of the duke of Queensberry, were made joint commissioners of the treasury. These noble proselytes soon evinced the sincerity of their conversion, by deeds of oppression and barbarity. After the execution of Argyle, a rabble assembled, and insulted some of the nobility in their return from the Romish chapel. A baker, who was active in this riot, received sentence to be whipped through the Canongate ; but the mob rose, rescued the culprit from punishment, and continued all night in an uproar. To suppress the disturbance, the guards were called out, who fired among the mob, and killed two men and a woman. On the following day several persons were whipped for being engaged in this tumult ; but the privy council were so much afraid of the populace, that they ordered a large military force to attend the execution, and keep the people in awe. At the same time a drummer was condemned to be shot, for saying that he could find it in his heart to run his sword through the papists : and another person was hanged for expressing a similar sentiment over his cups. Such was the frightful state of things when the parliament reassembled at Edinburgh, on the 29th of April, 1686, wherein the earl of Murray presided as high commissioner. On this occasion the royal letter was read to the three estates of the realm, in which his majesty, after expressing a tender regard for all his people, particularly noticed the Roman Catholics, whose loyalty, he said, had been manifested in the most trying circumstances ; and therefore he desired that they should participate in the protection of the same laws and privileges as were enjoyed by the rest of his subjects.

Thus far the proposal was unobjectionable ; but when a party subservient to the court brought forward a motion for an act in favour of the papists, without any limitations ; the others became alarmed, and passed a bill, by which it was settled, that, though the members of that communion should be allowed the exercise of their religion in private, the statutes against their assembling in public should remain in full force. This tolerant measure gave so little satisfaction to the king, who had looked for a total repeal of the penal laws, and an unqualified liberty of worship, that he not only dissolved the parliament, but turned out the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Dunkeld, for the resolute stand which in this instance they had made against popery.

In England the parliament was still less tractable, for when the king, in his speech to both houses, recommended the adoption of a standing army, and at the same time declared that he had already employed officers in the military



service without obliging them to take the test; the commons rejected the proposal, and addressed his majesty not to suffer a violation of the laws for ever future. This freedom gave such offence, that the parliament was prorogued soon after, and never sat again during this reign. Instead of profiting by the warning which he had received, James persevered in his scheme of reducing the law to his will. Accordingly, by the advice of Jefferies, he instituted a new court, called the ecclesiastical commission, before which the bishop of London was summoned, to answer for his offence in refusing to silence Dr. Sharp, who had incurred the royal displeasure by preaching against popery. The bishop acted with uncommon resolution, and tendered a plea to the jurisdiction of the court, for which he was suspended from the exercise of the episcopal office. Soon after this, the privileges of the two universities were attacked, by sending a mandamus to Cambridge for the admission of Allen Francois, a Benedictine, to the degree of master of arts, without the oaths and another to Magdalen College, Oxford, enjoining the fellows to elect an Anthony Farmer president of that house, contrary to the statutes. In both instances the king met with a determined resistance, upon which the vicer-chancellor of Cambridge was deprived of his office, and at Oxford the disobedient fellows of the college, with Dr. Hough their president, were severely ejected, and pronounced incapable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment.

During these transactions, the privy council of Scotland received a proclamation, which they were enjoined to publish. In this edict, the king, after professing his regard for the rights of conscience, declared, that "He was resolved, so far as might be in his power, to unite the hearts and affections of his subjects. For this purpose, therefore, he thought fit, by virtue of his authority and prerogative royal, to grant toleration to the several professors of the Christian religion, namely, the moderate Presbyterians, meeting in their houses, and willing to embrace his indulgence, so as they did not build meeting-houses, use out-houses or barns, or field conventicles; in the next place Quakers; and then Papists, in favour of whom he did suspend, stop, and disable, all laws and acts of parliament, made against them, upon condition that they should exercise their religion in houses and chapels, and no where else. His majesty also discharged them from all the oaths hitherto required to qualify them for offices; instead of which they were only to swear obedience to the king, his heirs and successors, in the exercise of their absolute power." The privy council being completely subservient to the court, not only caused the proclamation to be published according to order, but returned humble thanks to the king for the paternal care which he had shown to the established religion. Encouraged by this ready obedience, the infatuated monarch proceeded to issue a similar declaration of liberty of conscience in England. But here he experienced an opposition which produced serious consequences, and gave an irreparable shock to his throne. On issuing an order that the declaration should be read in all churches and chapels, the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other prelates, drew up a petition in behalf of themselves and their absent brethren, praying that his majesty would not insist upon their reading and distributing a declaration, which, being founded upon a dispensing power, was illegal. Provoked at this resistance of his sovereign will and urged on by his Jesuitical advisers, the king was weak enough to commit the petitioning bishops to the Tower; and on the 29th of June, 1688, they were brought to trial in Westminster Hall for a misdemeanour, when, after some argument between the counsel, and hearing the opinions of the four judges on the case, the jury returned a verdict of acquittal. While this important affair was in agitation, the queen gave birth to a son, who was baptized by the name of James Francis Edward, and immediately created prince of Wales. The joy of the king at an event that seemed to promise the completion of the vast design which he had formed in favour of the Catholic religion, was so great, that he issued a proclamation for a public thanksgiving, to be observed throughout all his dominions. No where was the order obeyed with more alacrity than at Edinburgh, in which city the intelligence of the birth of a prince was received with an exultation that would have been extravagant at any time, but was peculiarly so, considering the oppression under which the people were then labouring. The heaviest restraints were laid upon

species of liberty. No books were allowed to be printed without the consent of the chancellor; and all the contents of the newspapers were obliged to be submitted to the inspection of a privy counsellor previous to publication. Several persons were imprisoned for vending tracts reflecting on popery, while works written in defence of that religion were encouraged, and circulated at the public expense. So great was the partiality of the government to popery, that when the effects of a printer of that persuasion were seized for rent, the whole were forcibly taken from the landlord, and conveyed for protection to the Abbey. Within the same precincts the Jesuits also were offered to open a school, and to receive children, whom they educated gratuitously.

It was very evident to discerning men of all parties, that a state so flagrantly hostile to the protestant religion, and odious to the spirit of the people, could not long be suffered to continue without a change. From the king no redress was to be expected, and therefore all eyes were directed to Holland, where immense preparations were making for some great expedition. That England was the object of this enterprise could not be doubted, and yet for some time James and his council were so incredulous, on what was apparent to all the world besides, that even the warning given by the French government was slighted, and the offer of military aid to defend the country against the threatened invasion was declined. At length the English cabinet became sensible of the approaching storm, but not till the ambassador of Louis XIV. had at the Hague presented a memorial to the states general upon their great armament by sea and land; and declared that any attempt made against England would be considered by the king, his master, as a declaration of war. James being now roused from his apathy, issued a proclamation, in which he stated his apprehension of an immediate invasion, but expressed his confidence in his national courage, and his own resolution to live and die in defence of the rights and privileges of the people.

Notwithstanding this shew of firmness, it became evident that the fears of the king preponderated over his hopes. He began when too late to retrace his steps, by promising to call a free parliament, to abolish the ecclesiastical commission, to restore the charters of the corporations, and to revoke the illegal acts which had been committed against public and private persons. A general pardon, with some exceptions, was next issued, and at the same time, as the birth of the prince was called in question, a committee of the privy council was appointed, to examine the evidence of the fact upon oath. Meanwhile the preparations in the Dutch ports went on with such activity, that by the beginning of October, fifty ships of war, with three hundred transports, and about fifteen thousand troops, were collected and ready to sail. The prince of Orange, who had married the eldest daughter of king James, preluded his embarkation by a manifesto, declaring the motives of his expedition to England, which were to call a free parliament, and to inquire into the birth of the prince of Wales. After encountering some rough weather, the fleet entered the channel, and arrived safely in Torbay on the fourth of November; but the prince did not land till the next day, when he immediately advanced to Exeter.

In the mean time the king had mustered his forces, and marched to Salisbury; but finding that little dependence was to be placed in his army, and that the nobility deserted him on all sides, he suddenly returned to London, in a state of mind bordering on distraction. In this exigency, he sent off the queen and infant prince to France for security, intending to follow them himself, if matters should render such a measure necessary. Accordingly, on the tenth of December he embarked in the river Thames with that design, but the wind proving adverse, he was landed at Faversham, where he was coldly treated by the rabble, who took him for a fugitive Jesuit. On being discovered, the greatest respect was paid to him; and he returned to London, his arrival being greeted with such demonstrations of joy, that, had he possessed sufficient resolution, he might have given great trouble to his rival; or though the people were displeased with the errors of his government, they pitied his misfortunes, and were far from wishing to see his throne transferred to a foreigner. The prince of Orange was so much embarrassed by the presence of the king at Whitehall, that he sent him orders to quit that palace,

with which mandate the degraded monarch complied, and went to Rochester, where, after drawing up a remonstrance against the treatment he had experienced, he again embarked for the coast of France, which he reached without any interruption.

On the king's departure, the prince of Orange assumed the reins of government, and, by his own authority, summoned together such persons as had sat in former parliaments, to meet him at St. James's. Accordingly, the Convention, as it was called, assembled at the time appointed, and, after hearing a short speech from the prince, adjourned to the house of commons, where they voted several resolutions, one of which was, "to return thanks to his highness for coming into this kingdom, exposing his person, and adventuring so great hazards, for the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties." Another was in the form of a petition that he would take upon him the administration of public affairs, both civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenue: and a third was, "to desire him to cause letters to be written, subscribed by himself, to the lords spiritual and temporal, and to the several counties, cities, and boroughs, for calling a General Convention, to meet on the twenty-second of January next."

All this was done; and the Assembly being divided into two houses as in a regular parliament, the commons came to this resolution, - That king James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, whereby the throne is become vacant." When this resolution was carried up to the lords the word "abdicated" was objected to, and "deserted" substituted in its room. But the lower house was so tenacious on this point, that, after a long conference, the peers yielded, and the original resolution was agreed to. Thus terminated the short but eventful reign of king James, by a revolution effected without bloodshed or disorder.

The next step adopted by the convention parliament was to dispose of the vacated crown, which, after much debate, was settled upon William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, with remainder to the princess Anne of Denmark, the second daughter of king James, and her heirs.

Having given an account of the transactions in England at this important period, our attention must be directed to the proceedings in Scotland, where still greater changes ensued. As soon as it was known that the prince of Orange had landed, and that the regular troops had marched to reinforce the English army, the disaffected presbyterians flocked to the capital, where they committed wanton outrages upon the houses of papists, episcopalians, and all others who were known to be friends to the exiled monarch. In the first instance, the mob proceeded to demolish the chapel of Holyrood-house, but were opposed by a party of the guards, who fired upon the crowd, and killed and wounded several persons. The rioters then withdrew, but soon returned, headed by the magistrates, who summoned the commanding officer to surrender, and, upon his refusal, an assault took place, in which some lives were lost on both sides. At length, however, the military were overpowered, and made prisoners; the church was despoiled of all its ornaments; and the college of the Jesuits was pulled down. Early in January, 1690, a convention of the principal nobles and gentlemen of Scotland met in London, at the desire of the prince of Orange, to consult upon what was proper to be done with regard to the settlement of affairs in their native country. In the assembly, the duke of Hamilton being president, it was agreed that a general meeting of the estates should be convened at Edinburgh, for the preservation of the peace and quiet of the kingdom. Upon this occasion, a remarkable difference arose between the noble duke and his eldest son, the earl of Argyll, for, while Hamilton was wholly devoted to the prevalent interest, the earl boldly proposed "that they should move the prince of Orange to desire the king to return, and call a free parliament, as the best and most legal mode of securing their religion and property." This proposition gave great offence to the majority of the assembly, some of whom said, that such a proceeding would be an act of ingratitude to the prince for what he had done. To the

he earl replied, "I wish to pay all imaginable deference to the prince, but I cannot violate my duty to the king my master. I must distinguish betwixt his popery and his person. I dislike the one, but have sworn, and do owe my allegiance to the other, which makes it impossible for me to take away that which I cannot forbear believing is the king my master's right; for his present absence from us to France, can no more affect my duty, than his longer absence has done all this while."

This speech produced such warm replies, that on the motion of the president, the further consideration of the subject was deferred till the meeting of the general convention at Edinburgh. Previous to that meeting, king James sent a letter to the nobility and gentry of Scotland, reminding them of their former loyal professions, and calling upon them to act consistently with those principles, by opposing the usurpation that had occurred. The convention of estates took not the least notice of this letter; but in answer to one received from the prince of Orange, they expressed themselves very strongly, congratulating him on his success, and thanking him for assuming the government.

In the next place, they passed a resolution declaring William and Mary king and queen of Scotland; but this tender of the crown was accompanied with a claim of rights, which they pretended were the fundamental and unalterable laws of the realm. One of these asserted that the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a parity among the clergy, all prelacy in the church was an usurpation, and an intolerable grievance. This, bishop Burnet calls an absurdity; but it might more justly have been termed a falsehood, or even allowing prelacy to have been a grievance, it was conformable to the ancient laws of the kingdom, and was confirmed by numerous statutes subsequent to the Reformation.

#### WILLIAM and MARY:

Pursuant to the resolution of the convention of estates, on the 11th of April, 1689, William Henry of Nassau, and Mary Stuart his royal consort, eldest daughter of James the Seventh, were proclaimed, as joint sovereigns of the realm, with the usual solemnities. This great change, however, was not effected without opposition; and the castle of Edinburgh, where the duke of Gordon commanded, still held out for the exiled king; as also did a considerable body of troops under general Graham of Claverhouse, who had been created viscount Dundee. An attempt was made to seize or assassinate the latter nobleman; but he made his escape, and after holding an interview with the duke of Gordon, proceeded to join his army, with which he marched to Linlithgow. The convention of estates now issued a proclamation forbidding all persons, of what quality soever, from acknowledging the authority of James the Seventh, or acting by virtue of any commission from him. Notwithstanding this, when the duke of Gordon was apprized of the arrival of the king in Ireland, he sent notice of that event to the magistrates of Edinburgh; and at the same time told them not to be surprised if he should fire upon the city. Meanwhile, lord Dundee marched towards Inverness, where he obliged the magistrates to acknowledge the exiled monarch, and to advance a sum for the support of his troops. On being joined by the clan of Macdonald of Keppoch, his lordship returned to Perth, and from thence went again to the Highlands; but on hearing that general Mackay, in the service of William, had landed with a united army of English and Dutch, he hastened to encounter him with two thousand three hundred foot, and about three hundred horse; which force, however, was far inferior to that of the enemy. Notwithstanding this, Dundee rather sought than avoided a battle, which was fought on the 16th of July, at a place called Killlicranky, near the Blair of Athol. The English and Dutch discharged a heavy fire, which the Highlanders returned as briskly, and then, throwing away their pieces, came on with their broad swords, in such a manner that the combined army, though disciplined and numerous, could not stand the shock, but dispersed in several directions. At this critical moment, the death of lord Dundee destroyed the advantages which had been procured, for the victors, dispirited by the loss of their chief, gave over the pursuit, and most of them returned home. The interest of king James

now became desperate, for the castle of Edinburgh surrendered, and the fall of this fortress was followed by that of the Bass, a fortified rock of great strength near Dunbar. The earl of Dunfermling, however, still kept the fort with a band of his vassals, and being joined by general Cannon, made a sudden attack upon Dunkeld, the garrison of which place submitted after a short resistance. At the approach of winter, general Buchan, who had been created marquis of Seaforth by king James, came over from Ireland, and having raised the clans of the Isles, marched towards Strathapey: but while resting at Cromdale, the Highlanders were surprised in the night by sir Thomas Livingston, who commanded seventeen troops of dragoons and three regiments of foot. Though the Highlanders suffered severely at first, they quickly rallied, and put the assailants to the rout. After this, some skirmishes took place, but without producing any thing decisive in favour of the rebels fugitive. On the contrary, the Highlanders who adhered to his cause suffered such privations, that at length James sent them word to make the best terms they could for themselves; and promised that such of them as thought proper to follow him to France should be provided for in that country. Accordingly some of the heads of clans applied for permission to leave the kingdom, which was granted; and the rest obtained an indemnity, on condition of taking the oath to the new government. Among those who submitted was Macdonald, lord of Glenco; but he had scarcely complied with the forms, and received his protection, than a party of soldiers was sent into that district, to quarter upon the inhabitants. At their first appearance, which was in the depth of winter, the old laird went out to meet them, and demanded, whether they came as friends or enemies? The officers answered, as friends, and gave him their pledge of honour that they would neither do harm to him or any of his people. Upon this assurance, the soldiers were received, and entertained with the best that the country afforded. The principal officers lived with the laird, who was so far from suspecting any harm, that he sat up with his guests in cheerful conversation on the last night of his life. Yet at this very time captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, who commanded the party, had a commission in his pocket from his superior officer, major Duncanson, as follows:

"Sir.—You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have special care, that the old fox and his sons do not, upon any account, escape your hands; and you are to secure the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five of the clock in the morning precisely; and be that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the king's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that those miscreants be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without feud or favour, or else you must expect to be treated as not true to the king and government, nor a man fit to carry a commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in fulfilling thereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand,

*Ballachollis, Feb. 11th, 1692.*

ROBERT DUNCANSON."

When Campbell received this bloody commission, he distributed his soldiers in the several houses according to the number of persons in each family, and so secretly was the business managed, that the poor people had not the least suspicion of their treacherous guests. Before daylight on the thirteenth, the assassins began their work with such celerity, that in a few minutes about fifty men were killed, besides six women and nine children. The old laird was shot through the head, and fell lifeless into his lady's arms; but the murderers removed the body, stripped it, and carried about the bloody shirt on a pike. Having committed this massacre, they set fire to the houses, and drove all the cattle to the garrison of Inverlochy. By the orders now given by Campbell, the whole family of Macdonald was to have been destroyed, but the infamous design was prevented; for the youngest son of the laird, being more watchful than the rest, discovered some symptoms of danger, which he imparted to his father, who paid no attention to the warning. The eldest son, however, had more prudence, and, by going into a private corner, overheard

me of the soldiers say to his comrade, that he did not like the work at all; or though he was ready enough to fight the Glencoe men fairly, it was base to murder them in cold blood. The other replied, "that they had nothing to do but to obey their commanders, upon whom all the guilt would lie, and not upon those who executed the orders of their superiors." Young Macdonald hearing this, hastened away to save his parents, but before he could reach their apartment, the house was filled with soldiers, who immediately began to put their sanguinary commission into execution, and butchered all the family, except the elder and younger sons, who fled under the cover of darkness.

As soon as the news of this atrocious massacre reached Edinburgh, it excited a general feeling of horror and indignation. Warm debates arose in parliament; but though several lords and gentlemen demanded immediate justice upon the murderers, the satellites of power contrived to throw obstacles in the way, and some even justified the deed, as necessary to check the spirit of rebellion. This abominable transaction, which was deepened in turpitude by the shield thrown over the perpetrators, completely alienated the Highlanders from the government; but their hatred was heightened afterwards, when it became known that a design had been actually formed to cut off all the clans in the same manner.

Another set of men who were barbarously treated at this period, were the clergy of the episcopal church. Immediately after the landing of the prince of Orange, the more zealous presbyterians took upon them, without any authority, to change the ecclesiastical discipline, and to persecute those ministers who adhered to the bishops and made use of the liturgy. Upon this, some of the sufferers hastened up to London, and solicited the protection of the prince. This he promised in words, but as before his departure from Holland he had given a secret pledge to the Covenanters that prelacy should be abolished, in the event of his proving successful, no stop was put to the troubles of the episcopalians; and when the presbyterian order was formally established by parliament, the persecution raged more violently than ever. A general assembly was now called, consisting of men who had little or no learning, but strongly actuated by the spirit of party, and full of enmity towards all who differed from them in opinion. Such was the violence of their proceedings, that William, who was a friend to toleration, became offended, and sent them a letter recommending to them a more temperate line of conduct, and the exercise of charity towards their brethren. As this counsel appeared like an interference with their spiritual jurisdiction, the bigots were so irritated, that they redoubled their fury against the episcopalians; upon which the king sent down orders to dissolve the assembly, and they on their part continued to sit in defiance of the royal writ, declaring that no earthly power had any authority over them. All this tended to foment discord, and to weaken the new government; for many who had hitherto favoured the revolution began to think that they had only exchanged one sort of slavery for another, and were therefore inclined to join the friends of the exiled monarch. The cabinet in England now became alarmed, and in 1693, the duke of Hamilton, who had for some time retired from public life, was desired to take the lead in the administration of Scotland, as high commissioner. By his prudent management, something like moderation took place, and the general assembly so far relaxed from their severity as to consent, though with no very good grace, to receive the deposed ministers into church communion. The conditions, however, were of a description that none of them could conscientiously comply with, for they were required to subscribe the confession of faith, and to abjure prelacy. Such were the terms of toleration; and when it was found that few would abandon their principles, the spirit of persecution was let loose again with additional virulence. But the episcopal clergy were not the only sufferers; for the laity also at this time were made to feel heavily the rod of oppression. Not satisfied with obliging all persons in official situations to take the oaths of allegiance, the parliament passed an act requiring them to subscribe what was called the "Assurance," declaring William and Mary to be the only rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms, and promising fidelity to them against King James and his adherents. Those persons who refused this test were

subjected to fines and imprisonment, in consequence of which the gaols were crowded. Among others, the lords Balcarras and Kilgyle were thrown into the dungeons of the common prison of Edinburgh, where they remained several years. Lord Melville, the secretary of state, received large sums from the families of some of the sufferers, to procure their release; but when he gave an assurance that this should be effected, he pocketed the money and forgot his promises. Nor was this all, for torture, which had been declared unconstitutional and illegal, was had recourse to, in order to extract evidence to criminate suspected and innocent persons. The consequence of these arbitrary measures was, as might be expected, that many men of rank and fortune quitted a country where they could not live in security; and which they were outlawed, and their estates were declared to be forfeited.

An event now occurred, which revived the hopes of the disaffected party, but though it threw a temporary cloud over the nation, nothing remained from it injurious to the public peace. This was the death of the queen, who sickened with the small-pox on the 21st of December, 1694, and seven days afterwards she was carried off by that dreadful disorder, in the thirty-third year of her age. Her death produced no change in the administration of affairs, nor even a dissolution of parliament, though it was expressly required by law on the demise of a sovereign. William had taken care to secure his entire possession of the throne long before, so that this loss was little regarded in a political light. Yet the state of the public mind was far from being tranquil at this period. Few, except those who were favourites of the king, felt satisfied with being under the rule of a foreigner, who on all occasions evinced more regard for his hereditary estates, than for the British dominions. Besides this, the ungraciousness of his manners, the severity of his government, and the expense incurred by a war in which England could be no gainer, contributed to render the people discontented. But there were several other causes of complaint, for while the country was loaded with taxes, trade decayed, the funds were reduced to a very low state, and the coin was depreciated by clipping, that a guinea of full weight rose in nominal value to thirty shillings.

Amidst these discouraging circumstances, a spirit of enterprise was excited in Scotland by the establishment of a company of merchants, who obtained an act of incorporation in 1695, permitting them to trade to Africa and both the Indies. This measure received the royal sanction, and the company was confirmed, with the accustomed privileges, by letters patent under the great seal. As soon as this became known in England, it occasioned a great ferment, and the two houses of parliament addressed the king to revoke his grant and suppress the institution. William excused himself by throwing the whole blame upon his ministers in Scotland, who were in consequence turned out of their places: upon which a great uproar arose throughout the nation, and the people were so infuriated against the government, that it seemed as if a leader only was wanted, to involve them in open rebellion. In the midst of this disturbance the directors went on in their project, which met with supporters both in England as well as in Scotland; though the parliament of the former kingdom passed a resolution for impeaching some of them as guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours. This absurd fulmination was the ground; but the managers of the institution, in order to appease their opponents, now dropped that part of their plan which interfered with the East India trade, and assumed for their establishment the simple term of the African Company.

Scotland after this suffered very severely by the failure of two successive harvests, which produced such misery that many families left the country to seek a settlement in Ireland. In the midst of this distress a parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, but without accomplishing any thing of importance for the public benefit. Nor did the peace which was concluded at Ryswick in the summer of 1697, bring with it an adequate return for the sacrifices which had been made in the prosecution of the war. The only object the Great Britain gained by this treaty was the recognition of William as her sovereign; for which compliment the French protestants were abandoned to their fate, and the persecution of those poor people was renewed with increased violence.

To the African company of Scotland, the effects of this peace were also extremely calamitous. That association having altered their plan, to avoid giving outrage to the English East India Company, now formed a design of colonizing that part of the isthmus of Darien which was unoccupied by any European power. Accordingly a large capital was raised, and six ships were sent out, with a number of families and stores, to establish the new settlement. On their arrival at the place of destination, their first concern was to make friends of the Indians, and to effect a regular purchase of the ground for the foundation of the intended settlement. This being accomplished, they set to work with great activity, and threw up fortifications for their protection. The precaution was necessary, for the Spaniards in the neighbourhood soon took alarm, and made a desperate attack upon the Scots, who defeated them with considerable loss. When the news of this success reached Edinburgh, the joy of the people was unbounded; the houses were illuminated, thanksgivings were offered up in the churches; and the university celebrated the event by a public act, at which the magistrates assisted in their formalities. But this gleam of sunshine was of momentary duration; for the English government sent out a proclamation to the colonies in America and the West Indies, interdicting all commercial intercourse with the settlement of Darien. The Spaniards upon this renewed their efforts; and as the Scots were forsaken on all sides, they abandoned the place, after many desperate conflicts, and returned home reduced in numbers, and in a state of the utmost misery. This reverse of fortune, by which many families were plunged in ruin, occasioned such tremendous riots, that the high commissioner and other ministers of state were afraid to make their appearance in public for some time, during which the business of parliament was suspended, and every thing wore a terrific appearance. At length, by the prudent management of the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Argyle, the tempest subsided; and though the people obtained no satisfaction for their losses, they ceased to give the government any farther disturbance. For this restoration of tranquillity Queensberry received the order of the garter, and Argyle was raised to the rank of a duke. In the mean time the death of the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne of Denmark, occasioned an act of parliament for the further limitation of the crown to the princess Sophia of Hanover, the youngest daughter of Elizabeth Stuart, sister of Charles the First, and her heirs, being protestants. While this important measure was in progress, a protest against it was published all over Europe, on behalf of the duchess of Savoy, daughter of the princess Henrietta of Orleans, as having a prior claim to the crown of England.

On the sixth of September, 1701, died at St. Germain's in France, James the Seventh, after an exile of near thirteen years. In his last sickness he was visited by Louis the Fourteenth, who consoled him with the promise of acknowledging his son as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The French monarch was as good as his word, and his example was followed by most of the other Catholic powers. King William upon this immediately ordered his ambassador, the earl of Manchester, to leave Paris without having an audience; and at the same time Poussin, the French resident here, received a peremptory command to quit the kingdom. Thus was the flame of war relumed on an occasion of personal rather than national concern; for the mere declaration in favour of the prince of Wales, as the son of James had hitherto been called, could be no more dangerous to England than the assumption of the title of king of France was to that power. Yet such was the insatiation of the people, that they seemed eager to rush into another contest, and to bear the principal burden of an alliance that was now formed between Great Britain, Holland, and Germany, against France and Spain. In the same spirit of political rage, the parliament passed a bill for abjuring the prince of Wales, and another for attainting both him and his mother, the queen dowager, though the one was a child incapable of treason, and the other was not a subject of England.

In the midst of these proceedings, and before any decisive blow had been struck by either of the belligerents, another change took place. This was the death of the principal mover of the new war in which Europe was now



involved. King William during his visit to Holland in the preceding summer was attacked by an ague, which reduced him to a state of great weakness. After his return, he spent much of his time in riding about the park at Hampton Court; and it was thought that his health was thereby considerably recruited. On the morning of the 26th of February, however, the horse which he rode stumbled, and the king in falling broke his collar-bone. The fracture was reduced, and to all appearance no danger seemed likely to result from the casualty. But the constitution of the royal patient being already enfeebled, a fever ensued, which carried him off, at Kensington, on the morning of the 8th of March, in the 52d year of his age, and the 14th of his reign. On the 12th of April the mortal remains of the monarch were deposited with due solemnity in the royal vault at Westminster.

#### ANNE.

Anne, the second daughter of king James, by lady Anne Hyde, was born February 6th, 1664, and married on the 28th of July, 1683, to prince George of Denmark, by whom she had six children, who all died young. Immediately on the demise of king William, the privy council caused her to be proclaimed queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which ceremony was performed on the same day with the customary solemnity. In two days afterwards her majesty met both houses of parliament, to whom she made a speech, wherein, after declaring her resolution to maintain the protestant succession, she recommended the settlement of a union between England and Scotland. She also assured them that it should be her constant endeavour to make the best return for the duty and affection they had expressed towards her, by a diligent and careful administration for the good of all her subjects; and that, as her heart was entirely English, there was not any thing they could expect or desire from her, which she would not be ready to do, for the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom; and that they should always find her a strict and religious observer of her word."

Her majesty about the same time sent a letter to the privy council of Scotland, authorising them, till they should receive new commissions, to continue as they were before the demise of the late king; and assuring them that she would maintain the government already established, both in church and state. The principal members of the administration then in office were, the earl of Marchmont, chancellor; the earl of Melville, president of the council; the duke of Queensberry, lord privy seal, the earls of Seafield, and Hyndford, secretaries of state, the earl of Selkirk, lord register, Adam Cockburn, deputy treasurer, sir John Maxwell, justice clerk, and sir James Stewart, lord advocate. On the 23d of April, being St. George's day, the queen was crowned at Westminster, with the usual magnificence. Previous to this solemnity, and in conformity to an act passed after the Revolution, she took the coronation oath for the kingdom of Scotland, in the presence of about twelve of the late king's ministers for that nation. This, however, gave offence to some men, who being disposed to censure every thing, said that the ceremony ought not to have been done, except in the presence of persons properly deputed for the purpose, either by the parliament, or the privy council of Scotland.

Another circumstance occasioned still more serious differences. The convention of estates, which after the Revolution had been made a parliament, continued as such during the whole of the former reign, without being dissolved. In this period an act passed, declaring that the parliament actually sitting at the death of the king, should continue for six months longer, but with powers expressly limited to the maintenance of the protestant religion, and the security of the public peace. It was also enacted that the parliament should meet twenty days after the royal demise. Instead of this, the queen continued to prorogue the parliament from time to time for near three months, on which account many concluded that it was virtually dissolved. On the 9th of June, however, the session was opened by the duke of Queensberry, as high commissioner; but when he began according to custom to read the royal letter, the duke of Hamilton rose, and, after an exordium of loyal expressions, introduced the following protest, "Forasmuch as by the

fundamental laws and constitution of this kingdom, all parliaments do dissolve by the death of the king or queen, except in so far as is innovated by the 17th act, 6th session, of king William's parliament, last in being at his decease, to meet, and act what should be needful for the defence of the true protestant religion as now by law established, and maintaining the succession to the crown as settled by the claim of right, and for preserving and securing the peace and safety of the kingdom; and seeing that the said ends are fully satisfied by her majesty's accession to the throne, whereby the religion and peace of the kingdom are secured, we conceive ourselves not now warranted by the law to meet, sit, or act; and therefore do dissent from any thing that shall be done or acted." His grace having concluded, desired that his protestation should be entered in the register, with the names of the other members who concurred with him, amounting in all to eighty-one, after which his grace and his partisans withdrew. Notwithstanding this secession, there still remained one hundred and twelve members, who voted themselves a free and legal parliament; and declared that, pursuant to the ancient laws of the realm, it was high treason to call in question their authority. They also ratified all the statutes that had been passed in favour of the presbyterian discipline, in which, however, they proceeded with great violence; and when Mr. Alexander Bruce opposed them, and said some of the acts were inconsistent with monarchy, he was expelled the house. The queen having in her letter recommended to the Scottish parliament two measures; one for providing supplies to carry on the war, and the other to deliberate on the most effectual means of uniting the two kingdoms, a committee was appointed to prepare a suitable address to the throne, which was in every respect favourable to both objects. By one act they recognized the queen's title to the crown against all opponents; by another they empowered her majesty to nominate commissioners to treat of the proposed union; and by a third they laid a tax upon land-rents sufficient to keep up the military force then existing in Scotland for two years longer. Thus far matters began to go more smoothly; but when an oath to abjure the pretender to the throne was proposed, it occasioned warm debates, and was rejected, as also was a bill to adopt the act of succession that had been recently passed in England. The party in opposition having succeeded in overthrowing these motions, now endeavoured to strengthen themselves for more vigorous operations, to which end they solicited the seceding members to return to their seats. Aware of this, and desirous of concluding the session amicably, the high commissioner on the 30th of June suddenly adjourned the parliament, in a speech full of compliment on their loyalty and unanimity in recognizing her majesty's royal authority, and securing the protestant religion and the presbyterian government.

In the month of October following, the commissioners for treating of the union of the two kingdoms met at Whitehall, where the lord keeper Wright presided as the head of the English deputies, and the duke of Queensberry as the chief of the Scots. After they had adjusted the preliminaries, the queen presided the assembly, and in a short speech expressed her anxious desire that an important business in which they were engaged might be brought to a speedy conclusion, for the benefit of both kingdoms. But though they continued to sit during the winter, little more was done than to receive and deliberate on the proposals of the Scots in regard to an equal participation in foreign and domestic trade.

By this time the proposed union became the subject of considerable agitation in Scotland, and as there was no mention of religion in the outline of the plan, the presbyterians began to be alarmed, and under some apprehension that there was a secret design on foot to bring in prelacy. On the other hand the episcopal clergy conceived such lively hopes from the measure, that about the latter end of December they sent up an address to the queen, setting forth the sufferings they endured, and praying for her royal favour. To this the queen returned a very gracious answer, and, as a pledge of her good intentions, she caused a letter to be sent to the privy council of Scotland, recommending the ministers of that communion to their special care and protection in the exercise of their religion.

Beyond this, however, nothing was done for the benefit of these people;

and in the mean time the spirit of party produced violent heats and animosities throughout Scotland.

On the 6th of March 1703, a royal proclamation was issued, wherein the queen granted an indemnity and free pardon to all her northern subjects who had been banished, or pronounced guilty of treasonable and seditious practices, subsequent to the revolution. By this amnesty a particular day was fixed for the return home of all those who wished to avail themselves of the indulgence. Early in May a new parliament met at Edinburgh, when the duke of Queensberry, who presided again as lord high commissioner, sent a letter from her majesty, in which she desired them to lay aside all enmity, and bring matters to such a happy conclusion as might establish a lasting union betwixt her and the people. Instead, however, of pursuing the moderate course so judiciously recommended to them, the members of this assembly split into opposite factions, and attacked each other with the most sanguinous animosity. The first matter that came under consideration was an act asserting the queen's title. Before the bill went to the vote, the lord advocate proposed adding to it a clause, in these words: "That it shall be treason to quarrel her majesty's right and title to the crown, or her exercise of the government, from her entry to the same." Though there was nothing objectionable or ambiguous in this supplementary declaration, it did not pass without great difficulty, and that after a long debate of four days. The next business which came under discussion was a motion for granting toleration to the episcopal clergy; but so powerful was the presbyterian interest, and vindictive the spirit of the party, that it fell to the ground. The victors in this contest followed up their advantage, by getting a new law passed in their own favour, making it high treason to endeavour any alteration in the church government as now established. Thus the hopes of the episcopalians were not only blasted, but they were exposed to a more terrible persecution than ever, and while the dissenters in England were enjoying full liberty of conscience, with the right of seeking a further reform in the church, the presbyterians in Scotland made it felony to worship God in any other place or manner than had been prescribed by the infallible decision of the general assembly. After this, the parliament proceeded to regulate the succession of the crown, when it was proposed, that on the demise of her majesty, the entire administration should be in the parliament. Though the motion did not succeed, the authors of it gained one essential point towards turning the government into a republic, by passing an act, declaring that no succeeding monarch should have the power to make war without the consent of parliament. In the midst of these violent proceedings, the earl of Marchmont ventured to introduce a bill for settling the succession on the house of Hanover. No sooner, however, did the clerk begin to read the preamble, than an uproar arose, and many of the members demanded that the proposer should be sent to the castle. This was overruled, but the dissensions continued to such a degree, that the commissioner, after giving the royal assent to some private acts, adjourned the parliament. Soon after the breaking up of this turbulent assembly, the queen endeavoured to reduce things to some moderation in Scotland, by raising the marquises of Douglas and Athol to the ducal dignity, the viscounts Stairs, Roseberry and Tarbot, lord Boyle, James Stewart, and Charles Hope, to the rank of earl, while John Crawford and sir James Fergusson were created viscounts of Garrock and Primrose. At the same time her majesty revived the order of the Thistle, which was instituted by her father, but had been laid aside by William. The number of knights was now limited to twelve, and the first upon whom the honour of wearing the garter riband was conferred, were the dukes of Argyll and Athol, and the earls of Annandale, Orkney, and Seafield.

The dissensions in Scotland, however, still continued to rage with great fury, and the enmity of the people to the English nation was expressed in such a manner as threatened the most serious consequences. At this time both kingdoms were agitated by the rumour of a design, on the part of the French, to land a force in Scotland, to co-operate with the disaffected Highlanders. This Scotch plot was the contrivance of Simon Fraser, of the house of Lovat, a man notoriously infamous, and an outlaw, for a rape committed on the

lister of the duke of Athol. After spending some years in France, he revisited his native country in disguise, and on his return to the continent made the court of St. Germain believe that the clans were ready to rise in a body, if they were provided with an adequate supply of arms, money, and officers. Though the French ministers paid little attention to the statement, they sent Frazer back with letters and a commission to use his efforts in the cause. At his landing, instead of making the best of his way to Scotland, he waited upon the duke of Queensberry, to whom he gave an account so palpably fictitious, that it is surprising how a man of common discernment could have been deceived by it. Among the letters was one to the duke, then marquis of Athol, from the widow of king James. This was enough to throw a doubt at least over the whole business, for it exceeded all probability that a nobleman who had been so deeply injured as Athol was by Frazer, should receive the ruffian into his confidence. The foul character of the informer, and his present treachery, ought to have operated in an indignant rejection of his testimony, and the delivery up of his person to the punishment which he had merited. But the duke of Queensberry acted in a different manner. He made a report to the queen of the intelligence he had received, and so alarmed her fears, that she gave him permission to adopt such steps as in his judgment the circumstances required. Accordingly the duke sent Frazer with a pass under another name to Holland, for the purpose of making further discoveries. In the mean time sir John Maclean, the head of a clan, and a Roman Catholic, was taken up on the coast of Kent, as also were several other persons in different places; among whom was the noted presbyterian minister, Robert Ferguson, who from being a virulent republican had turned Jacobite. But though all this produced a great ferment throughout both nations, and a violent dissension between the two houses of parliament in England, respecting the right assumed by the lords to investigate the business separately; nothing came of it, nor did any person suffer on the occasion. In Scotland public resentment rose to a high pitch, and one David Baillie was sentenced to the pillory and banishment at Edinburgh, for aspersing the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, as being concerned in the plot.

The conduct of the duke of Queensberry rendered him so unpopular, that it was not deemed advisable to entrust him again with the office of lord high commissioner. That dignity, therefore, was now conferred upon the marquis of Tweeddale, who on the 11th of July, 1704, opened the parliament, at which time he read the queen's letter, wherein her majesty expressed her great concern on account of the divisions that had prevailed in the preceding session; earnestly recommending to them the adoption of such measures as would contribute to the peace and prosperity of the nation.

The commissioner then addressed the assembly, and in forcible language represented the desire of the queen to have the succession of the crown settled for the preservation of the protestant religion. The earl of Seafield lord chancellor, and the earl of Cromarty the secretary, followed in a similar strain, but without producing much effect on a body of men inveterately prejudiced against the English government. When the ministers had finished, Seaton of Pitmedden introduced a motion that the house would support the queen, without naming a successor to the crown during this session of parliament; and would agree to settle such conditions of government as should best conduce, in the event of her majesty's death, to free the kingdom from all English influence, preparatory to a federal union." This resolution, the object of which was to separate rather than unite the two realms, was succeeded by another, of which the duke of Hamilton was the proposer, to this effect, "That they would not name a successor till the Scots had settled a treaty with England for regulating their commerce and other concerns." Upon this motion great debates arose, in the course of which many severe reproaches were thrown out against the English parliament, respecting the pretended plot. An address was voted to the queen, requesting that she would order the papers relating to that affair to be laid before them. At the same time it was stated that the intermeddling of the English house of lords in that matter, was not only an encroachment on the independence of Scotland, but an infringement of her majesty's prerogative, as sovereign of that

kingdom; and she was desired to adopt such measures as might prevent the like usurpation in future." In the next place they passed what was called an act of security, wherein it was decreed, that in case the queen died without issue, the estates of Scotland should have the power to nominate a successor; provided he or she was not the successor to the crown of England. It was further enacted, that all the protestant heritors and burghs, should furnish themselves with arms, and be disciplined once a month.

To secure the passing of these extravagant acts, the authors artfully connected them with the bill of supply; in consequence of which, as government was now much straitened to maintain the army, the royal assent was given to what would in any other case have been rejected. But this concession only aggravated the spirit of discontent in both nations; for while the English became alarmed at the hostile language and preparations of the Scots, the latter highly resented the refusal of the queen to send down the required papers concerning the plot which reflected so strongly upon the nation's character. Such was the disordered state of affairs when the parliament broke up on the 27th of August, being adjourned to the beginning of October; but no sitting then took place.

Meanwhile the parliament of England again met, when the house of lords entered with great warmth upon the late proceedings in the legislative assembly of the sister kingdom. Accordingly a bill was brought in, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners to treat of a full union of the two nations as soon as the parliament of Scotland should pass an act to the same purpose. But this step to conciliation was immediately rendered nugatory by a clause enacting that if such union should be rejected by that kingdom, then after a day to be named, no native of Scotland except such as resided in England or Ireland, or was employed in the queen's service by sea or land, should enjoy the privileges of a naturally born subject. Another offensive clause prohibited the importation of the cattle and manufactures of Scotland into any part of the English dominions; and of the exportation of wool from the latter country to the former. In conclusion, authority was given to the commanders of ships of war, to make prize of all vessels trading between Scotland and France.

This hostile bill, on being sent down to the commons, was rejected; but a new one was framed, embodying the substance of the resolutions, which passed, and received the royal assent. In the midst of these intemperate proceedings, another circumstance occurred to inflame the national animosity. A ship belonging to the African company of Scotland was seized in the Thames; and though repeated applications were made to the English ministers for restitution, it was constantly refused. Upon this the proprietors demanded redress from their own government, which gave them authority to take, by way of reprisal, an English East Indian trader, commanded by one Green, then lying in the Forth. At this juncture it was discovered that the vessel, thus detained, had been engaged in piratical practices, during which the master and crew of a Scotch vessel in the West Indies were murdered. Upon this, Green and some of his people were tried, and though the evidence against them was far from being satisfactory, they were convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. Great exertions were made to save their lives, but the populace arose in such formidable numbers, that the privy council became alarmed, and ordered Green and two others to be executed, to prevent further disturbances.

On the 28th of June 1705, the parliament was opened by the duke of Argyll who, as the queen's commissioner, earnestly recommended a settlement of the protestant succession, and an act for uniting the two kingdoms. Nothing was done in regard to the first measure; and the second was delayed till the English parliament should repeal the act which declared the Scots to be aliens. This being done, the way became clear, and a bill was passed empowering her majesty to appoint a new commission for the accomplishment of the desired object. Accordingly, on the 16th of April 1706, the commissioners for each kingdom met at Somerset House, and continued to sit with indefatigable diligence till the 22d of July, when, having completed the articles agreed upon, they laid the same before the queen, who expressed her

satisfaction that so great a work was likely to be accomplished in her reign. The same day a proclamation was issued, prohibiting all persons, under heavy penalties, from publishing libels, or being concerned in policies of assurance relating to the union.

Lord Somers was the prime mover of this business, which met with general support in England, though the advantages were decidedly in favour of the Scots, who were to bear less than the fortieth part of the public taxes. As an equivalent for this, and for the loss of their separate legislature, the peers of Scotland were to be represented by sixteen of that body in the upper, and the commons by forty-five members in the lower house of parliament. And since Scotland was to pay the same rates of custom and excise as the English, besides sustaining a share of the burdens contracted during the war, it was settled that, by way of compensation, three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds sterling should be sent down from England, part of which sum to be applied to a recoinage, part to the payment of the public debt of that country, and a third portion to the relief of the African company, which institution was now to be dissolved. In addition to these grants, trade was to be free over all the island, and to the plantations; private rights were to be preserved; and the judicatories and laws of Scotland were to be continued, subject to the regulation of the British parliament. Nothing was said of religion in the treaty, to avoid creating jealousies, especially among the presbyterians, who dreaded an alliance with England, lest it should produce a change in the ecclesiastical government. But the silence observed on this subject, instead of giving satisfaction, had a contrary effect, and the people were now made to believe that it was intended to impose upon them the hierarchy and liturgy of the church of England. Hence a fierce opposition arose against the union, and at the meeting of parliament on the third of October, the city of Edinburgh exhibited alarming symptoms of commotion. The duke of Queensberry, who presided as high commissioner, endeavoured to bring the assembly into good humour, and to allay the fears of the people, by saying that he had authority from the queen to give a full assent to whatever alterations or additions might be necessary for the perfection of the union. The articles were then read, and ordered to be printed, after which an adjournment took place for a week. By this time a violent excitement took place, and a general uproar ensued. The courts of the parliament house and the square adjoining were crowded by an infinite multitude of all ranks, who insulted the high commissioner, and every friend to the union; while its opponents were cheered with loud acclamations. Nor did the populace content themselves with mere invective. Numerous addresses against the obnoxious measure were presented, and when these failed to produce any effect, pains were taken to urge the rabble on to acts of outrage. Accordingly, on the 23d of October the mob attacked the house of sir Patrick Johnston the provost, who was one of the commissioners, and a strenuous promoter of the union. Though his doors were strongly barricaded the assailants forced them, and would have murdered the chief magistrate, had he not got away in disguise. Towards night the insurgents had so increased in number and strength, that they were complete masters of the city; but at length a party of soldiers gained possession of the Netherbow, and afterwards another body of troops occupied the parliament square and principal avenues, by which means the tumult was then quelled. The privy council now issued a proclamation against riots and disorderly meetings; which measure was approved of by the parliament, who also concurred in calling out the military. All this, however, could not allay the fears of the duke of Queensberry, who was not only apprehensive that the union would fall to the ground, but that his life would be sacrificed in the attempt to carry it into effect. The rest of the ministry had more courage, and were determined to proceed, taking care at the same time to provide sufficient force for their protection. For this purpose the whole army was brought into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; and while three regiments of foot did constant duty in the city, a battalion of guards was stationed at the abbey, and a troop of horse constantly attended the high commissioner. None but members were permitted to enter the square while the house was sitting, and the duke

always went with a file of musketeers on each hand (o his coach, which was driven at full speed to his lodgings, amidst the execration and pelting of the rabble. Notwithstanding this violence without, and the strenuous opposition within the house, the act of union passed, and on the 23d of March, 1706, expired the last parliament of Scotland.

This great business in the mean time came under the consideration of the English senate, when the house of commons passed the bill for ratifying the articles immediately; but the peers deemed it necessary to accompany the act with another, for the security of the church of England, because in Scotland a clause had been introduced in favour of the presbyterian government. Some warm debates were produced on different articles of the treaty; but though several protests were entered, the bill was finally carried by large majorities, and received the royal assent.

The first of May being fixed upon for the commencement of the Union, the queen directed that the epoch should be celebrated by a religious solemnity. Accordingly on that day her majesty went in great state to the cathedral church of St. Paul, where Dr. Talbot, bishop of Oxford, preached a sermon suitable to the occasion.

On the 23d of October the first parliament of Great Britain assembled, and in the following month a petition was presented to the house from several merchants of Scotland, complaining of the seizure of various articles of commerce which had been imported by them into England, by virtue of the act of union. Upon this the attorney-general received orders to stop all proceedings in these cases, and to cause an immediate restitution of the goods to the respective owners. A still more important affair concerning the government of Scotland ensued soon after this, on the question whether that part of the united kingdom should continue to have a privy council distinct from that of England. A bill to consolidate both was brought into the commons, and sent up to the lords, where it was warmly opposed by the Scottish peers and several of their English friends; but their efforts to procure its rejection or procrastination proved unavailing, and it was enacted that, from and after the first of May 1706, there should be but one council for the united kingdom of Great Britain. At the same time it was settled that the duties and privileges of justices of peace should be the same in Scotland as in England; and that the lords of judicatory should be appointed to go the circuits twice every year.

These changes, though obviously called for by the new state of things, to prevent the evil that must have arisen from two administrations under one legislature, gave great offence to the Scots, whose pride was hurt at the loss of the last relic of national independence. The spirit of discontent, indeed, spread so far, that many, who had hitherto supported the revolution and protestant succession, began now from motives of revenge to coalesce with the determined Jacobites. The court of France, upon this, ever watchful for an opportunity to strike a blow in favour of the son of the late king James, caused an armament to be fitted out with the utmost expedition at Dunkirk. The command of this fleet, which consisted of twenty-six ships, was given to count Forbin, who had instructions to convey the Chevalier de St. George, as the exiled prince was commonly called, with twelve battalions of soldiers, to the coast of Scotland. These preparations were so well managed, that for some time the English ministers had no idea of their destination. At the end of February, however, the real object of the enterprise became known, and admiral sir George Byng was despatched to sea, with a squadron fully adequate to encounter the enemy. The appearance of this force off Dunkirk had the effect of suspending the embarkation that was then going on there; and Forbin sent to his court for fresh instructions. But the answer to his representation was a peremptory command to proceed with all expedition; and this he was now enabled to do by the departure of the English ships to their own coast, owing to the contrary winds. All the troops being embarked, the French admiral put to sea on the 10th of March, with a fair wind; but the same night it changed, and the ships were obliged to come to an anchor in the Newport-diep, where they continued till the 11th, and then set sail for Scotland. Meanwhile sir George Byng rein-

forced his fleet in the Downs, and when the weather became moderate, stood over to the opposite coast, where, on learning that the French had gained the advantage of him by one day, he left a detachment under admiral Baker, near Ostend, and proceeded with the utmost celerity in pursuit of the enemy.

The French had scarcely cast anchor at the mouth of the Forth, when the English fleet appeared in sight; upon which Forbin gave orders instantly to anchor, and stand out to sea. This was on the 13th in the morning, when a general pursuit and running fight took place; but as the French vessels were clean and fast sailers, they all escaped except the *Salisbury*, which had been taken from the English some time before. On board of her were lord Griffin and lord Claremont, with his brother, the two sons of the earl of Middleton, colonel Wauchope, several Irish officers, and about four hundred soldiers. Though the fugitive ships dispersed in the pursuit, they afterwards joined each other, when a council of war was held, as to the course that should be adopted. At first it was proposed to attempt a landing near Inverness, which plan met with the approbation of the Chevalier; but was given up for the want of pilots, and the whole squadron then returned to Dunkirk. Thus terminated an enterprize which had excited very alarming apprehensions, and not without reason, for the people of Scotland were at this time so generally discontented, that, had the Chevalier landed with a respectable force, no doubt could be entertained of his being joined by numbers of disaffected persons, as well Protestants as Catholics.

As soon as the French fleet appeared in the Frith, an express was despatched to the earl of Leven, the commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, who immediately held a consultation with the magistrates of Edinburgh. The result was, that the several corporations agreed to muster twelve hundred men to serve with the regular troops; and, at the same time, the magistrates put under arrest such persons as were suspected of disloyalty. In addition to these precautionary measures, the government called over a considerable military force from Ostend, and the disposable troops in Ireland. On this occasion the two houses of parliament also addressed the queen, desiring her to take care of her royal person, and promising to stand by her with their lives and fortunes, in maintenance of her undoubted right and title, against the pretended prince of Wales, and all her enemies. These loyal professions were accompanied with strong suspicions of domestic treachery, and an earnest request that her majesty would beware of those persons who endeavoured to lessen her confidence in the commanders of her armies and the managers of her treasures.

As soon as the danger was over, the magistrates of Edinburgh expressed their gratitude to sir George Byng, by presenting him with the freedom of their city in a gold box. They also gave a splendid entertainment to the gallant admiral and his principal officers.

During the alarm occasioned by the appearance of the French fleet, and after its departure, numerous arrests took place. Among other persons of distinction, who became objects of jealous apprehension, were the dukes of Gordon and Hamilton, the marquis of Huntley, the earls of Errol, Marischal, Seaforth, Nithisdale, Murray, Traquair, and Aberdeen, the viscounts Stormont, Kenmore, and Kilsyth; the lords Drummond, Nairn, James Murray, Sinclair, Balmerinoch, Belhaven; and the aged bishop of Edinburgh. The duke of Hamilton was soon set at liberty; but the others were confined for some weeks in different prisons of Scotland: after which they were sent under a strong guard to London, where the principal noblemen were committed to the Tower, and the rest to Newgate. Not one of them, however, suffered death, nor was any prosecution instituted against either of them; but lord Belhaven, who had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Union, died in prison.

On the first of April the parliament was prorogued by the queen in person, who made a speech, in which she said "that the zeal and affection they had shewn for her service at this juncture, was an undeniable proof that they thought all that was dear to them was perfectly safe under her government; and must be irrecoverably lost, if ever the designs of a popish pretender, bred up in the most arbitrary principles, should take place." In allusion to the intended invasion, she said, "Very false representations must have been



made by some of her subjects, to encourage so desperate an attempt, in which account she thought it proper to recommend the putting the statutes into execution against papists, and other disaffected persons; who should be compelled to pay to the full amount the taxes which the law required, it being reasonable that the fomenters of such disturbances should be made responsible for the evils they produced."

On the 15th of the same month, the parliament was dissolved: and within a week, writs were issued for calling a new one. According to a proclamation, commanding the peers of Scotland to meet at Holyrood House, for the purpose of electing sixteen of their number to sit and vote in the upper house of parliament, the lords assembled on the 17th of June, when they chose for their representatives the dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, the marquis of Lothian, the earls of Crawford, Rothes, Marr, Loudon, Wemyss, Northesk, Seafield, Roseberry, Leven, Orkney, Glasgow, and Lisle.

On the 18th of November the new parliament assembled, but owing to the recent death of prince George of Denmark, the queen could not open the session in person. The chancellor, therefore, in her name, addressed both houses, announcing the prospect of a peace, but recommending vigorous preparations for war, in case the negotiations should fail.

The first matter of importance that came under discussion, was a question arising out of the union, whether the eldest sons of the peers of Scotland were eligible to sit as commoners in the lower house of parliament. That the heirs apparent of English peers had such a right was admitted, but those of North Britain were placed in a peculiar situation, because the act of incorporation expressly stipulated that the ancient practice of Scotland should be strictly observed. This, therefore, involved an inquiry what had been the custom there before the union; and, after a full investigation, it was ascertained that the elder sons of peers could neither represent shires or burghs in their own persons, nor vote for the election of others. In consequence of this decision, writs were ordered to be issued for the election of members to serve in the present parliament for the shires of Linlithgow and Aberdeen, in the room of James lord Johnston, and William lord Haddo, who were incapacitated to sit in the house of commons, as being the eldest sons of peers of Scotland.

At the same time another question of privilege was raised in the upper house, respecting the election of the sixteen representative peers. Previous to the calling of a new parliament, the duke of Queensberry was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of duke of Dover; notwithstanding which he claimed a right to vote both as a peer of Scotland and a peer of England, either in person or by proxy. In the late election of the sixteen representative peers, also, he set up his right to vote as a peer of Scotland. It was, therefore, now solemnly argued at the bar of the lords, by the lawyers, and afterwards in the house itself among the members, whether two peerages, held by the same person under patent from two independent crowns, and by distinct great seals, gave the possessor separate privileges, or whether by the union the one did not merge in the other. After much ingenious reasoning a division took place, and the matter was determined against the duke of Queensberry, although he was now in the zenith of power, and had at his disposal most of the great places in Scotland. Another result of the decision was the rejection of the marquis of Lothian as one of the sixteen representative peers, and the admission of the marquis of Annandale in his room.

Shortly after this, a bill was brought into parliament for altering the law of treason in Scotland, and reducing them to a near affinity to those of England. But though the measure was called for by every principle of justice and humanity, it was strenuously opposed in its progress through both houses, and even in Scotland it excited general discontent; so tenacious were the people in favour of an arbitrary code, which gave to the magistracy an absolute authority over the life and liberty of the subject.

These were the only concerns of moment, as affecting Scotland, that occurred in the present parliament; which, owing to the imprudence of the administration in prosecuting Dr. Sacheverel, came to an end by a writ of dissolution on the 21st of September, 1710.

In the summer of the following year, a singular affair happened at Edinburgh, which made much noise, without producing any serious consequences.

The duchess of Gordon, a zealous admirer of the house of Stuart, sent a medal of gold as a present to the faculty of advocates, with a request that it should be deposited in their cabinet or library. One side of the medal exhibited the effigy of the Chevalier, with the motto "Cujus est;" and the obverse had a representation of the isles of Great Britain and Ireland, with the word "Reddite." The dean of faculty, on the 30th of June, laid this present before a full assembly of his brethren, and proposed, at the same time, that thanks should be returned to the noble donor. This motion was carried, after a warm debate, by sixty-three votes against twelve. Two members were deputed to wait upon the duchess, pursuant to the resolution, when one of them expressed himself in these extraordinary terms, that "he hoped, and was confident, her grace would very soon have an opportunity of presenting the faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family." Sir David Dalrymple, the queen's advocate, sent notice of this transaction to the duke of Queensberry, who laid the information before her majesty; but the business was thought so little of, that no prosecution took place, till the court of Hanover made a formal complaint upon it; and then Dalrymple was dismissed for not having indicted the offenders.

On the 7th of December parliament met, when the queen delivered a speech to both houses, in which she said, that, "notwithstanding the arts of those who took a delight in war, both time and place were appointed for negotiating the treaty of a general peace." This was an obvious allusion to the duke of Marlborough, and some of the leading men in the late administration; for, a few days afterwards, an official report was made to the house of commons of frauds committed in the military departments. The duke of Marlborough was proved to have applied to his own private use above four hundred thousand pounds of the pay of the foreign troops; and to have allowed his secretary Cardonnell to receive five hundred ducats on signing every contract. It appeared also, that Robert Walpole, secretary at war, had taken large bribes from the contractors for forage in Scotland; that sir David Dalrymple had been fed in a similar manner; and that the earl of Leven, the commander in chief, had received regular sums yearly from the contractors in that part of the kingdom. On these accounts the duke was turned out of the places he held, Cardonnell and Walpole were expelled the house of commons, and the latter was sent to the Tower for corrupt practices in the payment of the troops. About this time the upper house became involved in a contest with the court, on the advancement of the duke of Hamilton to the peerage of Great Britain, with the title of duke of Brandon. The patent was vigorously opposed by a majority of the English lords, although they had not long before admitted, without question, the validity of that of the duke of Queensberry as duke of Dover.

Notwithstanding this, and the acknowledged principle that there is no limit to the royal prerogative in the communication of honours, the patent was rejected on a division, by fifty-seven votes against fifty-two. The queen and her ministers were highly offended; but the Scotch members became so exasperated at the insult, that they, in a body, seceded from the house, till means were adopted to humble their opponents, by creating twelve new peers of England, which measure gave the court a decided superiority.

The presbyterians of Scotland soon after this took alarm at the introduction of a bill into parliament for granting toleration to the episcopal clergy in that country, provided they used the liturgy of the church of England. The general assembly protested against the measure in strong language, but without effect; nor were they more successful in their opposition to two other measures, one for closing the courts of judicature at Christmas, and the other for the restoration of patronages which had been taken away in the late reign. While these things were creating differences at home, ministers were busily employed in bringing the war to a conclusion. On the 18th of August a suspension of hostilities took place; and shortly after, the duke of Hamilton, who had been made master-general of the ordnance, was nominated ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. But just as his grace was about to set

out on this honourable mission, a quarrel arose between him and lord Melrose in consequence of which a duel ensued, and both fell by each other's sword.

The peace, which had been long negotiating at Utrecht, having come to a favourable conclusion, as far as Great Britain and France were concerned the same was announced to the parliament by the queen in person, at the opening of the session, on the 9th of April 1713. In the speech to the two houses, her majesty said, that "what she had done for the Protestant succession and the house of Hanover, might convince such as wished well to her and desired the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them; and that those who made a merit of separating their nation, would never succeed in their evil designs."

The peace, however, was far from giving satisfaction; and the Scots in particular became so generally discontented at the extension of the malt-tax to their country, as to enter into a combination for the purpose of dissolving the union. In the first place they addressed the queen, but without effect; upon which the earl of Finlater brought forward a motion in the house of lords to leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act of union. This was strenuously opposed by ministers, who were answered by the duke of Argyll in a speech of considerable length. His grace defended himself from the charge of inconsistency in first supporting the Union, and now aiming at its dissolution, principally on the ground that the conduct of England towards Scotland was what amounted to a direct breach of the treaty of compact. Several of the English peers voted on the same side; but the motion was negatived, and a malt-tax carried, though by very small majorities. This was the last business of importance during the present parliament; nor did any thing worthy notice occur in the one which met in the following year. Party feuds continued to prevail in Scotland as well as in England, and in the month when queen Anne died, on the 1st of August 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

#### GEORGE I.

Immediately on the demise of the queen the privy council caused George Lewis, the elector of Hanover, and son of the late princess Sophia, granddaughter of James the First, to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. The same ceremony was performed at Edinburgh on the 8th of August, without any disturbance; but at Glasgow the mob arose, and expressed their joy at the change by demolishing an episcopal chapel which had lately been opened there under the sanction of the act of toleration. A complaint of this outrage was made to the government, but without producing any reparation of the injury or punishment of the rioters. The principal attention of the administration was directed to the Highlands, under the apprehension of a rising there, in favour of the son of James the Second. As a measure of precaution, therefore, the lords justices, who in the absence of the king had the management of affairs, sent down orders to confine the duke of Gordon to the city of Edinburgh, the marquis of Huntley to his house at castle Gordon, the lord Drummond to his seat in the country, and the earl of Athol to the castle of Blair. At the same time sir Donald Macdonald of Slate, was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and several other persons were put under arrest in different places. These proceedings were not well calculated to allay discontent, or to reconcile the people to the new dynasty. On the contrary, it appeared as if the court aimed rather to provoke the Highlanders to a rebellion, than to ensure their obedience to a reigning monarch.

That this was actually the case, has been put out of doubt by the discovery of the following Address, which a considerable number of Highland chieftains drew up, to be presented to the king at his accession.—

"We, of the chief heritors, and others in the Highlands of Scotland, now subscribing, beg leave to express the joy of our hearts at your majesty's happy accession to the crown of Great Britain. Your majesty has the blood of our ancient monarchs in your veins and in your family: may that royal race continue to reign over us! Your majesty's princely virtues, and the happy

respect we have in your royal family, of an uninterrupted succession of kings ; sway the British sceptre, must extinguish those divisions and contests which, in former times, too much prevailed, and unite all who have the happiness to live under your majesty into a firm obedience and loyalty to your majesty's person, family, and government; and as our predecessors have for many ages had the honour to distinguish themselves by their loyalty, so we most humbly assure your majesty, that we will reckon it our honour steadily to adhere to you, and with our lives and fortunes support your crown and dignity against all opposers. Pardon us, great sir, to implore your royal protection against any who labour to misrepresent us, and who rather use their endeavours to create misunderstandings, than to engage the hearts of our subjects to that loyalty and cheerful affectionate obedience which we, and are ready to testify, towards your majesty. Under so excellent a king, we are persuaded that we, and all your other peaceable faithful subjects, shall enjoy their just rights and liberties, and that our enemies shall not be able to hurt us with your majesty, for whose royal favour we presume humbly to hope, as our forefathers were honoured with that of your majesty's ancestors. Our mountains, though undervalued by some, are nevertheless acknowledged to have, in all times, been fruitful in producing hardy and gallant men; and such, we hope, shall never be wanting amongst us, who shall be ready to undergo all dangers in defence of your majesty's, and your royal posterity's, only rightful claim to the crown of Great Britain. Our behaviour shall always witness for us, that, with unalterable firmness and zeal, we are your majesty's most obedient, and most dutiful subjects and servants."

Though this address was subscribed by the Macdonalds, Mackintoshes, Stewarts, Campbells, Macleods, Frasers, Macleans, and several other heads of clans, to the number of one hundred and two, it never reached the royal presence, but was suppressed, for private ends, by some of the leading members of the administration. Treatment so different from what they had expected, could not fail to exasperate the quick spirits of the mountaineers; and in consequence they almost to a man became ready to join the standard of rebellion. Advantage was soon taken of the resentment that had been so imprudently provoked, and at the beginning of 1715, ministers received information of the landing of five strangers, with arms and ammunition, in the Isle of Skye. Upon this, the regular troops were mustered at Leith, and the magistrates of Edinburgh not only strengthened the fortifications, but embodied the train bands, and increased the city guards.

But though alarming reports continued to be spread at different times, no actual rising took place till the summer, when the earl of Mar came down privately to Scotland, and soon after sent round letters to several noblemen and gentlemen, inviting them to a grand deer-hunt in the Highlands. The real object of this meeting was of a political nature; and, accordingly, the government lost no time in endeavouring to prevent it. Summonses were immediately forwarded to the earl of Mar, and a number of other personages of distinction, calling upon them to appear by a given time at Edinburgh, to give security for their submission to the reigning sovereign, on pain of being proscribed as outlaws and rebels. A few complied with this requisition, but the greater part assembled at the rendezvous in the Highlands, with a determined resolution to commence hostilities before the royal armies should be collected in any considerable force. In this spirit it was proposed to make an immediate attack upon the castle of Edinburgh, the garrison of which fortress was known to be not only weak, but divided. The attempt was accordingly made, but it failed, and some of the assailants were taken prisoners.

Notwithstanding this, the earl of Mar set up his standard, and publicly proclaimed, on the 16th of September, the Chevalier de St. George, by the titles of James, the eighth king of Scotland, and the third of England. A few days after this, the insurgents made themselves masters of Perth, the possession of which gave them the entire command of the Highlands, and the principal ports of the North. The standard of revolt was now joined by considerable numbers, among whom were the earl Marischal, and the marquis of Huntley, who brought with them some strong squadrons of horse and foot. About the same time, a vessel laden with arms and ammunition, for the use

of government, was boarded in the night, at Burnt Island, by the king's men, who conveyed the stores to Perth. Flushed with these successes, the earl of Mar now sent an express to the Chevalier, who was then in London, for an account of the promising state of his affairs, and urging him to hasten his departure for Scotland, where he assured him of a general support.

Meanwhile the earl of Seaforth, an active partisan in the same cause, being joined by several clans, took Inverness; and, having fixed a garrison there, marched against the earl of Sutherland, who had raised his clans on the north side. Though the latter was strong in numerical force, he did not seem prudent to risk an engagement, but broke up his camp, and effected his retreat in good order. Seaforth then made an attempt upon Inverlochy, but was disappointed, he turned aside, and surprised the castle of Glenelg, took the whole garrison prisoners, and sending them to Perth. This success, however, was speedily counterbalanced by the loss of Inverness, of which the earl of Sutherland took possession after driving out the enemy.

On the 5th of October, the laird of Mackintosh, with his followers, joined the earl of Mar, who gave him orders to cross the Forth, in order to co-operate with the English and Scotch partisans on the borders. Mackintosh accordingly landed in East Lothian, and having taken Seaton-house, advanced towards Edinburgh; but, finding the city and suburbs well defended, he changed his course, and proceeded to Leith; of which he gained possession without difficulty, and immediately threw up fortifications for its security. The duke of Argyll, upon hearing this, marched from Stirling with about twelve hundred horse and foot; but when he came before the citadel of Leith, and saw the works that had been erected, he declined making the attack, which he had at first intended, and contented himself with summoning the insurgents to lay down their arms, declaring that if they persisted in their refusal to surrender, on the arrival of the artillery they should have no quarter. The insurgents, instead of being intimidated, returned for answer, "that as to surrendering, they only laughed at it, and of the cannon they were not afraid; that they would neither take nor give quarter; and that if the duke thought himself strong enough to subdue them, he might begin as soon as he pleased." Notwithstanding this affectation of defiance, the Highland army decamped silently in the night; and, crossing the sands, returned to Seaton-house, which he placed in such a state, that when the royal army came there, they found its strength, they returned to Edinburgh without making any demand, or accepting the challenge offered them by the garrison.

All Scotland was now in commotion, and as neutrality could no longer be maintained without creating suspicion and provoking outrage, most parties were under the necessity of taking up arms on one side or the other. In the south, several noblemen and gentlemen, with their tenantry, appeared against the existing government; the principal of whom were the earls of Winton, Carnwath, and Nithsdale, and lord Kenmure. These chiefs assembled their forces at Moffat, with the intention of surprising Dumfries; but the marquis of Annandale, on the other hand, anticipated them, and secured the town in such a manner that the insurgents were obliged to relinquish their project. Upon this they withdrew to Ecclefechan, where fierce divisions broke out among them, in consequence of which they separated; part returning to their homes, and the others proceeding to join the English who had now crossed the Northumberland, under the command of a country gentleman named Farnham. This measure proved the ruin of the cause, by weakening a force which, if concentrated, might have shaken a throne that was far from being secure in the possession of popular.

About the beginning of November the earl of Mar held a council at Perth, when it was resolved to call in all the scattered parties, and hasten against the duke of Argyll, who then lay at Stirling. The latter, upon this, marched with all his force towards Dumblaine, and on the 13th came in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up at the foot of the hill of Sheriffmuir. The duke, perceiving that the heights were unoccupied, made it his first concern to get possession of them, by which means he obtained an essential advantage over his opponents. Notwithstanding this, the earl of Mar resolved to risk a battle, and to become the assailant, though his cavalry were badly equipp-

and his infantry raw and undisciplined. Accordingly, having formed the Highlanders into four divisions, he directed the attack to be made on as many points; in which he was obeyed with such alacrity, that the left wing of the king's army was speedily put to the rout.

This partial success, however, was quickly counterbalanced by the defeat of the left wing of the earl of Mar, which, on being repulsed, fell into confusion, and in a few minutes retreated with considerable loss. Both sides claimed the victory, and with equal justice, for each had gained an advantage and each had sustained a defeat; after which the one returned to Stirling and the other to Perth. Though the whole affair did not last much above half an hour, the carnage was great; and many prisoners were taken by both parties. The earl of Mar had about two hundred killed, and the duke about three times the number. Among the former there fell the earl of Strathmore, with several lairds and gentlemen of distinction; and on the other side, the earl of Forfar died of his wounds a few days after at Stirling. But indecisive as this action was in the field, it proved very disastrous to the earl of Mar, who, in his retreat, lost all his baggage and artillery, which were cut off at the river Allan by the royal dragoons. This, however, was only the prelude to a greater misfortune; for soon after the arrival of the Highlanders at Perth, intelligence reached them of the total defeat of their friends in England. General Forster, as he was styled, being joined by the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Winton, with lord Kenmure and Mackintosh, was so elated, that he resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom; knowing that the Pretender, throughout the country, had many well-wishers, especially in the midland districts. Accordingly, on the first of November, the Northumbrians and Scots marched into Cumberland, where they were opposed by the bishop of Carlisle, at the head of the militia of that county, in conjunction with those of Westmoreland. But the provincial troops, though greatly superior in number to the enemy, retired without coming to an action; and Forster, who was now weakened by the defection of five hundred Highlanders, had the temerity to advance to Lancaster, where also the militia fled at his approach. From thence the insurgents proceeded on the 10th to Preston, where they took up a strong position, and threw up works of defence; but by neglecting the pass of the river Ribble, they exposed themselves to an attack on that side. The first attempt to dislodge them was made in the evening of the 12th by general Wills, who passed the bridge without opposition, but met with such a reception from the rebels in the town, that he was obliged to retreat with the loss of three hundred men. This partial success, however, was of no benefit to the insurgents, who were attacked on the following morning, being Sunday, by general Carpenter, with fresh forces, in consequence of which lord Derwentwater and some others offered to capitulate without the knowledge of their companions in arms; but they could obtain no better terms than to be made prisoners at discretion. The number taken at Preston fell short of two thousand men, among whom were Mr. Forster the commander, the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, the lords Widdington, Kenmure, and Nairn, with about seventy-two English, and one hundred and thirty-eight Scotch officers. On the 21st a court-martial was held at Preston for the trial of some of the prisoners; when major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and captain Erskine, who had borne commissions in the royal service, were sentenced to be shot to death, which judgment was put in execution on the first of December. The noblemen and other principal persons, who had surrendered at Preston, were conveyed to London, with circumstances of peculiar indignity, that reflected no credit upon the government, for the peers were all pinioned, and conducted through the city to the Tower as criminals of the basest character. All the other prisons in the metropolis were filled, and in the country several summary executions took place.

The army that remained at Perth with the earl of Mar, on being apprised of this reverse of fortune in England, fell into a state of discontent bordering upon general mutiny; especially as the men were for the most part destitute of clothing and pay. At this critical juncture the marquis of Tynemouth landed, bringing an assurance that the Chevalier might shortly be expected with a

supply of arms, ammunition, and money. At the same time came over Lord Albot, with the generals Echlin, Nugent, and Cook; and on the 15th of December arrived sir John Erskine and colonel Hay from France, bringing with them about one hundred thousand louis d'ors in gold. Thus the tide of affairs appeared to have taken a turn, and the spirits of the insurgents revived with the confidence of their leaders.

Upon the 23d of the same month, the Chevalier landed at Peterhead, and after visiting Dundee, proceeded to Perth, which he entered with great pomp and amidst the parade of a public review. At this time, however, his army was but small, as several parties were dispersed about to garrison different places, some had returned home after the battle of Preston, and of those who were thought to be most zealously attached to the ancient family, were deemed inclined to risk their lives and estates in its behalf. The marquis of Montrose and the earl of Seaforth, in whom the principal hopes of the Chevalier entered, kept on the reserve; which example had of course a paralyzing influence upon other clans, and necessarily crippled the operations of those who were already in arms. The duke of Argyll did not fail to profit by this want of harmony; and being now strengthened by six thousand Dutch and Swiss auxiliaries, he was enabled to act with vigour.

On the 21st of January, though the ground was so covered with snow as to render the roads nearly impassable, his grace quitted Stirling and set out for Perth. The intelligence of this movement no sooner reached the headquarters of the enemy, than the Chevalier called a council of war to consider of the best measures to be adopted. Some of the chieftains proposed that they should march out, and attack the advancing army before it could take up a position, or form in order of battle. This advice, however, was overruled, and they came at last to the resolution of retreating to Aberdeen, an affording more security than Perth. Accordingly, on the 30th, the whole body left their own, and proceeded in the route that had been previously settled; but on arriving at Montrose, the Chevalier halted, with a select part of his followers, and, having sent the rest forward, adopted the sudden determination of re-embarking for France.

A small vessel was immediately procured, and very early in the morning of the 5th of February, the ill-fated adventurer, with the earls of Mar, Panmure, Felfort, the lord Drummond, and several other persons of distinction, left the coast of Scotland, which they completely cleared before daylight. On their departure, the earl of Marischal, who had marched to Aberdeen with the Chevalier, called a council, to whom he communicated what had occurred, and read the letter of the Chevalier assigning his reasons for the course which he had taken, and recommending his followers to take care of themselves. They had no time to deliberate, for the victorious duke was already within a day's march of the town, and escape by sea was rendered impracticable, owing to the vigilance of the cruisers. In this dreadful exigency the unfortunate insurgents had no alternative but to disperse, and seek safety in the interior, until they could find a way to get out of the kingdom. One division proceeded to Eyndoun, crossing the Frith, landed in Caithness; where they remained concealed some days, and then embarked in boats for the Orkneys, from whence they passed over to Norway. Another party, among whom were the marquis of Alibardin and the earl of Marischal, took their route through the Highlands to the western coast; and after moving about in disguise from one asylum to another, got on board some vessels, which conveyed them to France. The marquis of Tynewood and colonel Bulkely ventured down as far as the Frith of Forth, and, though in the midst of enemies, they had the good fortune to procure a passage to the continent. The earl of Seaforth, after some time without being disturbed at his house of Castle Brechin, deemed it prudent to withdraw into the Isle of Skye, and from thence went to France.

While these unfortunate adherents to an hereditary monarchy were wandering about in search of a refuge from the vengeance of the triumphant party, the duke of Argyll went to court; but, instead of meeting with the hoped-for rewards which he expected, he was dismissed from all his places, and even deprived of his pension. About two years afterwards, however, he was restored to favour, and created duke of Greenwich. The earl of Nottingham

president of the council, was also turned out of his post; and several of his friends in the cabinet were treated in a similar manner; the cause of which was their recommending a general pardon as the surest means of reconciling all parties to the government. So far from following this humane and judicious advice, the monarch determined to strike terror into his new subjects. Accordingly, a commission was appointed to sit at Liverpool, for the trial of some of the prisoners taken at Preston. About thirty of these unfortunate persons were executed at different places; many died in confinement, and great numbers were sold as slaves to the American and West Indian planters. The prosecutions in the metropolis were equally numerous and sanguinary; but several of the prisoners found means to escape, among whom were the earls of Winton and Nithsdale, who got out of the Tower after condemnation, and made their way to France. The latter nobleman was indebted to the presence of mind of his countess for his deliverance, which she contrived by dressing him in the habiliments of a female who accompanied her to the Tower for that purpose. When the king heard of the success of this stratagem, he threw himself into a violent passion; and would have punished the lady severely for her fidelity, had he possessed the power. The very next morning after the escape of this nobleman, the earl of Derwentwater and lord Kenmare were brought out and beheaded upon Tower-hill; although the former had received assurances that his life would be spared.

At the end of the summer, eighty-nine of the prisoners who had been apprehended in Scotland, were, contrary to all law, and in direct violation of the articles of the union, removed from Edinburgh to Carlisle, and there arraigned before English judges. Several advocates of the Scottish bar went to plead on behalf of their countrymen; but though they protested, in energetic language and with unanswerable arguments, against the legality of the proceedings, the court over-ruled all their objections. Twenty-five of these criminals were convicted by English juries for offences committed in Scotland; and sentence of death was pronounced upon them all, yet not one of them suffered; and, after enduring a long confinement, they were discharged and returned home.

On the suppression of the rebellion, and the infliction of vengeance upon the persons who had embarked in it, a body of commissioners came down to Scotland to inquire into, and take possession of, the forfeited estates. These persons having established a court of inquiry at Edinburgh, offered rewards to those who would discover the concealed property of persons who stood attainted, or had been convicted. But while these inquisitors were busied in searching out objects of confiscation, the lords of session interposed, and checked their rapacity, by decreeing that all private creditors should have a preference to the crown, in their claims upon the forfeited estates.

In consequence of this, an act was passed to vest the lands so alienated in trustees who were empowered to sell the same, and to appropriate the remainder, after discharging all debts due thereon, to the public use. Another act followed, granting a general pardon to those persons who had been concerned in the rebellion, but had not quitted the kingdom. Among others who took the benefit of this indemnity, were the earls of Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn. About two hundred prisoners were also released from the castle of Chester, but many of them were crippled for life by the ill usage which they had experienced in confinement.

In Scotland every artifice was adopted to prevent families from taking advantage of the amnesty; but in most instances these vengeful and mercenary efforts proved abortive. One case of a remarkable nature, was that of the noted Highlander, Rob Roy Macgregor, who, on hearing of the act of indemnity, descended from his haunts, and surrendered to the duke of Athol; but instead of receiving the protection he had expected, his person was seized, and he was threatened with death. The intrepid freebooter, however, contrived to make his escape back to the mountains, from whence he made frequent incursions into the estates of the duke of Athol and other noblemen, carrying off whole granaries and large droves of cattle, in open day, and in the face of armed troops, who were afraid to encounter him. The principal object of his vengeance was the duke of Montrose, who offered great rewards,



and made many attempts to get Macgregor into his power, but without effect: and the marauder continued through life to waste the lands of his country. One anecdote of this celebrated adventurer will afford a curious illustration of his character, and of the manners of the age. Graham, of Killearn, factor to Montrose, had been collecting his rents in a public house on the borders of Monteith. This agent possessed all his master's hostility to the freebooter, and after the business of the day was over, he declared aloud, that the well-filled bag of money before him, should be the property of the man who would bring Rob Roy into his presence. Macgregor overheard this liberal declaration, and, with his wonted address, ordered his followers to surround the house; as a precaution against any surprise, and to prevent all escape. He then boldly entered the apartment, where the factor was seated in the midst of a group of hardy peasants, who had just emptied their purses into the prodigious bag. "Well, Killearn," said the fearless freebooter, "here I am that Rob Roy whose presence you demand, and who is the greatest enemy your master has on this side hell. I am come to claim the proffered blood-money; therefore give up the bag." The factor at first stared at Macgregor with as much amazement as if he had seen a spectre, and was quite astounded at the demand; particularly as it came from one whom he well knew it would be fruitless to resist. Accordingly he began, as well as a faltering tongue would give him utterance, to work on the feelings of his unwelcome visitor. "No fawning for me," interrupted Rob, striking the table at the same time with his fist, "no whimpering, but down with the bag." The demand was immediately complied with, and the unfortunate factor was compelled to give to each tenant a receipt in full for his rent. "One word more," said Macgregor, "and our business is settled for this time. Swear by your immortal soul, that you will neither raise an alarm, nor divulge one circumstance of what has passed at this interview before the expiration of two hours." This ceremony being over, Macgregor said, "Now I have done with your valiant factor. If you attempt to break your oath, remember you have a son to save; and remember too, that Rob Roy has a dirk, which has seen the light of day through a stouter man than Killearn." Saying this, the chief and his chosen band withdrew, nor did any one venture to intercept their retreat. The factor being under the influence of fear, while the tenants were impressed with admiration.

With all these characters of revenge, cunning, and intrepidity, Rob Roy was distinguished by humanity and kindness. In him the helpless and oppressed constantly found a friend. He never refused to procure redress for the poor man's wrongs, and his purse and broad-sword were ready at all time to rescue an injured peasant from the power of a hard and overbearing proprietor. Such was that romantic and enterprising spirit, which accumulated dangers could never subdue, nor formidable hosts of enemies conquer. In 1719, Rob Roy acquired some political consequence, by being associated with another feeble attempt in favour of the house of Stuart. An alliance having been formed in the spring of that year, between France and England, against Spain; the latter power, out of revenge, recognised the Pretender, and prepared to support his pretensions by an invasion of Scotland. This intelligence being communicated to the parliament by the king's person, excited general alarm throughout the nation; and all the forces were ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice. But after the public had been kept in a state of great agitation for some weeks, the armament which excited so much alarm arrived, and proved to consist only of ten frigates, having on board the earls of Marischal, Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardin, lord George Murray, some other Scottish exiles, and about four hundred Spaniards. These landed in West Ross, where they were met and joined by several of lord Seaforth's vassals, and also by Rob Roy Macgregor with his adherents and the clan of his name. On being apprized of what had occurred, general Wightman, who commanded the royal forces in Scotland sent a regiment of infantry to Fort William, and another to Inverness; while the dragons and some other troops were ordered to assemble at Perth, from whence they proceeded to the north, and on the 10th of June came up with the enemy at the pass of Glenshiels. A skirmish ensued, but it was of short

duration, for the exiles fled to the ships, and the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war. Thus ended this puerile effort; but though a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of two thousand pounds for apprehending the marquis of Tullibardin, the earl of Marischal, and the earl of Seaforth, or either of them, they all, with their associates, effected their escape.

From this time nothing occurred in Scotland, of a particular interest, till the year 1725, when a bill was brought into parliament for disarming the Highlanders; which measure was not suffered to pass without a protest in the house of lords, stating the manifest injustice of such a proceeding, at a time when the country was perfectly tranquil, and the people were distinguished by the peaceableness of their demeanour.

Another step taken at this time, to bring the natives of the mountainous districts to a conformity with the established order of things, was the employing of Presbyterian ministers as itinerant preachers throughout the Highlands; for whose support the king passed a grant of one thousand pounds sterling a year.

Soon after this, desperate riots broke out at Glasgow, on account of the rigorous exaction of the duty on malt; which tax was considered as an intolerable burden upon the lower orders of the people, who were already much distressed by the decay of trade. Several petitions were forwarded to government and the legislature against this impost, but without effect. The mob upon this arose, and attacked the house of Daniel Campbell, the representative of Glasgow in parliament, with such fury, that the whole of the furniture was destroyed before the soldiers arrived, who fired indiscriminately among the people, and killed several innocent persons. This only served to increase the riot, and the multitude collected in such numbers, that the military were driven out of the town, and pursued as far as Dumbarton. Upon this, general Wade, the commander in chief in Scotland, and the lord advocate, went to Glasgow; where they caused about thirty men, women, and boys to be arrested, and sent off to Edinburgh. The provost, dean of the guild, and bailies, were also seized and conveyed in coaches to the metropolis, where they were committed to the Tolbooth. In a short time, however, the magistrates were released by order of government; but the rioters were tried, and seven of them received sentence of transportation. At the next meeting of parliament, Mr. Campbell prayed for relief in consequence of the losses he had sustained; and accordingly a vote passed, granting him four thousand pounds as an indemnification.

At the same time, the malt tax-bill underwent an alteration, for the satisfaction of the public; and it was settled, that the produce of the impost, after the payment of twenty thousand pounds into the exchequer, should be applied to the encouragement of trade and manufactures.

In the following year, William Mackenzie, earl of Seaforth, who had been attainted for his concern in the rebellion of 1715, obtained the royal pardon, the restoration of his estate, and the reversal of the outlawry.

This was the last measure of particular importance, in regard to Scotland, during the reign of George the First, who died suddenly at Osnaburg, in Germany, on the 11th of June, 1727, aged sixty-seven. He married the princess Sophia Dorothea, of Zell, by whom he had issue a son and a daughter: George Augustus, who succeeded him; and Sophia Dorothea, who married Frederic William, king of Prussia. The wife of George the First never came to England, nor was she ever acknowledged as queen; but died on the 2d of November, 1728, a prisoner in the castle of Athlen, in the electorate of Hanover, where she had been confined many years. The charge under which she suffered was adultery; but the fact was never proved, nor was the unfortunate princess allowed the common privilege of a trial and defence. The king, her husband, consoled himself in the arms of a mistress, named Ebrengard Melovina, baroness of Schuylenburgh, who accompanied him to England; where she was first created duchess of Munster, and next duchess of Kendal. With this woman he is said to have contracted what the Germans call a left-handed marriage; and Dr. Lancelot Blackburne, who performed the ceremony, was rewarded for his services with the bishopric of Exeter, from whence he was advanced to the archiepiscopal see of York.

## GEORGE II.

When the intelligence of the death of George the First reached England the privy council caused his son, the prince of Wales, to be proclaimed king: which ceremony was accordingly performed in London on the 5th of June, and at Edinburgh on the 19th of the same month.

A new reign commonly produces political changes; but though the monarch was supposed to have long cherished a rooted enmity to sir Robert Walpole, the public saw, with surprise, that minister holding his seat with as much firmness as ever. The reason of this, however, soon appeared, in the vote for the increase of the royal revenue; by which the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand a year, over and above the civil list of seven hundred thousand, was settled upon the king for his life; and one hundred thousand a year on the queen, in case she should outlive her august consort. By carrying these grants, in spite of a vigorous opposition, the minister secured himself completely in the favour of their majesties; who, from treating him with coldness, now reposed in him unlimited confidence.

About this time, an event occurred in Scotland of a very remarkable nature. Charles, earl of Strathmore, going to attend a funeral in Forfar, a royal barge in the shire of Angus, fell afterwards into the company of several gentlemen, among whom were Mr. Lyon of Bridgetown, and Mr. Carnegie of Finhaven. Lyon having drank very freely, quarrelled with Carnegie, and, on leaving the house, pushed him into the kennel. The other, on recovering his footing, drew his sword, and made a push at his assailant, who started aside, and the weapon entered lord Strathmore's body, of which wound he died three days afterwards. For this homicide Carnegie was prosecuted before the high court of justiciary, by the lord advocate Forbes. When the prisoner was called upon for his defence, he contented himself with calling God to witness that he bore no hatred to the deceased lord, having lain under peculiar obligations to him; but that being mortally drunk, he did not remember what happened after coming out of the lady dowager's house; and that he would rather a sword had been sheathed in his own bowels, than in the body of his friend! As this was not a direct confession, the trial proceeded; but the counsel for the pannel pleaded so forcibly in behalf of his client, that he was acquitted.

Public curiosity was strongly excited, soon after this, by another prosecution of a very extraordinary nature, before the same tribunal. This was the trial of colonel Francis Chartres, for a rape alleged to be committed upon the person of his servant. He was a man of vast fortune, amassed by the most infamous means; and his character was altogether so notorious, that, though few could believe him guilty of the crime sworn against him, on account of his age, the court admitted the proofs, equivocal as they were, and passed sentence of death upon the prisoner, with the forfeiture of all his wealth to the crown. Chartres, however, had such powerful interest, that, by making large sacrifices of his ill-gotten pelf, he escaped the gallows, which he had merited by a thousand real crimes, though incapable of the one for which he was condemned.

From this period, nothing occurred of any great concern in Scotland, till the year 1734, when the election of sixteen representative peers was conducted with such gross corruption and glaring influence, on the part of the government that, at the meeting of parliament, a petition was presented to the house of lords by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, and the earls of DunDonald, Marchmont, and Stair, praying for an early inquiry into the subject. A day was accordingly appointed to take the petition under consideration, but instead of examining into the truth of the allegations, the house evaded the inquiry, by demanding whether the complainants meant to contest the validity of the election of the sixteen peers, or any one of them. The petitioners noblemen replied, that such was not their object,—which was of a general and constitutional nature, as affecting the rights of the peerage and the liberties of the people. They then enumerated several undue and illegal practices which had taken place, as that a list of sixteen peers had been framed by

persons in high trust before the election; that the peers were solicited to vote for the whole of this crown list; that not only promises of pensions and offices were made to the electors, but that even considerable sums were actually given to some of those lords; and that on the day of election a battalion of soldiers was drawn up in the abbey court of Holyrood-House, and kept under arms from nine in the morning till nine at night, for no other purpose than to overawe the electors.

Such were the prominent matters of complaint which the petitioners offered to prove by evidence upon oath; but they could not succeed in gaining a hearing, and their prayer was even dismissed as impertinent.

A similar fate attended the motion of a noble lord to have the protest read, that had been made at Edinburgh by the peers of Scotland on the day of election; wherein they declared, that force and fraud were employed to carry the ministerial list, in violation of the articles of the union, and to the injury of the public.

In the same session, a petition was addressed to the house of commons, from the general assembly of Scotland, against the abuse of lay patronage, and praying that the presentation to livings in that country might be vested in the kirk. Leave to bring in a bill for that object was granted; but when introduced, it fell to the ground. Soon after this, however, a very necessary one was brought in and carried, to repeal the absurd statute of James the First, entitled "An act against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked spirits;" and also to repeal an act passed in Scotland, in the ninth year of queen Mary, entitled "Anentis Witchcrafts."

That it was high time to purge the code of both countries of this foul stain, will appear from the records of justiciary, where we read, that, in the year 1678, ten women were convicted, strangled, and burned together at Edinburgh, or having had carnal connexion with the devil. Humanity, however, had not advanced any higher in England at that period; for, in 1692, three old women were tried at Exeter on the same ridiculous charge, before the lord chief justice Raymond, and being found guilty by an ignorant jury, were executed.

Of the superstitious spirit of the age, when the people were taught to entertain a horror of imaginary crimes, a curious picture is given in the following decree issued against sabbath-breakers, by the presbytery of Edinburgh. In his anathema, it is stated that "Great numbers stand in the streets, mispending the time in idle discourse, vain and useless communications, wholly alien from the true design and work of the day; and by withdrawing from the city, and other places of their abode, some immediately before public worship, and others after it, to take their recreations in walking through the fields, parks, links, meadows, with other places to which they resort in companies, to find their own pleasures: and by entering into taverns, alehouses, milkhouses, gardens, or other places, to drink, tipple, or otherwise mispend any part thereof: by giving or receiving civil visits, which have no place amongst the works required or allowed on the Lord's day; and by idly gazing out of windows, beholding vanities abroad, an indication not only of levity, but a profane neglect of the fittest time for salvation-work. Yea, some have arrived at that height of impiety, as not to be ashamed of washing in waters, and swimming in rivers, upon the holy sabbath."

Such was the distressed state of the Highlanders, in 1735, that one hundred and sixty families emigrated to Georgia; where they formed a settlement and erected a fort on the Alebahama, which river, after joining the Mobile, falls into the gulf of Mexico.

In the following year, three smugglers were prosecuted for breaking open a custom-house in Fife, and carrying off the money. The indictment being proved, they were condemned to be hanged; but upon a representation of some circumstances in favour of one of the culprits, he was reprieved; and the other two, named Andrew Wilson and George Robertson, were ordered for execution. On the Sunday previous to the time appointed, the criminals were brought to church, according to custom, guarded by a few soldiers, and placed together in one pew. Robertson, observing the coast clear, jumped up, and springing over the pew, got to the door, where he overtook the persons standing

with the plates to receive the alms, and in the bustle made his way out of the church. The soldiers, on first observing his motion, rose to stop him; but Wilson interposed, and, leaning over the man that was next to him, held down the other, crying out at the same time, "Run, run, Robertson, run for your life." The officers of the town were sent in search of the fugitive, but whether voluntarily or by a wrong direction, they missed the road he had gone, and so he escaped; nor was ever afterwards discovered. Wilson, upon this, was closely confined, laid in irons, and executed on the day appointed. As some apprehensions were entertained of a rescue, the necessary precautions were adopted to prevent it. The streets were cleared of stones, and a detachment of soldiers was drawn up in the Lawn Market during the awful business. A party of the city guard, who conducted the prisoner to the gibbet, were furnished with powder and ball, and the poor man was conveyed to the place, suffering heavily manacled. The whole affair, however, passed without interruption on the part of the assembled populace, till about the time when the hangman mounted the ladder to cut down the body; when a mischievous boy in the crowd threw a stone at him, which struck him on the nose, and drew a little blood. John Porteous, the captain of the guard, observing this, immediately ordered his men to fire, which they did twice, and with such effect that six persons were killed, and eleven severely wounded.

This atrocious and wanton act threw the whole city into confusion: the people in general demanded justice, and the families of the murdered victims called aloud for satisfaction. Porteous was in consequence committed to the Tolbooth, whither he was conveyed by the magistrates, to keep him from being torn in pieces. On the 20th of June, his trial took place before the high court of judicature, when he was found guilty, and received judgment of death for wilful murder. The public were gratified by the verdict, and looked for the execution of the sentence with intense anxiety. But in this they were disappointed, for at the beginning of August a respite for six weeks came down from queen Caroline, who, in the absence of the king, acted as regent. The people, however, patiently waited the expiration of the period; and then found that the government intended to screen the offender, they resolved to take the administration of justice into their own hands. They called to remembrance the shameful manner in which the massacre of Glencoe had been passed off without inquiry; they also reflected on the equally scandalous protection given to the military who wantonly fired among the populace at Glasgow, and killed several unoffending persons; and they saw that the whole weight of ministerial influence was exerted on every occasion to shield murderers from justice, whenever the public service was made the pretext for oppression.

Thus inflamed by resentment, they determined that Porteous should not escape the punishment due to his crime. Accordingly, about ten o'clock on the night of the 7th of September, a body of men entered the city of Edinburgh in various disguises, and having surprised and disarmed the city guard, they proceeded to the prison, the doors of which they endeavoured in vain to force with hammers, and then set them on fire. Having hereby gained an entrance, they drew forth Porteous in his night-gown, and apprized him of his doom. At this time the magistrates had assembled, but, on attempting to appease the tumult, they were assailed with a shower of stones, and threatened to be burnt upon if they did not withdraw. The city representative, Mr. Lindsay, upon this, hastened to general Moyle, commander of the forces in Scotland, and entreated his immediate assistance, in the introduction of a body of troops; but this was refused, without a written requisition from the provost, which the member, in his hurry, had forgotten to procure. Meanwhile the rioters marched with lighted torches to the market, where they opened a shop, took out some ropes, and paid for them; then, after allowing Porteous to give what money he had about him to an acquaintance, in trust for his wife, they proceeded to the sign-post of a dyer, near the spot where the poor people had been killed; and, having first reproached him for his barbarity, they hung him up, and when he was dead, dispersed quietly, without committing any outrage or disturbance whatever. The manner in which the party managed this extraordinary affair, and their disappearance from the city, plainly indicated them to be persons of a superior order to the rabble.

Information of this act of violence was immediately forwarded to court, where it excited great indignation; as being a premeditated insult to the government. Expresses were despatched to the king, who was then in Hanover. A proclamation was also issued, promising a full pardon to any of the offenders who would impeach their accomplices; and a reward of two hundred pounds was at the same time offered for the conviction of every person concerned in this outrage. As no discovery was made, ministers resolved to make the city of Edinburgh feel the weight of their vengeance.

On the first of February, 1737, the parliament met; when lord Carteret moved, that the provost and four bailies of Edinburgh, with the commander of the forces, and the captain of the city guard, should attend at the bar of the house of peers on that day month. He also moved for the particulars of Porteous's trial, the accounts of the murder, and a copy of the reprieve.

These motions being assented to, on the 4th of April the duke of Newcastle presented to the house an authentic copy of the trial of Porteous, with a narrative of the proceedings relating thereto. Several witnesses were then examined on the circumstances that had occurred; after which, a bill was brought in to the following purport: that, "Whereas, upon Tuesday, the 7th of September, 1736, there was a most outrageous riot in the city of Edinburgh, notoriously concerted and carried on by great numbers of wicked and blood-thirsty persons, who seized the arms of the city guard, possessed the city gates, set fire to the prison of the Tolbooth, and set at large several prisoners: And whereas captain John Porteous, then a prisoner under sentence of death, but reprieved, was, by the said rioters, dragged from the said prison, hanged and murdered, in defiance of the government, to the most unparalleled obstruction of the royal mercy: And whereas, before the committing the said murder, it was commonly reported in Edinburgh, that some such atrocious act would be attempted, which, by proper care of the magistrates, might have been prevented; notwithstanding which, Alexander Wilson, esq. then provost of the said city, did not take any precautions to prevent the said murder and riot, nor use proper means to suppress the same; or afterwards to discover or apprehend the authors or abettors thereof:—Now, to the intent the said enormous behaviour, and neglect of duty, may not go unpunished, and that other persons may not presume to be guilty of the like for the future, it is enacted, that the said Alexander Wilson be disabled to hold, exercise, or enjoy, the said office of provost of Edinburgh; and be disabled to hold or enjoy any office or place of magistracy in the said city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain; and that he shall be kept close prisoner for one year. And whereas the said town guard appear to have been of no use, it is further enacted, that, from the 1st of July, 1737, the said guard shall be abolished, and no longer kept up; and that the gates of the Netherbow-port be taken down, and the communication between the city and Canongate be hereafter kept open night and day."

This bill was ordered to be read a second time at the beginning of May; and, in the interim, the provost was taken into custody, but after a confinement of three weeks he was admitted to bail. An attempt was now made to carry a resolution, declaring the prosecution of Porteous illegal, the verdict erroneous, and the sentence unjust. Upon this, the duke of Argyll stood up boldly for his injured country, and insisted that the opinions of all the judges, those of Scotland as well as those of England, should be taken in a case of so much importance. This was agreed to, but here a difficulty arose which had not been foreseen; and that was, how the Scottish judges should be heard, whether at the table, standing at the bar, or seated on the woolsacks. In favour of the latter course, it was argued, that as the judges of the one country were equal in rank to those of the other, no distinction ought to be made between them upon the present occasion. To this it was answered, that no person had a right to be admitted within the bar of the house of lords, unless by patent, writ, or custom; to neither of which the Scottish judges could lay claim; and further, it was asserted that they had never enjoyed this privilege in their own parliament before the Union. This last declaration, however, was far from being correct, as instances might have been adduced where persons, clothed with the judicial character, had been examined in

the body of the house, when Scotland enjoyed an independent senate of its own.

Notwithstanding this, it was resolved, by a majority of sixty-three against fifty-one voices, that the judges should be examined at the bar; where they appeared in their robes. On the 4th of May, the lord provost and his brother magistrates were heard by their council against the disabling bill; after which, a long debate ensued, the principal speaker being the duke of Argyll, who opposed the measure strenuously.—“Shall the metropolis of Scotland,” said his grace, “shall the residence of such an illustrious race of kings, who mean it their greatest glory to dignify this noble city; shall such a place as this I say, be stripped of her most valuable privileges, her guards and garrisons, on account of some unknown offenders, and a Scotchman calmly behold the havoc and disgrace? I glory, my lords, in withstanding so rigorous and unjust a procedure; and deem it my greatest honour to stand up in defence of my native country, when the same is exposed to loss and infamy.”

No eloquence, however, could resist the powerful ascendancy of the ministerial party in the house of lords, where the bill was passed, on the third reading, by a majority of thirty-two votes, and sent to the commons. Here it experienced a still more vigorous opposition than in the upper house, and counsel were heard against it for four days successively; after which the resolution for committing it was carried by six votes only.

The leading opponent to the arbitrary measure was the honourable Duncan Forbes, the lord advocate; whose powerful arguments had such an effect, that several of the English members who were before in favour of the bill, now went over to the other side; among whom was that upright magistrate sir John Barnard, one of the representatives of the city of London. In consequence of this opposition, the bill underwent several essential alterations; particularly in the rejection of the clauses for disabling and imprisoning the chief magistrate, abolishing the town guard, and dismantling the city of its defences. Instead of these degrading enactments, a mulct of two thousand pounds sterling was laid upon the corporation, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous; who, in consideration of favours already bestowed upon her, was contented with fifteen hundred pounds. The bill, thus amended, was then carried, but only by one voice, and sent back to the lords, who passed the same without any farther contention. Had not a manœuvre, however, been practised, the bill would have been totally lost in the commons. Two Scotch members, the solicitor-general, and Mr. Erskine of Grange, who were attending an appeal before the lords, could not obtain leave of absence, otherwise their votes would have decidedly turned the scale the other way.

Thus was the city of Edinburgh punished for an act which could not well have been foreseen, and in which the inhabitants had no share. Besides the expense incurred, which was very great, the judges and magistrates were subjected to much inconvenience, in being obliged to visit and abide in London till the business terminated.

To prevent such catastrophes in future, the corporation ordained, by a by-law, that, on the first appearance of an insurrection, the principal officers of the different companies should immediately repair to the town-council, to receive, and put in execution, the orders of the chief magistrates for quelling the tumult; and that under a heavy penalty.

The winter of 1739 was remarkably severe all over Britain; and the frost lasted, in London, from Christmas-day till the sixteenth of February. At Edinburgh the cold was so intense, that, above Alloa, the Forth was entirely frozen over; and there was even ice as far as Queen's Ferry. By the stoppage of the mills, a great dearth was occasioned; and, in consequence of the vast quantity of snow upon the ground, coals were with difficulty brought into the city, by which means many persons perished through the inclemency of the weather and the want of fuel. In this distress, public benevolence was active, and neither the magistrates of Edinburgh nor private individuals were backward to relieve the poor. Besides the subscriptions that were raised, and collections made in the churches, the banks advanced money for the purchase of necessaries, to be sold at low rates. But a bad harvest following this visitation, and the prices rising, notwithstanding the exertions of the

magistrates to keep the markets properly supplied, the people became tumultuous, broke open and plundered the granaries, assaulted the officers, and even resisted the military; nor was the tumult quelled, till several of the rioters were killed and wounded.

Great Britain being now at war with France and Spain, these two powers projected another enterprise in favour of the Pretender. The scheme was not without supporters in England and Scotland, who urged it on by representations of the most encouraging nature. Cardinal Fleury, the moderate leader of the French councils, was now dead, and his successor Tencin was a man of quite an opposite character, being as proud and impatient, as the other was mild and cautious. Several needy adventurers and exiles, who panted for a revolution, volunteered their services on this desperate occasion; and in consequence, Charles Edward Stuart, the son of the old Chevalier, departed from Rome for France, in the disguise of a Spanish courier. He was well received at court, and preparations were immediately begun for the invasion; the troops destined for which, amounting to fifteen thousand men, were ordered to assemble at Dunkirk. The duke de Roquemaure, with twenty sail of the line, was intended to convey them; and the celebrated count Saxe to have the chief command. But this great plan was disconcerted by the appearance of admiral Norris on the French coast, with a fleet superior to that of the enemy; in consequence of which the business, though not abandoned, was reduced to a contemptible scale of operations. The young prince had now to rely chiefly on his own judgment, which was far from being equal to the undertaking, and his adherents were too inconsiderable to render him any essential benefit. Under every possible disadvantage, he, nevertheless, was bold enough to embark on board a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other persons; with seven officers, and arms for two thousand men. After running a considerable risk from the English cruisers, he arrived on the coast of Lochaber, where he and his associates landed on the 16th of July, 1745, and were soon joined by some chiefs of the Highland clans and their dependants, to the number of about fifteen hundred men.

In the mean time, the government was not idle, but despatched a letter to the magistracy of Edinburgh, apprizing them of the meditated descent; on the receipt of which communication the council met, and immediately made preparations for a vigorous defence of the city; by augmenting the number of the guards, mustering the train-bands, and raising an additional force of one thousand volunteers. Some of the king's troops were also brought into the neighbourhood; the walls of the city were put in a state of repair, ditches were excavated, and all the inhabitants were required to make a return of the names of their lodgers.

While these measures were adopted for the security of the capital, prince Charles formed an encampment near Fort William, where hostilities commenced by an attack on two companies of newly raised soldiers, who, with their commander, were disarmed, after a sharp conflict. Another captain in the king's service was dismissed with one of the Pretender's manifestoes, and a passport for his protection.

The administration now became seriously alarmed, and issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds for the apprehension of prince Charles: who, on the other hand, published a counter declaration, with a similar proposal for the head of the elector of Hanover. The king was at this time abroad, but despatches were sent to hasten his return, and he accordingly landed about the end of August. A requisition was next made of the six thousand auxiliaries, which, according to treaty, the Dutch were bound to furnish. Several British regiments were recalled from the continent; and bodies of armed associations were speedily enrolled in London and other places.

At this crisis, sir John Cope, the commander of the king's forces in Scotland, collected some troops, and marched against the rebels. Understanding that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he altered his route, and advanced as far as Inverness, thus leaving the capital and all the southern parts of the country open to the incursions of the enemy. The Highlanders took advan-



tage of this movement, and proceeded to Perth, where the chevalier as St. George was proclaimed king, and the public treasury seized for his use. The same course was adopted at Dundee, and other places; the insurgent army increasing in its progress in numbers and confidence. Among other persons of distinction who joined the prince at this time, were the noblemen styled the duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and lord Elcho. The rebels being hereby considerably augmented, though indifferently equipped, crossed the Forth, and advanced towards Edinburgh, which, on the 16th of September, they summoned to surrender. Anticipating such a visit, the council had previously removed the cash of the banks, and other public offices, into the castle; but no other step was taken to counteract the enemy, and it was agreed to capitulate on the best terms that could be procured. On the following morning, however, a coach driving up to one of the gates, was suffered to enter, upon which a party of Highlanders rushed in, and seized the main guard, with the arms and ammunition belonging to the city. About noon the whole rebel army arrived in the Leith park, and the prince immediately took possession of Holyrood-House. The heralds and pursuivants were then obliged to publish at the Cross a declaration, commission of regency, and manifesto, in the name of his majesty James the Eighth. In these decrees, the people were promised the free exercise of the Protestant religion, and full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges. Besides these, other proclamations were issued, commanding the inhabitants of Edinburgh to deliver up their arms; and prohibiting the soldiers of the Highland army from molesting the people in any manner, under pain of military execution. During these movements, General Cope marched from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked his troops, and on the very day that the Highlanders entered Edinburgh, the king's forces landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward.

Here Cope was joined by two regiments of dragoons, upon which assurance of strength he proceeded slowly towards the capital; and on the way pitched his camp near Preston-Pans, having the village of Trancent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Prince Charles in the mean time evinced more activity, and, leaving his camp near Duddingston, advanced to meet the king's army; but though his own force was nearly the same in number, in effect it was far inferior; being a body of ragged and half-armed mountaineers, none of whom had ever seen the least military service, nor were there among them either cavalry or artillery. The two armies came in sight of each other on the 20th, but, as it were by mutual consent, they both lay inactive on their arms all that night. Early the next morning the Highlanders began the attack, sword in hand, and with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes the royal troops were put completely to the rout. All the infantry were either killed or made prisoners; and the baggage, ordnance, munition stores, and chest, fell also into the hands of the victors, who marched in triumph to Edinburgh. Among the slain in this disastrous battle, the loss of none was so generally lamented as that of the exemplary Colonel James Gardiner, of the dragoons, who fell within sight of his own mansion, bravely endeavouring to rally his regiment, which had recoiled at the sudden run of the Highlanders.

Prince Charles bore his good fortune with great moderation, and his followers conducted themselves with equal credit. No outrages were committed upon the persons or property of the inhabitants; and all the prisoners were immediately liberated, after giving a pledge that they would not appear again in arms, which parole was soon broken by almost all of them.

The Pretender, instead of betraying any portion of bigotry, requested the established clergy to celebrate the public worship as usual; but, for reasons best known to themselves, they declined the indulgence, except the morning preacher in the Tron church, and the ministers of the West Kirk, who even continued to pray for king George by name, and to recommend loyalty to the reigning family, without receiving any disturbance.

While the Highlanders held the command of the capital, they placed guards in all the avenues leading to the castle; on which general Guesst, the governor, dreading lest the garrison might be straitened for provisions, threatened the

magistrates with a cannonade, if the rebels continued to interrupt the communication between the fortress and the city. Upon this, the magistrates applied to the Pretender, and complained of the danger to which the place was exposed by the measure the troops had adopted.

The prince, in his answer, expressed much concern "at the barbarity of an order for bringing distress upon the city, on account of what it was not in his power to prevent; that should he, out of compassion to the inhabitants, move his guards from before the castle, he might, with equal reason, be required to abandon the town; that, in the mean time, he would make reprisals on the estates of those who commanded the garrison, and in the end give the city ample remuneration."

The deputies not being able to obtain what they desired from prince Charles, then waited, with his permission, on the governor of the castle, who was so far prevailed upon by their remonstrances, as to consent that the threatened cannonade should be suspended for ten days. Notwithstanding this, before the expiration of that time, a skirmish between the sentinels and some of the garrison occurred, in consequence of which several pieces were discharged from the works, which did considerable damage to the houses, and wounded some of the people. All intercourse, therefore, between the city and the castle was now strictly prohibited, and a severe cannonade ensued, in consequence of which many houses were set on fire; while the streets were rendered impassable by continual showers of cartridge-shot from the field-pieces placed on the hill. The inhabitants who lived in that quarter were now busied in removing their most valuable effects, and infirm relatives, from the reach of danger; and even many persons, who resided in places where there was little or no hazard, were so panic-struck, that they fled to a remote distance with their property.

After the loss of some lives by the fire from the castle, the young chevalier issued a proclamation on the evening of the 4th of October, setting forth "the infinite regret he felt at the many murders committed upon the inhabitants by the commanders of the garrison; that he might justly proceed, agreeably to his threatenings, to execute reprisals upon the estates of his enemies; but that he thought it no disgrace to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby innocent lives could be saved; therefore the blockade of the castle was taken off, and the threatened punishment suspended."

After this, the cannonade was stopped; but the people of Edinburgh had now ample experience, that the castle, instead of contributing to the security of the city, might become the instrument of its destruction, even under the appearance of being its protector.

The temperate conduct of the prince, as contrasted with that of general Buist, had such an effect upon the population, that the rebel standard was daily joined by volunteers both in the city and neighbourhood, who were formed into a distinct regiment. Charles Edward now proceeded, in the name of his father, to levy taxes; he also seized the merchandise in the king's warehouses at Leith and other ports; while from the city of Glasgow he exacted a loan of ten thousand pounds, to be repaid when the throne of Scotland should be restored. By this time large supplies of money, artillery, clothing, and ammunition, had arrived in single ships from France; where the cause was now become very popular, and a general interest excited in favour of the young adventurer.

In consequence of the signal advantages that had attended his first efforts, and his establishment in the ancient capital of the kingdom, it was confidently believed abroad that the body of the nation was on his side, and that therefore the present enterprise could not fail of being ultimately triumphant. It was also believed that a numerous party in England only waited for an opportunity to declare themselves; and that the moment the Pretender should have crossed the border, the northern and midland counties would exhibit a formidable array in opposition to the reigning family. The French government, however, though it made a show of supporting the cause of the Pretender, in effect rendered it nugatory, by neglecting to pour in adequate supplies of men and arms. While the prince was at Edinburgh, the marquis de Guilles, indeed, bearing the character of envoy from the court of France, came over,

accompanied by several officers; but instead of landing in the Forth, and as near as possible to the metropolis, they disembarked at Montrose, where they could be of little service, except in furthering the insurrection among the Highlanders. At this juncture the Pretender was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, and the lords Balmerino, Ogilvie, and Pittligo, while old Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, who had acquired so much notoriety before and after the union by his intrigues, secretly fomented the rebellion, although he assumed the mask of loyalty to the existing government.

At length the torpidity which had hitherto prevailed among the well-affected part of the people, gave way to a better spirit, and several chieftains in the Highlands began to exert themselves in defence of their king and country. The duke of Argyle took the lead in arming his vassals; twelve hundred men were raised by the earl of Sutherland; the lord Rae was equally active in mustering his followers; the Grants and Monroes appeared zealously in the same cause; and though the Macdonalds were divided, sir Alexander declared for king George; as did the laird of Macleod, who sent over two thousand resolute islanders from Skye to the royal standard. But of all those who distinguished themselves by their loyalty and energy, none exceeded and few equalled the honourable Duncan Forbes, president of the college of justice at Edinburgh.

As his house was almost in the centre of the Highlands, he had the best opportunities for observing every thing that passed; and having formed his own determination to support the government, he immediately put his premises into a state of defence, by planting some guns in proper places. This precaution was of service, for one night a party came down to his seat at Culloden with a design to pillage; but before they could carry their object into execution, the domestics, who were on the alert, fired among them with such effect, that they were glad to decamp, leaving some dead and wounded behind them. At this time, sir Alexander Macdonald, of Slate, was there on a visit, and it was owing to the arguments of the president that this chief was dissuaded from joining in the rebellion. This president also endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to save his neighbour, lord Lovat, from rushing into a state of self-destruction. The magistrate had too much penetration to be deceived by the artful professions of this crafty nobleman, and gathering from the hints which fell in discourse among the clan, that the old chief, notwithstanding his affected loyalty, had either entered into an engagement with the Pretender, or was watching for an opportunity to do so, he frankly warned him of his folly and danger. Lovat manifested surprise, bordering on indignation, at the suspicion entertained of him, and he called the pretender's utmost madness; but every day served to show that the judgment which the president had formed of the dissimulating chief was perfectly correct; and when his conduct was no longer equivocal, the judge wrote him an expostulatory letter reproaching him in the strongest terms for his duplicity and ingratitude to the government, telling him at the same time, that his machinations were now discovered, and would be his ruin. Lovat, however, still appeared anxious to be considered a true subject, and threw all the blame upon his disobedient and stiff-necked son, as he called him, and said that he acted contrary to his advice. Young Fraser, upon hearing what his father had wrote of him, exclaimed, "Good God! how is this! accuse me behind my back, and call me stiff-necked and disobedient! I'll go immediately, and let the president know the whole truth, and that it is the lord Lovat who has forced me to what I have done." The father, upon this, laboured hard to make peace, and succeeded by flattering the vanity of the heir with an assurance that he had secured him, from the chevalier d'St. George, a patent for the title of duke of Fraser, and the lieutenant-generalship of the Highlands. This had no effect, and the young man, allured by the glittering prospect of empty honours, made no further opposition, but sent off his followers in companies to Perth, leaving the old lord at home, where he was soon after seized by the earl of Loudon and the president. Besides this service, Duncan Forbes procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies; and through the whole eventful crisis, he displayed, at great personal risk, and to the manifest injury of his fortune, the most ardent zeal for the royal cause. By his dexterity,

persuasions, and the influence of his character, he succeeded in keeping no less than ten thousand Highlanders from joining the standard of rebellion; and to his defection was mainly to be attributed the total failure of the expedition. But his services did not stop here, for besides restraining several bands from going over to the enemy, he induced others, who were in a state of hesitancy as to the side they should choose, to take up arms in defence of the constitution as by law established. Another person of weight and distinction, who evinced his loyalty by his actions at this critical period, was the earl of Loudon. Soon after the breaking out of the rebellion, this nobleman hastened to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders, marshalled and disciplined the loyal clans, and by his activity kept the disaffected in awe.

By these means, the young adventurer found his situation very embarrassing; while the English government, being roused from its apathy, began at length to call the resources of the country into action.

After the disgraceful affair at Prestonpans, the foreign troops from Holland, and three battalions of British guards, with seven regiments of infantry, from Flanders, were marched to the north under the command of general Wade, who was ordered to establish his head-quarters at Newcastle.

The two houses of parliament having assembled on the 16th of October, the king addressed them in person, and requested their aid for the suppression of the rebellion which had broken out in Scotland. This was promised with great cordiality and unanimity, both by the lords and commons; and the declaration was instantly followed up by the repeal of the act of habeas corpus, in consequence of which several persons were apprehended on suspicion of reasonable practices. The duke of Cumberland now arrived from the continent, bringing over with him some additional troops of cavalry and infantry, who had been employed in the Netherlands. The train bands of London were also mustered; the county regiments were completed; and to prevent a descent on the southern coast of the kingdom, a squadron of ships, under the command of admiral Vernon, was stationed in the Downs. This last measure was attended with important effects, in the capture of a number of vessels conveying officers, soldiers, and military stores to the Pretender in Scotland.

Although matters were now drawing to a serious crisis, Charles Edward did not want for courage to meet the difficulties by which he was surrounded. Aware that he had already lingered too long in the northern capital, and finding little chance of being adequately supported there, he resolved to try his fortune in England, where he was assured that his friends were both numerous and zealous. Having, therefore, collected about five thousand men, he passed the western border on the sixth of November, and immediately proceeded to invest Carlisle, which surrendered in less than three days, the keys being delivered to the prince at Brampton, by the mayor and corporation, on their knees. In addition to the pleasure derived from this conquest, the Pretender was gratified at finding in the city a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and other military stores, which had been deposited there for the use of the king's troops. Having secured what was of so much importance to him in his present circumstances, the young adventurer caused his father to be publicly proclaimed by the magistrates, king of Great Britain, while he assumed to himself the title of prince regent.

General Wade, on hearing that the Highlanders had approached the borders with the intention of penetrating into England, broke up immediately from Newcastle, and though the roads were covered so thick with snow as to be almost impassable, he advanced as far as Hexham, but on receiving the information that Carlisle was already in possession of the rebels, he retraced his steps to his former quarters, there to wait for further orders and reinforcements. In the mean time, great exertions were making throughout the central parts of the kingdom to raise regiments for the national defence; particularly in Staffordshire and Yorkshire. The formidable opposition thus presented, however, had not the effect of damping the ardour of Charles Edward, who seemed to think, that the fate of his family depended on the promptitude of his resolution and the vigour of his operations. Thus inspired, and encouraged also by the promise that a powerful diversion would be made in his favour in the landing of a considerable army from France, he determined to

proceed, being still emboldened with the expectation that he should be joined in the heart of the kingdom by numbers of partisans. Leaving, therefore, a small garrison in Carlisle, he moved to Penrith, marching himself on foot at the head of his troops, in the Highland dress; and then continuing his route through Lancaster and Preston without meeting with the least resistance. On the 20th of November he reached Manchester, where his arrival produced general illuminations, and other marks of public rejoicing. Here he fixed his head-quarters; and the house in which he resided during his stay, obtained from that circumstance the dignified name of the Palace, by which appellation, though now an inn, it is still distinguished. While here, he was joined by about two hundred persons, most of them respectably connected, who were formed into a corps, called the Manchester regiment, under the command of colonel Townley, a Catholic gentleman, of an ancient family, in the neighbourhood. There is a tradition still current in the town, that the Pretender was immediately recognized at his entrance by a young female, who having been accustomed to frequent her father's house, to read the *Lancaster* newspapers, above twelve months before the breaking out of the rebellion, and that he used to come for that purpose once a week from Townley Hall. This story has every appearance of credibility, for in no part of the kingdom had he so many staunch supporters as at Manchester; and it is now well known that he was in the habit of visiting both England and Scotland under various disguises, both before and after this final struggle for the throne of his ancestors.

At this place, a consultation was held by the prince and his confidential friends, respecting the course to be pursued. The original intention of the adventurer was to make his way through Chester into Wales, in the northern parts of which principally especially, he had numerous adherents; but this design was frustrated by the breaking down of all the bridges over the river Mersey. In consequence of this a different route was chosen, and the rebels proceeded to Stockport, where the prince forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. From thence they marched to Macclesfield, and next to Congleton, where they changed their course again, and took the road to Derby, which town they entered on the fourth of December. Here the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain with much pomp; and as the rebel forces had now gained a march between the king's troops and the capital, the whole intervening country was thrown into a state of confusion.

General Wade was still most unaccountably in the north, and the duke of Cumberland, who commanded the main army, was in the neighbourhood of Lichfield, so that there was nothing to impede the progress of the insurgents to London, from whence they were now not above one hundred miles distant. There is every reason to believe that had the rebel forces advanced with unalacrity which marked their route from the borders, the metropolis might have been entered with ease, in which case they would have received a considerable accession of strength, from the numbers of disaffected persons of all ranks that abounded in the city. To meet the threatened danger, orders were issued for the immediate formation of a camp on Finchley Common, where the king purposed to make a stand in person at the head of his guards, assisted by the earl of Stair as field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. Among other measures of precaution, a general search was made after all priests of the Romish persuasion, and also the nonjuring clergy, both of whom without any specific charge being alleged against them, were committed to prison. The militia of London and Middlesex were called out, and ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice; and double watches were posted at the several gates and avenues of the city. In addition to all this, signals of alarm were appointed in different places; the volunteers were enrolled; associations were formed, of the different professions and trades; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants in the service of government. The churches and meeting-houses resounded with exhortations to loyalty, and the aid of the press was called in, to inspire the people with a hatred of Jacobitism and Popery. Notwithstanding these professions and stimulants, however, there was every where discernible a

pirit of disquietude, apprehension and suspicion bordering on despondency. The commercial part of the city had little confidence either in the vigour of the administration, or the loyalty of the people; and besides the dread of the Highlanders, whose very name spread terror wherever they came, intelligence arrived that immense preparations were making in the French ports, for a descent upon England. Amidst this distraction and alarm, there were many who, having nothing to lose, contemplated the passing events with perfect indifference; while those, who had hitherto secretly favoured the exiled family, made no scruple now of boldly expressing their hopes that another revolution was about to take place.

The prospect was gloomy in the extreme, when all at once a sudden turn relieved the despairing royalists, and damped the exultation of the disaffected. Charles Edward had been led to believe, that the further he advanced the more his army would be increased by the influx of partisans, who only waited for his personal appearance, to declare themselves. In this, however, he was woefully mistaken, for after leaving Manchester, not a single volunteer resorted to his standard; nor did the French make any attempt towards an invasion. To aggravate his troubles, the little army which he commanded began to exhibit symptoms of discontent; the heads of some of the clans talked of returning home; and the rest were divided as to the course that should be adopted. The prince himself, with all the ardour of youthful enthusiasm, urged an immediate advance to the metropolis, although assured that an engagement must be the result. In this proposal he was warmly seconded by lord Nairn, but the opinion of the majority prevailed for a retrograde movement, and accordingly, at an early hour on the sixth of December, all the rebel forces quitted Derby, for the north. Three days afterwards they arrived at Manchester, and on the twelfth passed through Preston, continuing their march with great alacrity, yet in perfect order, for Scotland. Meanwhile the duke of Cumberland, who lay encamped in Staffordshire, on learning that the rebels had suddenly retreated, detached some troops of dragoons in pursuit of them. At the same time, general Wade began his march from Ferrybridge into Lancashire, in order to arrest the fugitives in their route; but finding that they had reached Wigan, he returned again to Newcastle, and contented himself with sending some cavalry, under general Oglethorpe, to join those which had been detached by the duke. This united force came up with the rear of the enemy on the borders of Lancashire, and a skirmish ensued, in which the king's troops gained no advantage. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were also raised, to harass the rebels in their march; but being altogether an undisciplined set of rustics, they were unable to stand against the Highlanders; who pushed on, in spite of all the obstacles occasioned by the breaking down of bridges, and the lighting up of beacons, until they came to Clifton, near Penrith, where they were encountered by two dismounted regiments of dragoons, who lined the hedges, to annoy the rear guard commanded by lord John Murray. The Highlanders, of the clan of Macpherson, immediately faced about, drew their broadswords, and attacked the dragoons with such intrepidity, that they soon fell into disorder, and fled, leaving several killed and wounded behind them.

On the nineteenth, the retiring army entered Carlisle, where the majority of the English partisans were left, at their own request; while the prince and his other friends proceeded across the Eden and Solway, into Scotland; having accomplished one of the most remarkable and gallant retreats ever known in that period. What rendered this expedition an object of particular admiration, was the forbearance and good order which distinguished the Highlanders through the whole line of their long and fatiguing march. In no instance were they known to be guilty of any outrage or plunder; and though the weather was excessively cold, the roads heavy, and little food to be got, they bore their privations with fortitude, lost few of their number, and carried off their field-pieces in the sight of their pursuers.

On the twenty-first of December the duke laid siege to Carlisle, which surrendered, by a capitulation, within ten days: notwithstanding which, all the prisoners were treated as criminals, and sent off in irons to different jails, here to wait the resolution of a vindictive government.

Meanwhile prince Charles proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow where he levied additional contributions, by way of punishment for the zeal with which the citizens had shown in raising a regiment to support the king and constitution. After continuing some days at Glasgow, the Pretender advanced towards Kelving, where he was joined by some forces which had been collected in his absence, chiefly through the exertions of lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the duke of Gordon, and lord Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth. The latter nobleman had arrived in the month of November, bearing the commission of a general, and accompanied by a considerable body of French and Irish volunteers. Soon after his landing, he fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was joined by the earl of Cromarty and other chieftains, with their respective clans, to the number of two thousand men. They were also furnished with a seasonable supply of money from Spain; which enabled them to carry on active operations, and to get possession of Dundee, Dumfries, Downcastle, and Montrose, where they seized a king's sloop of war, the guns of which served to fortify the harbour.

While the cause of the rebellion was thus gaining ground in this quarter, the earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, from whence he sent provisions occasionally to forts Augustus and William. He also contrived to put Mr. Lovat under arrest; but the crafty old nobleman was soon delivered by the dexterity of his followers, who now engaged more desperately than ever in the service to which their principal was attached. During these transactions the interest of the Pretender gained a further advantage by the defeat of the laird of Macleod and Mr. Munro of Culcainn, who had been detached by lord Loudon from Inverness into Aberdeenshire, where they were surprised and routed by lord Lewis Gordon. Thus the affairs of Charles Edward began to assume a more animating appearance; and, in consequence, he was encouraged to invest the castle of Stirling; which, however, opposed an effectual stand against all his efforts, as well as those of lord John Drummond.

To secure this fortress, though vigorously defended by general Blakeney, a large force was collected at Edinburgh, and sent off under the command of general Hawley, who advanced to Linlithgow on the 13th of January.

The day following, Hawley marshalled his army in great parade at Falkirk, while the rebels were encamped at Torwood, near the memorable field of Bennochburn. At this time, the reverend Mr. Bennet, the Presbyterian minister of Polmont, who through the rebellion distinguished himself very much by his activity in the cause of government, observing that general Hawley seemed to treat the Highlanders with contempt, took the liberty of remonstrating with him upon his imprudence in despising an enemy. Hawley, who was puffed up with a high conceit of his talents, and mortally hated clergymen of all denominations, was offended, and replied that such a naked rabble would never dare to attack his veterans, who had stood the brunt of Flanders. "You are quite mistaken, general," said the parson, "that rabble, as you call them, will dare to attack your veterans, or any veterans in Europe. They are brave even to rashness, and are besides engaged in a cause in which they have no alternative but to conquer or die; and, therefore, no precautions against them ought to be neglected."

Notwithstanding this, the obstinacy of the general continued inflexible, and even when repeatedly informed that the Highlanders were in motion, he would not believe that they had any other intention than that of returning for, as to an onset, he still treated the very idea of such a circumstance as ridiculous.

At length, perceiving that the rabble, as he styled them, had gained possession of a rising ground to the south of Falkirk, he was convinced of their hostile intention, on which he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while the infantry drew up in the plain in order of battle. Scarcely, however, were these directions given, when the Highlanders opened their fire, and with so good an aim, that the dragoons fell back in disorder upon the foot, who were, at the same time, annoyed by the wind and rain which beat in their faces and damaged their ammunition. Some of the cavalry rallied, and, with part of the infantry, advanced again to the charge. When prince Charles came up, waving his bonnet, at the head of his column.

and, with the Camerons, Stewarts, and the Irish under lord John Drummond, assailed the dragoons so furiously, that they fled again, together with the infantry. The boasted veterans of Fontenoy, however, previous to their flight, set fire to their camp, and then abandoned Falkirk, leaving all their baggage and artillery behind them. The Highlanders, in the pursuit, pressed the king's troops so vigorously, that had not general Huske and brigadier Cholmondeley succeeded in rallying some of the regiments, and made a stand which favoured the retreat of the rest, very few would have escaped to Edinburgh.

In this disastrous conflict, the king's service was deprived of sir Robert Monro, lord Whitney, and several other officers of distinction; besides a considerable number of private men, with all their stores and ordnance.

Thus general Hawley, who had vaunted that with two regiments of dragoons he would sweep the kingdom, from one end to the other, of all the rebel forces, was shamefully defeated by a small number of Highlanders, who were indifferently equipped, and wholly destitute of cavalry and artillery. But though the conduct of this commander produced a general complaint throughout the nation, nothing more was done than to remove him from a situation in which he had acted so unworthily; and to his death, which happened about fourteen years afterwards, he enjoyed all the honours of his profession, abundance of riches, and the full confidence of the sovereign.

On the defeat of Hawley, the duke of Cumberland took the command of the forces in North Britain; where, putting himself at the head of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve hundred loyal Highlanders, he proceeded from Edinburgh towards Linlithgow, on the last day of January. This movement had such an effect upon the rebels, that they instantly broke up from before Stirling, and crossed the Forth with great precipitation. Charles Edward, finding it difficult to support his troops in an exhausted country, thought it most prudent to retire by Badenoch towards Inverness, which place the earl of London relinquished at his approach. The rebels, in consequence, took up their quarters here, and shortly after succeeded in the reduction of Fort Augustus. But these advantages were of momentary duration; for the duke of Cumberland, being now joined by a strong body of Hessians, was enabled, after putting Stirling and Perth into a state of complete security, to concentrate the rest of his forces, and march against the enemy. He accordingly advanced to Aberdeen, where several persons of distinction came to his assistance, with their dependants, and among the rest the duke of Gordon, though some of the nearest relatives of his grace were in the hostile ranks.

While the duke of Cumberland lay at Aberdeen, the rebels attacked, at Keith, a detachment of cavalry, known by the name of Kinghorn's light horse, and a party of the Argyleshire Highlanders, all of whom were either slain or made prisoners. Some other divisions were also cut off in the same manner; and these advantages induced lord George Murray, another zealous partisan of the prince, to invest the castle of Blair, where, however, he met with such a resistance that he was obliged to retreat.

Charles Edward, being tired of this desultory warfare, ordered all his forces to be collected, in order to encounter the duke of Cumberland at Aberdeen; but this design being opposed by the clans, it was resolved to reduce Fort William before an attack was made on the king's army. Though the rebels failed in this enterprise, they succeeded in defeating the earl of Loudoun at Dorach in Sutherland; and that nobleman, after losing several men, was obliged to take refuge in the Isle of Skye.

On the other hand, the Pretender experienced a loss in the capture of a ship of war, coming from France with money and arms for his service; and about the same time, the earl of Cromarty was taken prisoner by the militia of Sutherland.

At the beginning of April, the duke of Cumberland broke up from Aberdeen; and on the 12th of the same month crossed the river Spey in the face of the enemy, who made no attempt to dispute the passage, though in considerable force, and the stream scarcely fordable. Instead, however, of opposing the royal army at the only place where it could be done with any chance of



success, the Pretender retired to Culloden, which was the worst spot in the whole country, that could have been selected for a battle, under his circumstances. In the mean time, the duke advanced to Nairn, near which he halted, to watch the movements of the rebels, from whom he was now distant about nine miles.

Prince Charles, having formed the design of attacking the royal camp, marched out in the middle of the night of the fifteenth, for that purpose, but so many impediments occurred in the progress, that all the troops were obliged to retrace their steps, and take up their former position, fatigued and disquieted. While endeavouring to seek repose, after a fruitless but wearisome toil, the Highlanders were roused from slumber by the alarm that the royal army was advancing. This was actually the case; for, early in the morning of the sixteenth, the duke of Cumberland broke up his camp at Nairn, and hastened against the rebels; who were, however, so far prepared for his reception, as to be drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thousand men, in thirteen divisions, flanked with some pieces of artillery.

The royal army, which was far stronger, and much more complete in every respect, than that of their antagonists; advanced in three compact columns, and about noon began a heavy and galling cannonade, that did dreadful execution. The Highlanders, not used to this mode of warfare, soon abandoned their ordnance, and rushed on to close combat, with a desperate resolution to conquer or perish. The pressure of this column was so great, that a regiment, with which it came into contact, gave way, and the whole line was: have been thrown into disorder, had not two battalions come up from the rear, to its support, and checked the assailants. At the same moment Hawley, with the dragoons, and the Argyll militia, by pulling down a part of the wall, fell furiously upon the right flank of the rebels, and compelled them to retreat in confusion. The French on the left, after firing some time, retreated towards Inverness, where they capitulated, and became prisoners of war. One body of Highlanders quitted the field in good order, with their pipes playing, and their colours displayed; but the rest were mostly cut in pieces. The prince would still have made a stand; but the officers about him, perceiving that the battle was entirely lost, and that the sacrifice would be unnecessary, compelled him to hasten from the scene of carnage. Thus, in the space of half an hour, the hopes of the Stuart line were extinguished; and several families, for their attachment to that unfortunate house, were plunged in utter ruin. Twelve hundred of the rebels were killed or wounded; and many who came out of curiosity to see the action, were wantonly butchered by the king's troops, who tarnished the glory they had acquired, by executing the would have disgraced a horde of savages. Not satisfied with the blood shed in the battle, they ranged in all directions, to find and put to death the fugitives; sparing neither the aged nor the maimed, but indiscriminately slaughtering every Highlander that fell in their way. Among the captives were the earl of Kilmarnock and lord Balmorino; which last was tenderly given up by a country gentleman, with whom he had taken refuge. These two noblemen, with the earl of Cromarty, and his son the laird Macleod, were sent off by sea to London; whither also were soon after conveyed the marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Traquair, and a brother of the earl of Dummore. John Murray, the secretary to the Pretender, escaped from Culloden, but at length he was apprehended, and committed to Edinburgh castle, where he had for his fellow prisoner the eldest son of lord Lovat; the old nobleman himself being sent up to London, to await the decision of the government.

In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had been concerned in the rebellion; and, by virtue of this act and of the statute, courts of extraordinary commission were instituted in different parts of the kingdom, for the trial of the prisoners.

In complete violation of the constitution, the natives of Scotland were removed from that country into England, and there indicted by a foreign law to which they were strangers. The spirit of vengeance, which prompted the barbarities that were committed by the army in the heat of war, was caught by the civil authorities in cold blood; for at no period of the nation's history were so many executions known, under such circumstances, and with

no little necessity. Seventeen persons were hung upon Kennington Common, in the county of Surrey, where no overt act of treason had been perpetrated; nine were put to death in a shocking manner at Carlisle; six suffered at Brampston; seven at Penrith; and eleven at York, of whom several were gentlemen. Numbers were executed in other towns of England, and about one hundred and forty in Scotland. In these severe proceedings, and by virtue of a law enacted on purpose, the grand jury of Surrey found bills of indictment against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and lord Balmerino. These noblemen were accordingly put on their trials before the peers, in Westminster-hall, and found guilty; but Cromarty saved his life by interest. The other two lords were beheaded on Tower-hill, in the month of August; Kilmarnock manifesting contrition for his offence, and Balmerino glorying in the cause or which he suffered. But the fate of Mr. Ratcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, was particularly hard. He had not been in England for thirty years, nor was he any otherwise engaged in the present rebellion, than by being captured on board a French vessel. Notwithstanding this, he was arraigned on the sentence passed against him in the year 1716, and though he produced a commission from the crown of France, he was adjudged to death, which he endured with fortitude, on Tower-hill, in the eighth of December.

The old lord Lovat, at the age of fourscore, was the next prisoner, of noble rank, who was brought to trial. He was impeached by the house of commons; and being found guilty, suffered decapitation with a spirit that would have done him honour, had his life and conduct been more consistent with the rules of morality. While the English prisons were crowded with captives, and the scaffolds were streaming with blood; the duke of Cumberland, and his victorious bands, ranged the Highlands in search of those who had been fortunate enough to effect their escape. His royal highness superintended all the visitations in person, so that the calamities which oppressed the country could not have passed without his knowledge or consent. In fact, the duke issued peremptory orders, to be read from the pulpits, commanding all persons in possession of arms, to deliver them up, under pain of military execution. At the same time the sheriffs and other officers were enjoined to make strict search after all persons who had been in the rebellion; and to imprison those who were accused of having harboured or relieved any of the unhappy fugitives.

So bent indeed was the triumphant party upon exterminating the miserable people, that even the ministers of the gospel were required to give information upon oath to the officers, of the lurking places of the rebels. Thus, the very extension of christian charity was made criminal; and they who by virtue of their calling were bound to exercise hospitality and compassion, were sternly required to turn spies and informers.

The duke having marched to Fort Augustus, sent out detached parties all through the Highlands, in pursuit of the rebels. Numbers of persons were, in consequence, hung up without any trial, or the least proof being adduced that they had been at all engaged in the late insurrection. The houses of the rebels, after being plundered, were reduced to ashes; and in some districts every village and hut became a prey to the flames; all the cattle were driven away; the women were brutally violated, and then with their naked children were left to perish on the barren heaths. In some instances, whole families were destroyed; and, for the space of forty or fifty miles, nothing could be seen but smoking ruins, putrifying corpses, and desolation.

During these horrors, Charles Edward had his share of suffering; but though the most active exertions were made for his apprehension, to which an offer of thirty thousand pounds by the government was a sufficient allure-ment, he escaped the vigilance of his enemies.

The narrative of the prince's deliverance is so remarkable and romantic, that we shall readily be excused for entering into a minute detail of the particulars.

On leaving the field of Culloden, the unfortunate adventurer was conveyed to what is called the Long Island, where he lay for some time concealed. Intelligence having been obtained where he was, and a number of troops

being on the alert to take him, it was necessary for him to seek another asylum without delay. In this he was assisted by Miss Flora Macdonald, whose mother had married the second time, and resided in the Isle of Skye. With the magnanimity of a heroine, though her stepfather was in the king's service, she undertook to accompany the prince in an open boat to Skye; previously taking care to disguise him in woman's apparel, that he might pass for her female attendant. They got safe to the place of destination, though several shots were fired from the cruisers to bring them to; and landed at Napha, the seat of sir Alexander Macdonald. The laird himself was then with the duke of Cumberland, but his lady, on being made acquainted with the quality of her visitor, readily consented to shelter him as far as she could; and immediately proposed that he should be conducted to Rannay.

While Flora Macdonald was consulting matters with her relative for the accomplishment of this scheme, an officer came, with a party of soldiers to search for the prince; but though he dined with the ladies, he had no suspicion of the part they were acting to deceive him. After dinner, Flora on horseback, and her supposed maid, Betty Burke, Mr. Macdonald, laird of Kingsburgh, and a servant carrying some linen, set out for the house of the latter gentleman, in another part of the island. In passing a rivulet, the prince tucked up his clothes so high as to discover his tartan dress. Kingsburgh mentioned this to him, with a caution; and he promised to be more careful for the future. He was so;—for, in coming to another stream, he did not pull up his garments at all, by which means, when he got out of the water, his clothes were all dripping wet. This attracted the notice of some females, who reported that they had seen a very awkward woman, who looked like a man in disguise; and that this was very probably the prince, after whom so much search was making.

It was Sunday, and on the road they met some country people coming from kirk. These good folks were naturally curious on seeing some strangers, and became very troublesome in their observations; till Kingsburgh said, "Oh, sirs, cannot you let alone talking of worldly affairs on the Sabbath, and have patience till another day?" This admonition had the desired effect, and the inquirers moved off to their respective habitations. Lady Kingsburgh not expecting her husband, was going to bed, when she was informed that the laird was come home, with Miss Macdonald, and a great odd-late woman who was gone into the hall with them. The lady, upon this, made her appearance; and after supper, took Flora aside, to hear the history of the prince's adventures. When the narrative was ended, lady Kingsburgh asked what was become of the boatmen that brought them over? Upon being told that they were returned, she said, "That was wrong, Flora, you should have kept them here some time at least, till the prince had got farther from his pursuers." The young lady replied, that she had taken an oath of secrecy from them on parting. "What signifies that," observed lady Kingsburgh, "the threats or torture will enforce a confession."

This event happened exactly as the sagacious lady had conjectured; and early in the morning, Kingsburgh told the prince that he must be moving; as which he exchanged his dress, and again grasped the claymore.

His shoes being very bad, Kingsburgh provided him with a new pair, and taking up the old ones, said, "I will faithfully keep these till you are seated at St. James's, when I will introduce myself, by shaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's lodging." The prince laughed, and said, "Be so good as your word." Kingsburgh kept the shoes as long as he lived; and after his death, a zealous Jacobite gave twenty guineas for them.

Another instance of devoted attachment was manifested by lady Kingsburgh, who, after the departure of her guest, took the sheets in which he had been folded them up very carefully, and gave orders that they should never more be used, or washed; and that when she died, her body should be wrapped in them, as a winding-sheet. It is sufficient to observe, that the injunction was religiously obeyed.

The royal wanderer, accompanied by the faithful O'Neill Maccohan, M.D., Flora's servant, now proceeded to Portree, where he happily arrived in safety, and was joined by his fair preserver, who had taken another route, to avoid

tection. The difficulty now was, to procure a conveyance to the isle of Rasay, all the boats on the shore having been destroyed, or carried away, by the military.

In this emergency, Dr. Macleod, brother to the laird of Rasay, though then ill from a wound he had received at Culloden, went in search, and having found a small pleasure boat on a lake, the party succeeded in getting it across a piece of boggy land, for the space of a mile, to the sea side.

After this, the doctor, and his younger brother, with the assistance of a little boy, rowed over to Rasay, for the purpose of procuring another boat to fetch the prince.

Having accomplished this object, and every thing being ready, the adventurer took a last farewell of his fair protectress and Donald Roy Macdonald, one of his most devoted followers, who was now suffering severely by a wound which he had received in his foot.

On the arrival of the royal wanderer at Rasay, July the first, there was some difficulty in procuring a lodging, as almost all the houses in the island had been destroyed by the soldiers. Thus situated, the prince was glad to take shelter in a temporary hut, that had been lately erected by some shepherds; and here he rested two nights, on a bed of heath. Young Rasay being the only person of the company that durst appear with safety, went to procure some refreshments; but though he was amidst his own flocks and herds, he was obliged to catch a kid by stealth, and carry it in his plaid to the hut, where it was dressed, and furnished them with a meal, which proved very acceptable to all the party.

While they were in this hut, M'Kensie and M'Friar, the two boatmen, were placed as sentinels; and one day a singular accident occurred.

There was a man wandering about the island selling tobacco: but as nobody knew him, he was suspected of being a spy. M'Kensie, on descrying him, came running, and said that this person was approaching. Upon this, the three gentlemen, young Rasay, Dr. Macleod, and Malcolm Macleod, held a consultation; when it was resolved that the stranger should be put to death. Prince Charles, on hearing the determination, was shocked, and said, "God forbid that we should take away the life of a person who has done us no injury." The gentlemen, however, persisted in their resolution, and while they were arguing the point, Mackenzie, the boatman who sat watching at the door, put on his head, and said in Erse, "Well, well; he must be shot. You are the king, but we are the parliament, and will do what we please." The prince seeing his companions smile, asked what the man had said, and being told it in English, he observed, that he was a clever fellow, and laughed loud and heartily at the conceit. Luckily, the unknown person did not perceive that here were people in the hut, and so escaped the danger.

Charles Edward now remarked to his conductors, that he did not think it advisable to remain long in one place; and that he expected a French ship to come for him, into Lochbroom, among the Mackenzies. It was therefore proposed to carry him thither in a boat, though the distance was fifteen leagues: but in the mean time, young Rasay wrote to his friend, Mr. Mackenzie, of Applecross, who in answer said, that there was no appearance of any French vessel. Upon this, it was resolved that they should return to Skye, and accordingly the same party embarked in a small boat, which could not contain more than six or seven persons. Soon after, the wind rose so very high, that the crew were obliged to put back; but this the young prince opposed, and cheered them up with a song. About eleven at night they landed at Seorbreck, in Trotternish, and after climbing up a steep rock, took shelter for the night in a cowhouse. The prince being extremely desirous to have one interview more with Donald Roy Macdonald, despatched young Rasay in search of him; but without success. The wanderer upon this resolved to venture upon another progress, accompanied only by Malcolm Macleod, to whom he said, "I deliver myself up entirely to your care. Conduct me to the laird of Mackinnon's country." Malcolm objected that it was a very dangerous undertaking, when so many parties of soldiers were every where in motion. The prince answered, "There is nothing now to be done without danger." He then said that Malcolm must personate the master, and he the servant; so he took the bag which contained

his linen, and carried it on his shoulder; but observing that his own waistcoat was too fine for his supposed condition, he made an exchange with his companion. Malcolm, though an excellent walker, found himself outdone by the prince, who told him that he had been well used to the exercise in Italy, where he employed much of his time in pursuit of game. Even now he was so keen a sportsman, that, observing some partridges, he was going to take a shot. till Malcolm cautioned him against it, by observing that the report might be heard by the tenders, who were hovering on the coast.

When they came within a short distance of Mackinnon's house, Malcolm asked if he would wish to see the laird. "No," said he, "by no means. I know Mackinnon is as honest a man as any in the world; but at present it is not convenient for us to meet." Upon this, Malcolm determined that they should go to the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. John Mackinnon; from whence they might pass over to the main land, and procure the assistance of Macdonald of Soothouse. In their way to John Mackinnon's house, they met a man of the name of Ross, who had been a private in the Highland army. He fixed his eyes steadily on the wanderer, and having at once recognized him, clasped his hands together, and said, "Alas! is this the case?"

Finding that they were discovered, Malcolm asked, "What's to be done?" "Swear him to secrecy," answered the prince: upon which Malcolm drew his dirk, and, on the naked blade, made the man take a solemn oath, that he would say nothing of having seen the wanderer, till his escape should be made public. Malcolm's sister, whose house they reached pretty early in the morning, asked him who the person was that he had with him. He replied, that it was one Lewis Caw, of Crieff; who, being a fugitive like himself, he had engaged him as a servant. "Poor man!" said she, "I pity him; and at the same time my heart warms to a man of his appearance." Her husband was gone a little way from home; but was expected every minute. In the mean time, she set down to her brother a plentiful Highland breakfast. All the while the prince remained at a distance, with his bonnet off as a servant, but Malcolm said, "Mr. Caw, you have as much need of this as I have, and there is enough for us both, so draw near and share with me." After this, there came in an old woman, who, according to the ancient custom, brought warm water to wash Malcolm's feet. He desired her, however, to wash the feet of the stranger; when with true Highland pride, she exclaimed in the periphrastic language of the country; "Though I wash your father's son's feet, why should I wash his father's son's feet?" At last, however, she prevailed upon to perform the hospitable ceremony without further opposition. As the travellers were much fatigued, they reposed for some time; and when Malcolm awoke, he was told that his brother-in-law was in sight. Hearing this, he sprang out to talk with him before he should see the prince. After the first salutation, Malcolm, pointing to the sea and the shipping, said, "What, John, if the prince should be on board one of those vessels?" "God forbid," replied John. "But what if we had him here?" said Malcolm. "I wish we had," answered John, "we should take care of him."—"Well then, John," rejoined Malcolm, "he is in your house." Upon this, John, in an ecstasy of joy, was about to run in directly to pay his obeisance; but Malcolm restrained him, saying, "Now is your time to behave yourself, and do nothing that may lead to a discovery." John hearkened to the advice, and having sent away all his servants upon different errands, he was introduced to the guest, who desired him to get a boat ready for his conveyance elsewhere, rather than go to the laird of Mackinnon. John went, but soon returned with the information that the chief and lady Mackinnon were coming in the laird's boat. Prince Charles was now disconcerted, and said to Malcolm, "I am sorry for this, but we must make the best of it." The laird then walked from the shore, and did homage to the wanderer; while his lady waited in a cave, to which they all repaired, and were entertained with cold meat and wine. Malcolm, being now superseded by the chief of the Mackinnons, desired leave to return, which was granted; and the prince wrote a note, subscribed James Thompson, informing his friends that he had run away from Skye, and thanking them for their kindness. He took a leave of Malcolm, and insisted on his receiving a silver stock-buckle and a

guineas, from his purse: Malcolm at first begged to be excused, saying that he had a few guineas at the prince's service; but Charles answered, "You will have need of money; I shall get enough, when I come upon the main land." The laird of Mackinnon then conveyed the prince to the opposite coast of Knoidart. Old Rasay, to whom intelligence had been sent, was croasing at the same time to Skye; but as they did not know of each other, and both had the same apprehensions, the two boats kept aloof.

After landing on the Mainland, the Wanderer went through many more hardships, and was often in imminent danger. His pursuers had traced him from the Long Island to Skye and Portree; but there they lost scent of him, and then renewed their search with fresh diligence all through the Highlands.

So faithful, however, were the people there of all descriptions, that neither threats, tortures, nor the allurements of honours and rewards, could make them guilty of treachery to their prince.

One of the poorest of the Highlanders, who had been privy to the concealment of the royal fugitive, and kept the important trust a secret, was afterwards tried, convicted, and executed, for stealing a cow scarcely worth thirty shillings. It is but just to say, that the counsel for the crown endeavoured to procure a pardon for this man, but could not prevail.

At length, a privateer of St. Malo, hired by some Irish friends of the prince, arrived in Lochannach, and on the 20th day of September the unfortunate descendant of the house of Stuart embarked in the habit which he had worn ever since his departure from the Hebrides. He was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, with a few other exiles; and though the channel swarmed with British cruisers, the vessel got safe to Roseau near Morlaix, in Bretagne, where Charles landed with his friends.

It is proper now to mention some circumstances respecting the persons who were assisting in the escape of the prince.

Soon after his departure from Skye, captain Ferguson, of the Furnace sloop of war, an officer whose brutality of behaviour rendered him a fit instrument for such an employment, apprehended Kingsburgh at his own house, and sent him to Fort Augustus, where he was plundered of every thing, and loaded with irons. Sir Everard Fawkener, who examined him, was mean enough to say, that he had missed a noble opportunity of making himself and his family for ever. To this the indignant chief nobly replied, "Had I gold and silver piled heaps upon heaps to the height of yonder mountain; the entire mass could not afford me half the satisfaction I find in my own breast from doing what I have done." While he was prisoner at Fort Augustus, an officer came and asked him if he would know the young Pretender's head, on seeing it? Kingsburgh answered, he should know the head very well, if it were on the shoulders. The other said, "But what if the head be not on the shoulders, do you think you should know it in that case?" "In that case," replied Kingsburgh, "I will not pretend to know any thing about it." From this place he was conveyed under a strong guard to Edinburgh castle; where he was at first put into a room with some other gentlemen, but afterwards he was removed to one by himself, out of which he was not suffered to pass without having a person in attendance; and here he remained till the 4th of July, 1747, when he obtained his release, having got a whole year's safe lodging for affording that of one night.

From a party so bent upon vengeance, Flora Macdonald had little chance of receiving favour. She had not been above a week at home, after parting from the prince, when she was seized, and sent on board the Furnace; where, fortunately for her, general Campbell happened to be, to whom she frankly related the whole truth, knowing that the relation would be of no prejudice now to the person in whose safety she felt an interest. The general viewed her conduct in its proper light; and though he could not screen her from prosecution, he shielded her from insult. The fair prisoner was removed to the ship of admiral Smith, in Leith roads; from whence she was taken to London, and there confined in a messenger's house till the general amnesty took place in 1747, when she was discharged without having been examined.

The gallant Malcolm was also apprehended, put aboard a ship, and carried to London; where, as only one witness appeared against him, he was set at

liberty, and returned to Scotland in the same chaise with Miss Flora MacDonald.

But among the most singular prosecutions that immediately followed the rebellion, was that of Archibald Stewart, lord provost of Edinburgh, when the city was entered by the rebels. The charges against him were for "neglect of duty, misbehaviour in public office, and the violation of his trust &c." Upon this he went to London, in November 1745; and on his arrival sent notice of it to the secretary of state. In consequence he underwent a long examination before the privy council, who committed him to close custody: from whence he was liberated on the 23d of January, after giving bail, to the extent of fifteen thousand pounds, to appear before the court of justice. On the sixth of August he was brought to trial, but though a tedious process took place, during which several witnesses were examined, the jury on the second of November returned a verdict, unanimously declaring the prisoner not guilty. This was the longest trial ever known in that court, and the conclusion was very remarkable. Early on the 27th of October, the judges met, for the purpose of bringing the business to a termination; and were kept sitting till one in the morning of Thursday the 29th, when the jury prayed for a delay, on account of their inability to go on without some relief. The court, after a short consultation, allowed them to retire till eleven in the forenoon, on condition of their returning, under penalty of five hundred pounds each. They came back accordingly, and having agreed in their verdict in the evening of Saturday the 31st; they returned it on Monday the 2d of November, having sat, in the whole, ninety-four hours.

After the trial, several of the inhabitants of Edinburgh associated, to celebrate the acquittal by some public mark of respect to their late provost. At this the government affected to take alarm; and the lord Justice Clerk, the commander of the forces, and the acting chief magistrate, held a consultation: the result of which was a prohibition of the meeting.

Another event resulting from the rebellion, was the temporary suspension of the corporate functions of the magistracy of Edinburgh. The time fixed for making an annual election of the council, happening to be when the town was in the power of the Pretender, the persons interested were so intimidated that they did not venture upon any business. In consequence of this, the magistrates and council were disqualified; and Edinburgh was for some months without any legal government. Upon the suppression of the rebellion, application was made to the king for the restoration of the civic rights; and accordingly an order was issued, empowering the citizens to come to an election by poll; which ceremony took place at the end of November, and on the third of January 1747, the council met regularly for the first time since the disturbance. At this meeting, an address to his majesty on the happy suppression of the rebellion was voted; and also another to the duke of Cumberland with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

Previous to this, the same authorities exhibited a curious spectacle at Edinburgh, where the rabble were entertained by a procession of the heralds, trumpeters, and common hangman, with thirteen chimney-sweepers carrying the Pretender's colours from the castle to the high cross, at which place their banners were ignominiously burnt, which had spread terror over a great part of the island.

All this was performed by the duke of Cumberland's orders, in obedience, no doubt, to the will of the court, which seemed at this time to have formed the resolution of exterminating the Highlanders.

Besides confiscating their estates, acts of parliament were passed which completely subverted the ancient constitution of the country. The heritable jurisdictions were now abolished; and all subjects, without exception, were obliged, in consequence, to sue for justice in the king's courts, instead of resorting, as formerly, to those of their local superiors.

Thus far the change was for the better; but when the legislature descended to other enactments, it evinced a spirit as opposite to liberality as it was to sound policy.

A statute which had been passed in the preceding reign, disarming all the northern counties, was now renewed, with clauses of additional severity. No

erson was allowed to bear, or even have arms in his possession, unless qualified by having a freehold; and even in that case he could only keep two muskets, two pair of pistols, and two swords. To render this act more odious, persons having warrants from the king, or the lords lieutenants, were authorized to enter any houses, by night or day, to search for arms; and, in case of opposition, they were indemnified for any slaughter they should commit upon the occasion. Nor was this all, for the statute extended to dress; so that it would seem as if the framers of the law trembled at the colour or fashion of a garment.

The garb which the Caledonians had worn from the earliest ages, and to which they were attached with natural affection, was interdicted both as to tuff and shape; by which means a stop was put to the only species of manufacture in the country. To wear a phillibeg of any sort, or even a coat made of tartan, subjected the wearer, whether man or boy, upon being convicted by the oath of one witness before any justice of peace, to imprisonment for six months. For the second offence, the punishment was transportation to the colonies for seven years.

This absurd law was treated, even in England, with the ridicule which it merited. In the neighbourhood of Lichfield, a club of sportsmen appeared in the Highland costume of variegated drapery; and their very hounds were clothed in plaid, while the fox which they hunted was dressed in a red uniform. The very ladies also took part with the oppressed Highlanders; and several ball-rooms in the kingdom exhibited nothing but the chequered armments which the sapient legislature had proscribed.

Another enactment, still more cruel, was, that no person should teach English, Latin, or any sort of literature, either in private schools, or as tutor to a family, unless he had previously entered his seminary in the public office, and taken the oaths to government. To render this law more effectual, it was made to apply to parents as well as to preceptors.

Even the rights of conscience were now violated, and it was made criminal to worship the Almighty by the mass-book of the church of Rome, or the liturgy of the church of England.

In all the northern counties of Scotland, a great proportion of the inhabitants were either of the episcopal or Romish communion. With regard to popery, the penal laws had been very severe at all times; but those against the episcopalians were much relaxed in the reign of queen Anne, when an act was expressly passed to prevent the disturbing them in the exercise of their religious worship. In consequence of this indulgence, the liturgy was openly read in many chapels, which were frequented by persons of the first distinction.

Thus the toleration continued, though not without jealousy on the part of the established church, till the late rebellion furnished a plea for the revival of the old statutes, with additional articles of excessive rigour. Hitherto the restrictive laws had affected the nonjuring clergy only, but now the laity were made to suffer likewise: no one being permitted to vote for a member of parliament if he had been twice present, within twelve months, at the reading of the liturgy. It was further enacted, that if more than four persons assembled in the house of an episcopal minister for prayers, they should each pay a fine of five pounds, and be imprisoned six months. But the effects of this persecuting statute upon the clergy were of such a description that it may be questioned whether popery, in its most triumphant state, would have proved equally tyrannical. Besides fine and imprisonment, for performing the ordinary offices of religion in their own houses, the episcopalians were made liable, on a second information, to banishment for life.

Of the vindictive barbarity of the government at this period, and for a long time afterwards, the following instance is upon record.

The lord advocate instituted a process against an episcopal clergyman for celebrating public worship contrary to the statute. The poor man was accordingly imprisoned; but the evidence failing, the law officer of the crown, in order to accomplish the clergyman's destruction, commenced another prosecution against him, upon an act which had been passed in the reign of Charles the Second, to prevent clandestine marriages. Thus that very statute which had been established with a direct intention of supporting



bispopacy, was turned into an engine for its destruction. Notwithstanding the flagrant illegality of this indictment, such was the venality of the judges and the despotism of the government, the presbyter was found guilty, and sentenced to perpetual exile as a felon, for doing that which a blacksmith now makes a lucrative trade of with impunity.

Another act of cruelty, though it did not occur till a considerable time afterwards, must be mentioned here, as being connected with the rebellion.

Dr. Archibald Cameron, who followed the fortunes of the Pretender by escaping in the same ship to France, and trusting to the general act of grace that was passed after the disturbances, on the death of his elder brother, Lochiel, came to Scotland in order to recover a remnant of the family estate or the orphans, his nephews. One would have supposed that as some years had now passed away, the spirit of revenge would have subsided; or at least that the noble motive which actuated the exile would have arrested the word of justice. So far to the contrary, the doctor was apprehended, carried up to London, committed to the Tower, denied pen, ink, and paper, and adjudged to death upon the old act of attainder. His wife obtained access to the king; but, in the act of presenting a petition on behalf of her unfortunate husband, she fainted away. This affecting scene, which was enough to have excited pity, also proved unavailing; and to prevent its recurrence, the poor woman was shut up with her consort, that the king and his court might not be disturbed with any more intercessions. The doctor was shortly after, without the least form of a trial, dragged on a sledge all the way from the Tower to Tyburn, where he behaved with heroic fortitude and pious resignation. Having hung the usual time, he was cut down, his head was taken off, and his heart plucked out and burned, for the entertainment of the spectators.

Such was the magnanimity of government towards the miserable ruins of a party, now no longer formidable in any degree, nor at all likely ever to become so at any future period.

But Scotland was not alone made to suffer the scourge of ministerial vengeance and royal displeasure. The ancient university of Oxford was brought under disgrace on an occasion too contemptible to have merited notice.

At the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1763, three young students, over their cups, uttered some foolish expressions in favour of the house of Stuart; which, being overheard by some of the sycophants of the court party, were reported to the government. In the mean time the vice-chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors, took cognizance of the affair, and published a declaration signifying their abhorrence of all seditious practices; and their resolution to punish offenders of every degree without distinction. Notwithstanding this, the three youths were taken into custody by a messenger of state, and two of them being tried in the king's bench, were sentenced to walk through the courts of Westminster Hall, wearing a specification of their crime on their foreheads; to pay a fine of five nobles each; to be imprisoned two years; and find security for their good behaviour for seven years after their enlargement. These proceedings made many apprehend a revival of the star-chamber and high commission courts of those very times which were now stigmatized as the days of arbitrary power and lawless tyranny. Not content with all this, the ministry sought to bring even the university under judgment, and to render its statutes subservient to the regulation of the privy council. A rule to that purpose was moved for in the court of king's bench; but, after a long deliberation, it was refused.

What contributed to render these rigorous measures peculiarly odious, was the fact that the Pretender, of whom the British government affected to entertain such a dread, was now left, by the peace, without a single friend to espouse his cause among the powers of Europe. While the treaty was going on at Aix-la-Chapelle, the chevalier de St. George, knowing that some of the assembled ministers would take any interest in his favour, or venture to present his protest, employed persons secretly to put up copies of an instrument declaratory of his rights, in different public places of the city. This, however, proved of no service to his cause; and he was now so completely abandoned on all sides, that an article was inserted in the treaty, stipulating

but neither the Pretender nor any of his descendants should be allowed to reside within the estates of any of the contracting parties. At the same time the plenipotentiaries of France expressly promised that Prince Charles Edward should be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of his most Christian majesty.

The court of Versailles, in consequence of this agreement, demanded of the cantons of Switzerland, permission for the prince to reside at Friburg; but such was the inveteracy of the British government, that a remonstrance was made to the magistracy of that place, against the indulgence, couched in such insulting language, as drew from the little republic an indignant retort, and the request of the French monarch was instantly complied with. Charles, however, with a spirit which ill suited his depressed circumstances, refused to withdraw, saying, that he had been expressly invited to France by the king his cousin, who had solemnly pledged his royal word that he would never forsake him in his distress, nor abandon the interests of his family. Both the monarch and his ministers were reduced, by this pertinacity of the prince, to a very unpleasant dilemma; and many of the French themselves could not help regarding the conduct of their government as cruel and devoid of dignity, after having so lately involved Charles Edward in the utmost peril, by enabling him to embark in an enterprise, which proved his own ruin and that of his adherents.

While Paris resounded with the praises of the prince, and invectives against the king and his ministers, two English noblemen arrived, to demand the fulfilment of the treaty. These persons made loud remonstrances on the want of punctuality in the performance of the stipulated conditions; and threatened to return, if they were not instantly carried into effect. Upon this, the king, after some pitiful excuses, resolved to employ force against the obstinate youth; who still held out in a tone of defiance, though his own father, the old bevalier, wrote from Rome a letter, enjoining him to submit to the terms imposed upon him by necessity. Charles, however, still remained inflexible, and carried pistols about him, with which he threatened to shoot any one that should venture to seize his person. Under these circumstances, an extraordinary council was held at Versailles, at the conclusion of which it was resolved to arrest the prince without any further delay. Accordingly, the same evening, when Charles Edward entered the narrow avenue leading into the opera house, the barrier was immediately closed, and the sergeant of the guard called out "To arms!" On this, Monsieur de Vaudreuil, the chief officer in command, advancing, said, "Prince, I arrest you in the king's name, by virtue of this order." The royal exile was instantly surrounded by the grenadiers, in order to prevent any mischief; and so fearful was the ministry of a public disturbance, that a guard was placed at all the doors, to prevent a tumult. These precautions being taken, the officer, with his escort, conducted the royal prisoner through the garden to a coach, which carried him directly to the castle of Vincennes, accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards. He had not been three days in this place of confinement, when he promised that if set at liberty, he would comply with the orders of the government, and quit the territory of the French monarch. Upon this pledge he obtained his freedom, and then repaired to Avignon, where he was received with extraordinary marks of distinction by the papal authorities. In the mean time his arrest excited great discontent at Paris, as being not less a shameful violation of the rights of hospitality, than an act of degrading submission to the English government.

After the conclusion of the peace, various plans came under the consideration of the British legislature, for the improvement of commerce. Among the rest was a bill which had for its object the encouragement of the white herring and cod fisheries. It was proposed to grant a bounty of thirty shillings per ton out of the customs to all new vessels, from twenty to fourscore tons, that should be built for the purpose, and be actually employed in either of these concerns. To carry the scheme into full effect, it was further proposed to constitute a society, under the name of the British Fishery, by charter, with a power to raise a capital of half a million sterling; and that three pounds ten shillings per cent. should be paid yearly out of the customs, to the proprietors, for

the capital actually employed in the fisheries. Corresponding chambers were proposed to be established in different parts of North Britain, for taking in subscriptions, and promoting the trade, under the direction of the company in London. Great expectations were formed of this project, which, it was supposed, would completely rival the Dutch in a lucrative branch of commerce. There were, however, some persons in parliament, particularly lords Walsley and Sandys, who reprobated it as a bubble, that would end in a general disappointment of all the parties concerned. They said that the resolution of fitting out vessels in the port of London, where every thing was dearer than in any other part of the kingdom, sufficiently evinced the absurdity of this ill-digested scheme. They likewise noticed the heavy impost on salt as another circumstance that militated against the plan, and shewed that it was in vain, under such circumstances, to think of competing with the Dutch, who were already masters of the trade, and fully able from various causes to outdo a company loaded with so many heavy expenses. All these arguments were unavailing. The supporters of the measure maintained that a joint stock company would be able to prosecute the undertaking at a much lower rate than individuals could possibly do, and that, while the advantages to the nation would be permanent and immense, employment would be given to a vast number of persons in different occupations. The measure, in consequence of these specious representations, became popular; the bill passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. A company was next formed, of which the prince of Wales became the governor, and all ranks of persons were eager to embark in a scheme which promised them a golden harvest. In a short time, however, these hopes lessened, and after a few years the British Fishery came to an end.

Another legislative proceeding, which passed soon after this, was one purporting to have for its object the improving of the Highlands of Scotland, and preventing future commotions in that part of the united kingdom.

By this act, the forfeited estates in North Britain were inalienably secured to the crown, after making satisfaction to the just creditors. For the management of these estates, the king was empowered to appoint commissioners who were enabled to grant leases of small farms, not exceeding twenty pounds a year rental, to individuals who should take an oath to reside upon and cultivate the lands. It was also provided that no lease should be granted for a longer term than twenty-one years; and that the lessees should not pay above three-fourths of the estimated annual value. The estates being mostly encumbered with claims exceeding the real worth, and the act requiring that they should be publicly sold, it was deemed necessary to retain them in the possession of the crown, lest, by being purchased in trust for the original proprietors, danger might arise of their becoming again instrumental to sedition and rebellious practices.

To prevent this, a joint suit was instituted by the crown and the creditors before the court of session, to determine the value of the lands, and the same being ascertained, the legal claimants were paid out of the aids granted by parliament. Equitable, however, as the measure appeared to be, it met with opposition in the house of lords, where it was stigmatized as a job, calculated to gratify the rapacious satellites of government. Notwithstanding this, the bill went through both houses, and received the royal assent.

Nothing further of particular interest occurred in Scotland, till the renewal of the war with France, in 1755, afforded an opportunity to Mr. Pitt, when he came into power, of remedying in a considerable degree the errors of his predecessors. Instead of studying, as they had done, how to oppress and exterminate the Highlanders, this great statesman wisely resolved to turn the courage of these hardy mountaineers to a public benefit. Encouragement was, therefore, given for the raising of regiments among the clans, on liberal principles; and without offending their native prejudices, either in regard to politics or dress. This prudent measure had the effect which that sagacious minister anticipated, and on the plains of Germany, as well as in the wars of America, the hardy Highlanders performed prodigies of valour, under the sons of those chiefs who had fallen in England by the hands of the executioner.

Lamentable, however, as the rebellion was to individuals and families, it was in the end beneficial to Scotland, by bringing to an issue the contest for the throne; and inducing a spirit of commercial enterprise among the people. The local improvements that were carried on at the expense of government, in the formation of roads, the erection of fortifications, and the maintenance of garrisons, throughout the Highlands, tended naturally to open a friendly intercourse between the inhabitants of these districts and their southern neighbours. In addition to these advantages, the circulation of money, and the encouragement given to agriculture, acted as stimulants, if not to friendship, yet at least to civility of behaviour and social connexion.

While, however, the natives of the remote provinces were acquiring somewhat of a polished courtesy in their manners; the two cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were exhibiting a spirit of fanaticism and bigotry little to be expected in such a period.

Although the stage had been always reprobated by the presbyterian clergy, they never could succeed in preventing dramatic entertainments, either by public prosecutions, or acts of the general assembly. From time to time solemn declarations were issued against comedians and plays; but still the magistrates connived at the performances, and the people resorted to them in spite of ecclesiastical censure. At length, the clergy, after endeavouring in vain for many years to put down the stage, were unexpectedly mortified by the popularity given to a play, of which one of their own order made no scruple to acknowledge himself the author. On the 14th of December, 1766, the tragedy of Douglas was exhibited at the theatre of Edinburgh, and met with a success unprecedented in Scotland. This piece was written by Mr. John Home, minister of Athelstaneford in East Lothian: and to aggravate matters, many of his brethren, without having the dread of ecclesiastical censure before their eyes, went to behold the performance. The presbytery of Edinburgh upon this took alarm; and in the first instance they called before them, and suspended from the pastoral office, those ministers of their district who had ventured to commit so disgraceful an act as to enter a playhouse. In the next place circular letters were sent to all the other presbyteries, urging them to adopt similar proceedings against such of the clergy as should be found offending in like manner. It may well be supposed that the poet himself was not suffered to escape in the storm of persecution. But, foreseeing the certainty of a suspension, and having neither an inclination to stand a trial, or to make a submission, he resolved to give up his preferment, and so escape the vengeance of his superiors. This determination he carried into effect, and, like Heliodorus of old, rather chose to relinquish his living than abandon the muses. The presbytery being unable to carry on any farther process against the author; now published an admonition, "warning, exhorting, and obtesting, all within their bounds, as they regarded the glory of God, the credit of their holy religion, and their own welfare, to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, by shewing a sacred regard to the Lord's day, and all the ordinances of divine institution, and by discouraging, in their respective spheres, the illegal and dangerous entertainments of the stage."

The example set by the presbytery of Edinburgh was immediately followed up by their brethren at Glasgow; who, however, went more minutely into the supposed grievance. "Having seen," say they, "a printed paper, entitled *An Admonition and Exhortation of the Reverend Presbytery of Edinburgh*, which, among other evils prevailing, laments the extraordinary and unprecedented countenance given of late to the playhouse in that city: and having good reason to believe that this refers to the following melancholy but notorious facts,—that one who is a minister of the church of Scotland did himself write and compose a stage play, intitled "*The Tragedy of Douglas*," and got it to be acted on the theatres of Edinburgh; and that he, with several other ministers of this church, were present, and some of them oftener than once, at the acting of the said play before a numerous audience: The presbytery, being deeply affected with this new and strange appearance, think it their duty to declare, as they hereby do, that they agree with the presbytery of Edinburgh in their sentiments with respect to stage plays; and particularly that such entertainments, from what has been usually exhibited in

them, and also from the dissolute lives, for the most part, and infamous characters, of the players, have been looked upon by the Christian church in all ages, and of all different communions, as extremely prejudicial to religion and morality, as well as hurtful to the other valuable interests of human society, by the wasteful expense of money and time they have occasioned; and being convinced by long experience, (a sure test of the tendency of custom or practice,) how vain it is to expect such a reformation of the stage as is consistent with the ends aforesaid; and therefore such entertainments should be discouraged and laid aside: And the presbytery, further considering that the unprecedented countenance given to the playhouse in the instance mentioned, is greatly aggravated by a late act of parliament rendering the stage (because not licensed) unlawful in Scotland, and also from the present circumstances of the nation with regard to the war we are engaged in, the dearth of provisions, and the awful tokens of the divine anger against us: They therefore hereby appoint and instruct such of their members as shall represent them in the ensuing general assembly of this church, to move and insist in a proper manner, that the venerable assembly do declare by a public act, their judgment, and that of this national church, against the entertainments of the theatre, as of very hurtful tendency to the interests of religion and society: *namely*, that the assembly do strictly inquire whether the facts above mentioned, namely, that a minister of this church has composed, and procured to be acted on the theatre of the Canongate of Edinburgh, the tragedy called *Douglas*, and that the representation of the said tragedy was attended by him and several other ministers, have been under the consideration of the presbytery respectively concerned; and whether those ministers, having been found guilty, have been censured as their faults deserved; and to give such directions as they in their wisdom shall find necessary, that such ministers and all others may be sensible that the church of Scotland will never protect her members in practices so unbecoming their character, and of such pernicious tendency to the great interests of religion, industry, and virtue. And, lastly, that the assembly would use their best endeavours to obtain such an explanation and enforcement of the act of the 17th of George II. against the playhouse, as it may not be liable to the pitiful evasions by which it is now eluded."

Soon after this, a process was instituted by the presbytery of Dalhousie against the reverend Mr. Carlyle of Inveresk, for having attended the theatre once, when the tragedy of *Douglas* was represented. Accordingly the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale met at Edinburgh, where, after a long debate, the assembly came to the following resolution: "The synod finds that the grounds of proceeding in this affair, in the way of libel, are not sufficiently clear and incontrovertible, and that it had been better and more expedient for the presbytery to have endeavoured to bring the same to an issue, rather in the way of privy censure, or of a brotherly conference, with proper admonition following thereupon: and further, the synod does by this sentence declare their displeasure with Mr Carlyle for the step he has taken in going to the theatre, and enjoin him to abstain therefrom in time coming." This determination gave mighty offence to the zealots, who entered a protest against the sentence, as too lenient, and inadequate to what they were pleased to call a crime.

It is curious to observe the difference between the church of England and that of Scotland at this period; for while the one was making it a sin even to see a play, the Episcopal Society for the propagation of the Gospel felt no scruple in receiving the profits of a tragedy written by Dr. Young. The English prelates had no more idea that their fund would be tainted by such a contribution, than the apostle of the gentiles had, that a quotation from *Esopides* would contaminate what he wrote by inspiration. Within a few years however, the bigotry which incited these malevolent prosecutions died away, and Mr. Carlyle, instead of suffering by the aspersion thrown upon his character, and the reprimand which he received from the synod, was not long afterwards advanced to the degree of doctor, and made one of the king's chaplains in Scotland. From this time the established church became distinguished as much by moderation as it had been before by a spirit of intolerance. The proceedings of the general assembly were marked by liberality of sentiment, and the gloomy dogmas, which formerly were regarded as fundamentals of

with, and indispensable rules of practice, were now relinquished, without any attempt to subtilize and refine them by scholastic ingenuity to those sectaries who maintained the Westminster confession to be the standard of truth, and the solemn league and covenant to be still binding on the nation. To explain this, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the schism which took place about the year 1733 in the church of Scotland.

Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, being called upon to preach before the synod of Perth, inveighed in such strong terms against the act respecting patronage, and the conduct of the church courts, that instead of thanks he was removed with a vote of censure. From this sentence he made a formal appeal to the general assembly, by whom the judgment was approved and confirmed. This widened the breach, and several ministers joined Mr. Erskine in a protest against the decision. As both parties were inflexible, a secession was the consequence, and the separatists formed themselves into an associate presbytery, professedly adhering in letter and spirit to the doctrine, worship, government, and discipline of the church of Scotland; from which, as they said, the prevailing party had declined.

The seceding ministers were now deposed by the general assembly: and though an overture was afterwards made to restore them upon making a submission, they refused to yield, and on the contrary published a fresh testimony against the defections in the established church. The general assembly being highly provoked by this act, summoned the leading seceders to appear, and answer for their conduct. Though they condescended to comply with the citation, it was only to mark their contempt for the authority from whence it issued. They treated the ministers of the assembly as intruders, and on that account refused to acknowledge their authority, in consequence of which they were altogether deposed from the ministerial office. Notwithstanding this, their numbers rapidly increased and in 1745, the seceding ministers were so numerous that they were divided into three distinct presbyteries under one synod. For some time they agreed very well; but when their numbers multiplied, dissension arose, and the associate presbytery split into parties called the Burghers and Antiburghers. The occasion of this rupture was as follows. The burghers-oath, as administered in several of the royal boroughs of Scotland, contains this clause: "I protest before God and your lordships, that I profess, and allow with my heart, the true religion, presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof: I shall abide thereto, and defend the same to my life's end; renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry."

Some of the seceding leaders, as Ebenezer Erskine, his brother Ralph, and others, held that there was in this test nothing but what might lawfully be sworn by the seceders, since the established religion is true, though the administration be erroneous. These persons, therefore, were called Burghers; while the more rigid of the sect who considered the oath as altogether inconsistent with their principles, and therefore could not be conscientiously taken, were denominated Antiburghers.

Besides these divisions, there were two other classes of separatists from the established church, at this time existing; the first were, the remnant of the Cameronians, or old dissenters, who maintained the inviolability of the solemn league and covenant, and the high Calvinistic doctrines, in opposition to the laxity of modern principles and discipline. The others were called Glasites, from their founder, Mr. John Glass; who, for teaching that national churches have no warrant in the New Testament, was deprived of his living; in consequence of which, he erected a schism, and gathered several congregations in different places, upon the plan of independency.

Having given this brief sketch of ecclesiastical affairs, it is time to resume the course of historical narrative.

The settlement of a regular militia in South Britain induced many persons of distinction to wish for the introduction of a similar establishment in Scotland. It was conceived, that to a measure so patriotic, no objection could possibly be raised, at a period when all ground for political jealousy had been removed. Accordingly a bill was brought into the house of commons, in April, 1760, for the enrolment of a militia in North Britain: but though ably supported, it was rejected by a great majority, as too dangerous an

experiment to be tried in a country which had lately been the scene of rebellion.

Of the unreasonableness and injustice of this suspicion, the world had demonstrative evidence the same year in the conduct of the Highlanders at the taking of Quebec. Having landed on the bank of the river St. Lawrence in the morning of the 13th of September, these troops ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage, and succeeded in dislodging a sergeant's guard that defended the only path by which the summit could be attained; but which was so narrow and overgrown, that it was extremely hazardous to attempt the passage. This point gained, the other troops mounted without further molestation, and general Wolfe, though suffering at the time by the effects of a fever and dysentery, formed the whole in order, as they arrived on the plain above. When M. de Montcalm, the French commander, was informed that the enemy had succeeded in scaling the heights of Abraham, which hitherto had been deemed inaccessible, he resolved to hazard a battle immediately, as full confidence of driving the invaders over the precipice, or compelling them to surrender. The attack was accordingly made with great impetuosity; and though the fire was irregular, it proved very destructive. The British forces reserved theirs until the French approached within forty yards of them, when they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued it with such success as produced a sensible effect. At this stage of the battle, general Wolfe was wounded in the wrist; but having wrapped his handkerchief round it, he continued to give his orders, when another ball pierced his breast. While the right pressed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray, at the head of his troops, penetrated the centre of the enemy. The Highlanders having thus broke the line, drew their broad-swords, and fell on with such irresistible force, that the French fled, some into the town, and others into the works they had raised on the river. At this moment, general Wolfe was in the agonies of death; when the officer who was supporting him exclaimed, "They run, they run!" "Who run?" cried out the gallant hero with eagerness. "The French," replied the officer. "Thank God," said the general, "then I am happy;" and with these words he expired.

This was the last great military achievement in the reign of George the Second, who closed a life of seventy-seven years in a very sudden manner at the palace of Kensington, on the 25th of October, 1700. Having risen early in the morning, drank his chocolate, and inquired about the wind, he opened the window of the apartment, and perceiving the weather was serene, said he would take a walk in the garden. In a few minutes after he was alone, he fell upon the floor; and the noise brought in the servants who lifted him on the bed. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed it appeared that his malady was beyond the reach of medical skill, for when the cavity of the thorax was opened and inspected by the surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart ruptured, and a quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the pericardium; so that death was inevitable.

George the Second was in his person rather beneath the middle size, but well formed, and of a pleasing countenance. His temper was hasty, and he sometimes fell into violent fits of passion, which, however, seldom lasted long, and rarely proved injurious to those upon whom his anger was vented. He was temperate in his mode of living, scrupulously methodical in his habits, and extremely parsimonious in regard to his private expenditure. As a sovereign, he conducted himself generally with moderation; and the principal fault which the British nation had to find with his government, was the undue partiality he always manifested for his Germanic connexions. His reign was distinguished by many great revolutions, both internal and external; but they all tended to enlarge the British empire, and to give stability to the throne. By his queen Caroline, who died in 1737, he had two sons and five daughters: viz. Frederick prince of Wales, father of George III. William duke of Cumberland; Anne, who married the prince of Orange; Mary, the wife of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; Louis, queen of Denmark; and Amelia and Caroline, who died unmarried.

## GEORGE III.

As the history of Scotland, from this period, is too closely interwoven with that of England, to admit of a particular detail, we must be content with selecting those incidents which, being of a local character, are slightly noticed in the general annals of the nation.

No prince ever ascended the throne under more auspicious circumstances than George the Third. He was in the bloom of youth, of decorous manners, and virtuous principles; to all which he added a qualification peculiarly endearing to his subjects, that of being a native of Britain. On these accounts, with the prosperous state of the country, though in a state of war, the commencement of the new reign was hailed with enthusiastic rapture by all ranks from one end of the kingdom to the other. But popular favour is extremely capricious; and the very means adopted to obtain or secure it, often has a contrary effect. This was the case with the young monarch, who, in his commendable endeavours to abolish the distinctions of party, had the misfortune to evoke instead of destroying the spirit of discord. The appointment of his early friend and tutor, the earl of Bute, first to the post of secretary of state, and next to the high office of prime minister, kindled a flame, which neither the restoration of peace, nor the resignation of the nobleman who had accomplished it, could extinguish.

Though lord Bute retired from public life with a reputation upon which slander itself could fix no stain, it was sufficient for the purposes of faction, that he was a Scotchman, and bore the name of Stuart. The grossest abuse was poured upon him and all his countrymen, by a host of libellers, who, without a single particle of public or private virtue themselves, assumed the dignified title of patriots, and had the common luck of empirics, to succeed in imposing upon national credulity by the dint of impudence.

While the southern metropolis and the greatest part of England exhibited scenes of confusion approximating to rebellion, the north was tranquil, and, the people being happily free from the contagion of sedition, directed their thoughts and labours with the best effect to the improvement of their country, and the embellishment of their capital. Various institutions arose on the principle of utility, and a general spirit of activity and unanimity prevailed, for the extension of commerce, and the encouragement of manufactures. Amidst these laudable exertions, the benefit of which was quickly visible in every town and district, the interests of literature were not neglected. Scotland at this time could boast of possessing writers who shone pre-eminent in history, philosophy, and poetry; whose works were eagerly read, and whose correspondence was courted throughout Europe. Unlike their neighbours, these luminaries endeavoured to assist each other, and to promote the common good by the advancement of learning and the encouragement of genius. This exercise of literary friendship, however, was sometimes carried to a length so extravagant as provoked the bitter sarcasm, that a Scotchman must be a sturdy moralist, in whom the partiality of his native soil did not predominate over the love of truth. This keen invective was occasioned by the publication of pieces alleged to be translations, in measured prose, of poems written in Gaelic, at a period when that language must have been as poor and simple as the people by whom it was spoken. The person who made this fortunate discovery, was James Macpherson, a theological student, and a native of the Highlands. Being himself enamoured with hearing some of the poems recited in the country, he collected several of them, and translated them into English. On reading a few of these fragments, to Mr. John Home, the author of *Douglas*, that gentleman communicated the circumstance to professor Ferguson and Dr. Blair, by whose means a volume was printed, and a subscription entered into, for the purpose of enabling the editor to prosecute a search after more wild flowers of the same description. The result of this mission was the publication, in 1764, of two epic poems, one entitled *Fingal*, and the other *Temora*, purporting to be the productions of Ossian, an unknown bard of the third century. The appearance of these compositions excited great surprise among the learned; but the preponderating belief was in their



favour, owing principally to the industry and ingenuity with which the evidences for their support were accumulated and displayed by Dr. Blair, who wrote an elaborate dissertation on the subject. In Scotland, the poems of Ossian were received with enthusiasm, and extolled above Homer and Virgil. Abroad also they were equally popular, and almost as soon as they appeared, a translation of them into Italian, by the abbé Cesarotti, made its appearance. In England, on the contrary, some scepticism was manifested, and Dr. Johnson made no scruple at once to pronounce the whole an earnest forgery.

Subsequent inquiries, however, have sufficiently proved, that there are among the Highlanders many romantic tales and bardic remains of great antiquity, the remembrance of which has been carefully preserved, and faithfully transmitted from father to son through many ages. Notwithstanding this, the doubt started at the outset, respecting the validity of pieces written in a regular order of historic narration, enriched with vigorous characters, high-wrought imagery, and pathetic sentiments, continued unshaken, or rather became confirmed by the adduction of ballads, the originality and beauty of which seemed evidently to have suggested the idea of the larger works. That these last have no foundation in the history of the ancient Scots, will scarcely be asserted; for it is obvious, that they are framed from traditionary wonders and vulgar relations, which the minstrel tribe were wont to sing in the houses of their chiefs, or in their wanderings about the country. Such popular stories have always some facts interwoven with fiction; and though the machinery may be ideal, the basis is not devoid of truth. But the construction of two heroic poems, of no trifling magnitude, set off with the refined embellishments of art, cannot, without an extraordinary stretch of credulity, be received as the productions of an illiterate bard in an illiterate age. This insuperable objection of the unbelievers who first called in question the verity of Ossian the son of Fingal, was strengthened by the pertinacious refusal of the translator to give the only satisfactory proof of his integrity, in the production of the originals. But this was never done, either by Macpherson himself or any other person; and though various efforts have been subsequently made to uphold the credit of these pretended relics of ancient poetry, the question continues, for the exercise of genius, without any probability of its being ever decided.

The agitation which this subject excited, was for a time suspended by an affair of a very different nature; but one that seemed as much to affect the moral, as the other did the literary, character of Scotland.

At the beginning of January, 1766, Thomas Ogilvie, laird of East Nidd, married Katherine Nairn; soon after which, his brother Patrick, an officer in the army, returned from abroad, when an intimacy commenced between the latter and his sister-in-law, which ended tragically. The dismissal of Patrick from the house, enraged the woman to such a degree, that she administered poison to her husband in his tea, at breakfast, of which he died on the seventh of June. For this, Katherine and Patrick were apprehended, and on the 14th of August their trial came on before the court of Justiciary at Edinburgh; when they were found guilty both of incest and murder, two crimes strangely blended together in the same indictment. The sentence passed upon Patrick Ogilvie was, that he should be kept on bread and water till the 26th of September, and then, between the hours of two and four o'clock in the afternoon, be carried to the Grass-market, there to be hanged upon a gibbet till dead; and thereafter his body to be given to Alexander Monro, professor of anatomy, to be publicly dissected.

Katherine Nairn pleaded pregnancy, upon which a jury of matrons was appointed to examine her; but as they could not come to any conclusion, the sentence was deferred till the third of November. In the mean time, some doubts being raised respecting the guilt of Ogilvie, he was respited; notwithstanding which, the law was permitted to take its course, and the unfortunate man suffered at the place appointed, on the 13th of November, leaving behind him a solemn declaration of his innocence in every respect; which, with his behaviour throughout, excited a strong interest in his favour among the people, who thought the evidence against him extremely weak and inconclusive.

The execution was attended with an affecting circumstance, which could scarcely fail to increase the interest that had already been kindled in behalf of a young man of respectable connexions, who was convicted upon more tender circumstances.

On being turned off, the rope slipped from his neck, and he fell down; but was immediately carried up again by two or three of the city officers, and after hanging the usual period, his body was taken to be anatomized.

The judgment upon Mrs. Ogilvie was further respited, on account of her condition, till the month of March. After her delivery, however, she succeeded in effecting her escape, dressed as an officer; and though a reward of one hundred guineas was issued for her apprehension, she made her way to the continent.

The history of this family was very extraordinary; for, at the time when Catherine lay in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, Alexander Ogilvie, the brother of her husband, and the prosecutor of Patrick and herself, was committed to the same prison on the charge of bigamy; and soon after, he received sentence of perpetual banishment. His father having been concerned in the rebellion of 1745, was confined in Edinburgh, from whence he attempted to make his escape, and broke his neck. His eldest son being taken prisoner at Carlisle, suffered execution there with the other rebels.

The attention of the British public, soon after this, was excited to an uncommon pitch by another cause, of a very romantic and affecting nature.

In the year 1746, lady Jane, daughter of Archibald, duke of Douglas, married privately Mr. John Stewart, a gentleman of good family, but no fortune. Fearful that this alliance would offend her brother, upon whom she depended for her support, the lady, under the pretext of illness, went to England, and from thence to France, where she was delivered, in 1748, of two male children at a birth, one of whom was baptized by the name of Archibald, and the other by that of Sholto. In the following year, lady Jane returned with her family to London, where she was reduced to extreme distress, by the stoppage of the annuity which she had hitherto received from the duke her brother. In this exigency she applied to Mr. Pelham, through whose representations the king was induced to grant her a pension of three hundred a year. Notwithstanding this relief, the family continued to suffer so much, that her ladyship took the children to Scotland, in hopes of effecting a reconciliation with her brother. In this object, however, she failed, not being allowed even to enter the gates of Douglas castle. Thus repulsed, lady Jane straced her steps, with a heavy heart, to Edinburgh, where she left the children in the care of an old domestic, and went back herself to London. Soon after, Sholto died, upon which the distracted mother hastened down to Scotland; but the fatigue and anxiety which she endured, threw her into a fever, and in a wretched apartment, destitute of common necessaries, this unfortunate lady breathed her last, in the month of November, 1750. A few days before her departure, she took the sacrament, and calling for her child, gave him a maternal blessing, with a fervent prayer to the Almighty that he might enjoy his rightful inheritance. Lady Schaw, who had been the early friend of lady Jane, now took upon her the charge of protecting the infant, and when she died, the care of him was undertaken by a benevolent nobleman. Mr. Stewart, the father, was at that time a prisoner in the king's bench. In the year 1759, he succeeded to his paternal estate by the death of his brother, sir George Stewart, of Grantully; when the first act he did was to make a settlement upon his son. Meanwhile, the duke of Douglas continued obstinately to refuse acknowledging his nephew; against whom he had taken an inveterate prejudice, through the perfidious artifices of interested creans, who represented this child as an impostor, that had been picked up in the streets of Paris, for the purpose of being obtruded upon the family as the rightful son and heir of lady Jane. Wild and unnatural as the charge was, it met with a ready reception where it was intended to operate; and the duke of Douglas, in the full persuasion of its truth, executed a deed, by which he settled his whole estate, in failure of having issue of his own, upon the duke of Hamilton. At this time there was no probability that the duke of Douglas would marry; but, contrary to all expectation, in the year 1758, he did

enter into that state, though within a few months, he and the duchess quarrelled and separated, on account of the nephew, whose cause her grace adopted with a zeal that did her infinite honour. At length a reconciliation was effected, and the duke executed another deed of settlement, wherein he declared that Archibald Douglas, otherwise Stewart, the son of his sister, was his rightful heir.

On the 11th of July, 1761, the duke died, and the nephew, being a minor, his guardians, the duchess of Douglas and the duke of Queensberry immediately proceeded to vest him legally in the feudal rights of the estate, by getting him served heir of entail and provision. In order to remove any doubts that might arise respecting the legitimacy of their ward, these noble persons procured the evidence of those persons who had known lady Jane abroad, at the time of her delivery. While these proceedings were going on, the duke of Hamilton exerted himself, and took out breves from the court of chancery, to be served as heir male to the late duke of Douglas. A legal inquiry was accordingly instituted, when the jury, without hesitation, returned Archibald Douglas the lawful heir to the ducal estate, as being the son of lady Jane. The Hamiltons, not satisfied with this decision, now sent Andrew Stuart, a lawyer, to Paris, for the purpose of detecting what they scrupled not to affirm was a gross imposture. This active agent exerted himself with such industry, that in a short time he returned, with a mass of evidence which had the effect of turning the scale in favour of his employers; and the court of session, putting implicit faith in the proofs now adduced, gave their judgment against the legitimacy of Archibald Douglas. Upon this, the supporters of the law had recourse to the lords, and during the process, sir John Stewart died solemnly acknowledging the claimant as his son by lady Jane Douglas. Mrs. Hewitt, also a material witness in the cause, who had been the constant companion of lady Jane, died while the cause was depending; but with her last breath she declared that all she had formerly attested, respecting the birth of Archibald Douglas, was true. In the month of February, 1768, the appeal came on before the house of peers; when, after a close investigation, and an extraordinary display of legal talent, the rights of the heir male were fully established, to the general satisfaction of the nation. On this occasion, lord Mansfield took such a lively interest in favour of the son of lady Jane, that his feelings overcame him, and he fainted in the midst of his speech. Another remarkable circumstance attending this memorable trial was a duel which it produced between Mr. Thurlow and Andrew Stuart. The former, who was counsel for Mr. Douglas, animadverted on the conduct of the agent, in terms which provoked a challenge, and the parties met; but no injury was sustained on either side.

This great cause had scarcely ended, when another affair happened, which made a strong impression upon the public.

On the 14th of October, 1769, the earl of Eglintoun discovering an excise officer, named Mungo Campbell, shooting on his lordship's grounds, went up to him, and demanded his gun. The trespasser refused compliance, and a scuffle ensued, in the course of which the piece went off, and the earl received a mortal wound. On Monday, the 20th of February, 1770, the trial of Campbell took place before the court of justiciary; when Mr. Roe, the counsel for the prisoner, in a speech of three hours, contended, that as no legal proof of a wilful discharge of the gun had been offered, the prisoner must be acquitted. The court did not rise till half-past four on the following morning, when the jury were enclosed, and, after remaining shut up an hour and a half, returned a written verdict; which, at six o'clock was opened by the judges, and found the prisoner guilty of wilful murder. Upon this, sentence was immediately pronounced, that the prisoner should be executed on the 11th of April; but the next morning, when the clergyman went to visit Campbell, he found him hanging, and quite dead. To accomplish his purpose, he had raised a large form on one end, and made it lean against the wall; after which, with a napkin and a handkerchief fastened together, he contrived to suspend himself by a hook. A curious question now arose, in regard to the disposal of the body. The sentence was, that he should be hanged on a particular day, and his body thereafter be given to Dr. Morro for dissection. Now, on the

criminal had anticipated the execution, how could the second part of the sentence be carried into effect? The court got rid of the difficulty, by allowing the friends of Campbell to take the body, which they deposited in a solitary place among the rocks, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; from whence it was soon exhumed, and rudely treated by the populace; on which the magistrates interfered, and caused the wretched remains of the suicide to be carried out and sunk in the Forth.

Among the political incidents which at this time agitated the public mind in Scotland, the most considerable was the choice of a representative peer, in the room of the duke of Argyll. Ever since the union, the British ministry had exercised a preponderating influence over these elections; but in doing this, some art was used, and appearance observed, so as to avoid giving open offence. In the present instance, however, all decency was set aside, and lord North sent circular letters himself from the treasury to the electors, recommending them to choose the earl of Dysart. Upon this, an alarm was raised; and some of the lords, who had not quite given up their principle of independency, entered into an association to shake off the servile yoke which had already too long disgraced their order. It was, therefore, resolved to oppose the court candidate, by setting up against him a nobleman in the popular interest. Accordingly, the earl of Breadalbane was pitched upon, and the rather as he had already been one of the representatives of the peerage. The government, on being apprized of this intention, being fearful that the earl of Dysart would not succeed, substituted in his room the earl of Stair, who was supposed to have more interest in Scotland. This, however, could not shake the other lords from their purpose; and though they had no personal objections to lord Stair, they very properly determined to reject him, on the ground that their freedom of choice was violated by his nomination. On Wednesday, the second of January, 1771, the election took place, in Holyrood House; when, though the earl of Stair had twenty-seven votes, there were no less than eighteen against him, followed by a protest on the part of the earl of Selkirk and other peers, who declared that the election was void, as having been solely effected through the unconstitutional interference of the minister, in letters sent from his office by expresses to Scotland. Shortly after this, lord Elibank published a caustic and powerful tract upon the subject, entitled, "Considerations on the present State of the Peerage in Scotland; addressed to the Duke of Buccleugh." But the weight of corruption was too strong for argument; and the abuse, though generally felt, and universally acknowledged, was suffered to continue.

During the American war, the coast of Scotland, from the Mull of Galloway in the west, to the Frith of Forth, was much infested by marauders; especially one rover named Paul Jones, who, being a native of this part of the island, was enabled to carry on his plundering system to great advantage. It should be observed, to his credit, however, that after pillaging the house of lord Selkirk, the pirate sent the family plate back from France to London, free of carriage. This fortunate adventurer died at Paris, in 1792. The loyalty of the inhabitants of this part of the kingdom, throughout that unfortunate contest, was evinced, in many instances, particularly in raising regiments of volunteers, for the national defence; but the attempt to form a regular militia was strenuously and repeatedly resisted, as calculated to entail a perpetual burden upon the country. In whatever light this opposition to a great public measure may be considered, no excuse can be made for the violent treatment which another proceeding of the legislature experienced in Scotland.

In 1778 parliament passed a bill, repealing some of the most severe penal laws against papists. This tolerant measure was confined to England; notwithstanding which, the zealots in Scotland took alarm, and a motion was made in the General Assembly, for a standing committee to be appointed, to defend the protestant interests, and prevent the extension of the bill to this kingdom. The proposition was lost; upon which, associations were immediately formed in many places, and the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in particular, appointed a solemn fast, to be held within their bounds, on account of the encouragement given to popery. They also voted an address to the two houses of parliament, against any mitigation of those penal laws which affected the Roman

Catholics; and they further instructed the clergy to inflame the minds of the people, by preaching upon the controversial points between papists and protestants. In consequence of these excitements, the rabble broke loose even on a Sabbath, and attacked a house where the Catholics were assembled for public worship. After demolishing the windows, and committing some insults upon individuals, the mob at that time dispersed, without doing any further injury. The plan of associating, however, continued; and on the general fast-day, in February, 1779, the infuriated populace of Glasgow displayed their hatred to the papists with increased malignity; setting fire to several houses, and destroying all the property. Some of the ringleaders were taken, and sent to prison; but the magistrates, being intimidated by the threats which were held out to deter them from doing their duty, meanly gave orders for the release of the rioters.

At Edinburgh, also, the mob arose about the same time, and destroyed not only the Catholic chapel, but the house and furniture of the bishop. Not satisfied with this outrage, they next proceeded to attack the manors of Dr. Robertson, principal of the university, and Mr. Croshie, an eminent advocate; both which gentlemen had incurred the popular resentment by the liberality of their sentiments and conduct, when the subject of the penal laws was brought forward in the General Assembly. Fortunately, the intentions of the mob were known in sufficient time to be guarded against; so that, when the rioters appeared, the habitations which had been marked out as objects of vengeance, were put in a state of defence. On this occasion, Dr. Erskine, the colleague of Dr. Robertson, exerted himself greatly in appeasing the fury of the populace, and persuading them to depart without committing any acts of outrage. All this time, however, the magistrates remained inactive; and what was worse, when the tumult at length subsided, no steps were adopted to punish the ringleaders. The consequence of this supineness, on the part of the civil authorities and the government, was woefully felt in the capital of the empire, during the summer of the following year, when a lawless rabble ranged the city at pleasure, destroying not only Roman chapels, but private houses, and even the public prisons. Melancholy and disgraceful as these scenes were, some good effects resulted from them, by shewing the danger of letting loose the passions of the populace, and suffering them to interfere with public measures. The odious nature of bigotry was never more strongly displayed than in these riotous proceedings, in which, even those who had been most forward in associating against the repeal of the penal laws, were so much ashamed, that they offered no further opposition to the rights of conscience. The natural consequence of this salutary change was, that from this period, fanaticism, though not annihilated in Scotland, became, in a manner, innoxious.

The interests of literature were properly regarded, and various establishments arose, for the advancement of scientific pursuits, and the general diffusion of knowledge. Among these, the first was the Medical Society, which, after subsisting about forty years with great credit, and proving the basis of the physical school of Edinburgh, now received a charter of incorporation from the crown. The next was the Royal Society of Edinburgh, which originated with the celebrated Maclaurin, in 1730; but though formed on the extensive plan of promoting elegant learning and experimental knowledge, was not regularly constituted as a body, till the year 1782. In addition to these institutions, came the Society of Antiquaries, founded on a similar plan with that of London, but having for its principal object the illustration of Scottish history, by exploring ancient remains.

In 1784, Mr. Henry Dundas, afterwards lord Melville, carried a bill through parliament, for the repeal of the act which confiscated the estates of certain persons in Scotland, attainted of high-treason. This measure of mercy and justice was unanimously supported in the house of commons; but in the lords it met with some, though ineffectual, opposition from the chancellor.

In the year 1786, the royal grant was obtained for an association called the British Society; the design of which was to extend the fisheries, and to improve the sea-coasts. The capital of this company was fixed at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be raised in shares of fifty pounds each.

From this period nothing occurred of a public interest, till the general election for members of parliament, in 1790, when a curious case arose which came before the high court of justiciary in the year following. The candidates for the burgh of Lochmaben, or Dumfries, were sir James Johnston and Mr. Miller; between whom, the contest was carried on with great activity. Among other extraordinary arts made use of to secure their point, the party in the interest of Johnston, seized, and carried off to London, a voter named Walls, who was engaged to the opposite side. For this abduction, eight of the agents of Johnston were tried; and though it was evident that the whole business was a collusion between the witness Walls and the conspirators, the latter were found guilty upon his testimony, and sentenced to be fined and banished. The judgment, however, was reversed by the crown, and the prisoners were set at liberty.

At the same time, another election came on before the court of session, in an action brought by lord Daer against the freeholders of the county of Wigton. His lordship claimed to be put upon the roll of freeholders; thereby entitling him to elect, or be elected, a member of parliament. His demand being refused, he applied to the highest judicial authority in Scotland; which, after an elaborate argument on the case, decided, that not only are the eldest sons of peers totally disqualified to vote for members of the house of commons, but that neither can they sit themselves in that assembly.

In the year 1790, a laudable institution was formed at Edinburgh, for the benefit of the sons of the clergy of the established church of Scotland; and, so well was the plan approved, that soon afterwards a royal charter was granted, for the incorporation of the society. Another excellent charity, which met with great public support at this period, was the society for the propagation of Christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands. To further the noble views of the association, some benefactor, whose name was never known, contributed no less a sum than ten thousand pounds. Another philanthropist, the lord of Vryhoven in Holland, but a resident in London, bequeathed twenty thousand pounds to the same institution. In consequence of these donations, the society was enabled to extend its objects very considerably; by increasing the number of its schools, augmenting the salaries of the teachers, maintaining missionaries, and multiplying manufactories for the employment of the poor.

On the 10th of March, 1792, died John Stuart, earl of Bute, at a very advanced age; being remarkable for little more than the unpopularity of his short administration, and the circumstance that he was the first Scotchman, after the union, who held the office of first lord of the treasury.

In the parliamentary session of this year, several petitions were brought forward from persons connected with the royal burghs of Scotland, stating, that the inhabitants were liable to the exaction of taxes, for which there was no adequate remedy;—that there were instances of misrule and misconduct by the magistrates, in the dilapidation of public property, and the general management of their duty: and that there was no court of judicature in Scotland, to which those persons were responsible for what they did, or that had any control over them in their office. The petitions were supported in the house of commons by the leaders of the opposition, but resisted by the lord advocate; who, while he admitted that some abuses existed in the government of the burroughs, defended the constitution itself, and strenuously resisted the project of a reform. On a division, the motion for an inquiry was rejected by a powerful majority; but at a subsequent period, a committee was appointed to consider the subject, though without effecting what was aimed at by the friends of reform.

Among the proceedings of the peers this session, was the passing an act for the relief of the pastors, ministers, and lay members of the episcopal communion in Scotland. The bill for this purpose was brought into the upper house by lord Elgin, and received a strenuous support from Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. David's, though in opposition to the lord chancellor Thurlow. Lord Kinnoul also spoke warmly for the measure; which was carried on the 24th of May, and sent to the commons; but as it proved a money bill, the lower

house rejected it, and originated a new one exactly to the same purpose which, on the 15th of June, received the royal assent.

This bill was speedily followed by another, with equal success, for the relief of the Roman Catholics of Scotland from the pressure of the penal laws.

But if these measures gave general satisfaction, the resistance which parliamentary reform met with from the government, proved very offensive to those who had imbibed the revolutionary doctrines of liberty and equality.

On the king's birth-day in 1792, a riot broke out at Edinburgh, which was not suppressed till some lives were lost, by the interference of the military who were called in for the restoration of order. Notwithstanding this, a revolutionary society or convention was formed in the capital, assuming the name of Friends of the People. A general meeting of the delegates from similar institutions, was held at Edinburgh; when sundry resolutions were entered into, all tending to the establishment of a republican form of government.

These proceedings did not escape the vigilance of the civil authorities; and it being deemed prudent to crush the convention in its infancy, a prosecution was commenced against Thomas Muir, the president of the meeting at Edinburgh, and of Thomas Fyfe Palmer, of Perth. The trials of these persons took place in August, 1793; when Muir was found guilty, and received sentence of transportation for fourteen years, and Palmer for seven. Considerable emotion was excited by these judgments, and some severe animadversions were made upon them, in parliament; but ministers defended them, as necessary for the preservation of the public peace; and the sentences were carried into execution. They had not, however, the effect of putting down seditious associations; for, in the following year, Robert Watt, a wine-merchant, and David Downie, a goldsmith, were tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Edinburgh, on a charge of high-treason. The judgment upon Watt was fully executed, on the 15th of September; but Downie obtained the king's pardon, on the recommendation of the jury.

At the beginning of 1796, Edinburgh became the asylum of *monseigneur* the count d'Artois, now king of France, and his son, the duke d'Angoulême, who took up their residence at Holyrood-house, where they held levees, and during their stay ingratiated themselves with the people by the courtesy of their behaviour. On returning to the continent, in August, 1799, the prince transmitted a letter to the lord provost and magistrates, of which this is a translation: "Gentlemen, circumstances relative to the good and service of the king, my brother, making it requisite that I should leave this city, where, during my residence, I have received the most distinguished marks of attention and regard, I should reproach myself were I to depart without expressing to its respectable magistrates, and through them to the inhabitants at large, the grateful sense with which my heart is penetrated, for the noble manner in which they have seconded the generous hospitality of his Britannic majesty. I hope I shall one day have it in my power, to make known, on happier moments, my feelings on this occasion, and express to you more fully the sentiments with which you have inspired me; the sincere assurance of which, time only permits me to offer you at present.—CHARLES PHILIPPE."

The reception which these royal fugitives experienced in Scotland, was peculiarly gratifying; after having been driven about, from one part of the continent to another, in imminent danger of their lives; and the city of Edinburgh exhibited a constant scene of gaiety during their stay; numbers coming thither from all parts, purposely to have a view of the illustrious strangers.

At this period, the whole kingdom was in a state of activity; the effective part of the population being mostly under arms, for the national defence. But, though the people were ready enough to enroll themselves as volunteers, yet, when an act was passed, for the establishment of a militia in Scotland, though the number required amounted only to six thousand men, the ballot was furiously opposed, and many riots ensued, which were not suppressed without bloodshed. A short time afterwards the act was enlarged, and the number of men increased, without any further expression of discontent.



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Such was the pressure of the public burdens at this time, and the alarm created by the dread of an invasion, that a general scarcity of specie prevailed throughout the kingdom. As a partial remedy for the existing evil, a bill was hurried through parliament, empowering the banks and trading companies of Scotland, for a limited period, to issue notes under the value of twenty shillings.

Notwithstanding this gloomy aspect of the times, works of public utility were continually projected and actively supported throughout the country. Among the rest, a plan for the improvement of the harbour of Leith, by the excavation of wet docks, was undertaken in the midst of the war, and in order to carry it into effect, the corporation of Edinburgh advanced a loan of twenty thousand pounds.

On the 12th of July, 1799, the Rev. Mr. Fitzsimons, an episcopal clergyman of Edinburgh, was tried before the high court of judicature, for assisting four French prisoners to effect their escape out of the country. It appeared that the men who were confined in the castle of Edinburgh having succeeded in getting out, threw themselves on the generosity of Mr. Fitzsimons, who sheltered them for some days, and then conveyed them privately to Newhaven, where they obtained a passage in a cartel, and so made their way to France. Though the fact was fully proved, the court, in consideration of the high character and liberal, though mistaken, motives of the panel, only sentenced him to three months' imprisonment in the Tolbooth.

In consequence of the extreme want occasioned by the badness of the harvest in this year, no less than one hundred and eighty-three societies and incorporations sent deputies to a general meeting at Edinburgh for the laudable purpose of purchasing grain in foreign markets, and furnishing the members with the same on moderate terms.

The same plan was adopted in other parts, notwithstanding which, the public distress arising from the scarcity and exorbitant price of provisions, was scarcely supportable. Yet, with the exception of a few insignificant ebullitions of popular impatience, the privations were endured with exemplary fortitude.

The new century was ushered in on the 1st of January 1801, with peculiar pomp and rejoicing, on account of the recent act for the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. His Majesty held a grand council on the occasion, which was attended by the members of the royal family and the ministers, who took the new oaths, after which the Park and Tower guns were fired, and the altered standards were hoisted. Similar rejoicings would have taken place in the northern capital, had it not been for the heavy pressure of the times, which induced the lord provost and magistrates to prohibit an illumination as imprudent under such circumstances.

When the melancholy intelligence arrived of the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was mortally wounded in the victory gained by him near Alexandria on the 21st of January, the lord provost caused all the volunteers of Edinburgh to assemble in funeral order to hear the general orders read that had been issued by his majesty. The scene was altogether solemn and impressive; and the feelings of the spectators seemed in unison with those of the brigade; all bearing testimony to the worth of a commander whose loss was not easily repaired. The magistrates and council of Edinburgh farther came to a resolution to erect a monument, in honour of the lamented general, in the High-church.

The heroic conduct of the 42d, or royal Highland regiment, in that memorable battle, where a sergeant of the corps, named Sinclair, took the standard called the Invincible, rendered their arrival at Edinburgh a very interesting spectacle. They were received with an enthusiastic welcome, and the presentation to them of a new suit of colours was performed with great solemnity on the Castle Hill, in the presence of the corporation and a vast number of military officers and nobility.

The restoration of peace about the same time, produced also universal gladness, which was further heightened by the gratifying circumstance of an abundant harvest. But the pleasure thus excited proved of short duration, for within a few months the note of war again called the people to arms; and

it redounds to their honour, that the summons was promptly and cheerfully obeyed from one corner of the island to the other. At Edinburgh the volunteers mustered in considerable force, and a new association was entered into for the defence of the Forth and the country in general.

In the midst, however, of these preparations, and the difficulties which this sudden recurrence to hostilities occasioned, the spirit of improvement went vigorously forward. The capital witnessed many important alterations, particularly in the removal of old and the erection of new buildings. The harbour of Leith also was enlarged and rendered more commodious. Canals were cut in various directions, and steam-vessels were now, for the first time, introduced.

During the parliamentary session of 1803, a bill was brought in and carried for the bettering the condition of the parochial schoolmasters, by raising their salaries in proportion to the population, and furnishing them with suitable dwellings.

Another legislative measure, of a beneficial nature, passed at this time, was an act for the establishment of a police at Edinburgh; the ceremonial of opening which useful institution took place with great solemnity on the 15th of July 1806.

In the summer of the following year, the public mind was much agitated by the impeachment of the lord viscount Melville for high crimes and misdemeanors while holding the office of treasurer of the navy. From these charges he was fully acquitted, and the intelligence was received with rapturous enthusiasm throughout Scotland, but particularly at Edinburgh, where the inhabitants illuminated their houses on the occasion. The corporation also voted an address of congratulation to his lordship; an example which was followed by many other public bodies.

During the consideration of this important cause, two measures exclusively affecting Scotland, were brought into parliament: one for the appropriation of the funds then arising out of the forfeited estates, on account of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, to public purposes; and the other, for reforming the court of session. The bill for the latter purpose, though brought in by lord Grenville, was vigorously opposed, and generally unpopular, for which reason the Scottish judges were summoned to give their opinions thereon before the house of lords. During their stay, however, and before any decision could be come to, a sudden dissolution of the ministry took place, parliament was in consequence dissolved, and in the ensuing session the projected reform passed into the hands of the lord chancellor Eldon. The new bill proposed dividing the court of session into two divisions or chambers; the one consisting of the president and seven other lords; the second, of the lord-justice-clerk and six lords. Various regulations for the expediting of business were introduced, but the advanced stage of the season, when the bill was brought in, rendering it impossible to enter fully into its merits, the same was ordered to be printed against the next meeting of parliament, when the business underwent a further consideration, and was ultimately carried into effect.

The change of ministers seems to have given nearly universal satisfaction in Scotland; and, among the rest, the General Assembly addressed his majesty on the occasion, expressing strong attachment to his family, and high admiration of his personal piety, particularly the bright example which he had set of a sacred regard to the Protestant reformed religion. In allusion to the cause of the late political change, which was an attempt to set aside the penal laws, the reverend Assembly say, "While, in the series of indulgences to your Roman Catholic subjects, which have marked your majesty's reign, we recognize the enlightened operation of a mild and tolerant spirit, we have always found your majesty the faithful guardian of the Protestant establishment. We have lately seen the fences of that establishment upheld by the firm and dignified exercise of the constitutional prerogative of the crown; and feeling the security which all our rights and privileges derive from the solicitude with which your majesty discharges the duties of the sovereign of a free people, we unite with our fellow-subjects in offering the affectionate tribute justly due to your royal care for the public welfare."

The motion for an address, however, was not carried unanimously; some

of the members of the assembly being of opinion that political concerns ought not to be mixed up with their proceedings, and others disapproving of all religious tests, as qualifications for civil offices.

On the 8th of September, 1806, the first stone of a new prison for the county of Edinburgh, was laid by the hon. William Maule, M. P. Grand Master Mason Elect of Scotland, with the usual ceremonies. For the erection of this edifice, which had long been wanted, the whole of the houses between Forester's Wynd and Lybberton's Wynd, were purchased, and levelled. Another set of buildings was also begun at the same time, for the farther accommodation of the courts of justice, with a new exchequer, and one for the reception of the magnificent library of the Society of Advocates.

At the close of the same year, a very extraordinary case came on to be heard before the synod of Glasgow and Ayr.

During the harvest of 1807, there was a great deal of wet weather, so that much corn was destroyed and carried away by the floods; but at the end of one of the weeks, it brightened up, and a drying wind prepared the grain for being housed. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Mr. Wright, minister of Maybole, at the conclusion of the morning service, told his congregation that he conceived the favourable change of the weather might be made use of to save the harvest on that day, without any violation of the sabbath. Several of his parishioners, accordingly, availed themselves of the friendly advice. At the next meeting of the presbytery, however, one of his reverend brethren denounced him to the assembly as a breaker of the fourth commandment; and a solemn inquiry was in consequence voted by the majority. Against this resolution, an appeal was made to the synod by a numerous body, not only because they conceived there was no ground for such a measure, but also because the movers of it had not complied with the express injunction of the form of process, by having a previous communication with Mr. Wright on the subject. Very able pleadings were made on both sides; after which, the synod agreed to set aside the whole proceedings of the presbytery in this business; at the same time, sensible of the importance of the sanctification of the sabbath, they recommended to all the members within their bounds, to be particularly attentive in that respect, and to beware, in cases of necessity, how far they gave such an indulgence as might prove a stumbling-block to any of their parishioners.

The commencement of the year 1809, was rendered remarkable by repeated shocks of an earthquake in Scotland. On Monday the 9th of January, about half-past five in the morning, at Comrie, near Crieff, a tremendous convulsion was felt. The noise attending it was exceedingly loud, and prolonged for a length of time. During the shock, the air was calm and serene; the moon shone bright, and the sky was afterwards covered with thin clouds. On the 18th of the same month, another shock was felt at Dunning, in Perthshire, of which, a witness gave this description: He was riding at the time, when his attention was suddenly attracted by a subterraneous noise, and his horse immediately stopping, he perceived the sound to proceed from the north-west. After continuing for about half a minute, it became louder, and apparently nearer; when, all at once, the earth gave a perpendicular cave, and with a tremendous waving motion, seemed to roll in a southerly direction. The noise was greater during the shock than before it; and, for some seconds after, it was so loud, as to make the circumjacent mountains re-echo with the sound; which in the course of half a minute died away. At this time, the atmosphere was calm, dense, and cloudy; and, for some hours before and after, there was not the least motion in the air. At the same moment, the shock was felt in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and with such violence, as to make the chairs and tables in the houses rattle; but without doing any damage. On Tuesday the 31st, five distinct shocks were felt in Argyllshire. The earthquake extended over all the neighbourhood of Strontian, and was accompanied with a report like that of distant thunder. On the next day there was another shock; on Saturday following two more; on Sunday as many; and on the sixth of February, one. The first on Saturday was the most severe; every moveable article in the wallings being displaced, and the buildings in general much shaken; but

without any material damage being sustained, or accident happening. The shocks were severely felt by the miners under ground.

Among the public events of this year, in which Scotland may be said to have had a particular interest, the death of general sir John Moore, at the very moment of his repulse of the French troops, under the walls of Corunna, deserves distinct notice. This gallant commander was a native of Glasgow, and the son of the celebrated Dr. Moore, author of some esteemed volumes of Travels, and other works. Sir John entered early into the army, and after serving with much reputation in different parts of the world, he obtained the command of the British forces in Spain. He landed first in Portugal, from whence, during the winter of 1808, he marched across the frontier, expecting to be joined by the Spaniards in considerable force; but in this he was disappointed. In this exigency, and almost surrounded by the French armies, the only alternative left was a retreat to Corunna, where the British transports were ordered to assemble. Accordingly, the troops began their march across the country, and, after a most fatiguing route, they came before Corunna on the 11th of January, 1809. Owing to circumstances which human foresight could scarcely have prevented, the shipping had not arrived; and, in the mean time, the enemy accumulated in such numbers, that a battle became inevitable. From the 11th to the 16th, the outposts of both armies were engaged in continual skirmishes; which, however, led to no decisive consequence. On the latter day the French had collected in such numbers on the hills, that sir John Moore, anticipating an immediate attack, drew out his men about three miles from the town, and there waited the assault. The British, though exhausted by the hardships they had endured, and harassed by almost incessant fighting during the last fourteen days, still supported the national character; and, notwithstanding the disadvantages they had to encounter, and the superiority of force opposed to them, they readily obeyed their general, and even displayed an eager impatience for the combat. At last, about two o'clock, the engagement began, with a furious charge by the enemy; who, however, received a severe check, and were soon thrown into confusion. Thrice they returned to the attack, and as often retired with loss and shame. The British now in their turn became the assailants, and charging furiously with the bayonet, completed the overthrow of the foe, with a dreadful slaughter of the disordered ranks. But, amidst the exultation of success, the acclamations of victory were mingled with lamentation. Early in the action, sir David Baird, the second in command, was carried off the field, severely wounded; and not long after, sir John Moore received his death-stroke from a cannon-ball. He had just put himself at the head of the 43d regiment, and finished a short address to the men, when the ball, after touching the ground, rebounded and shattered his side. Although mortally wounded, he shewed a disposition to remount his horse, but was immediately carried back to Corunna, where he survived about eight hours; and, like Wolfe, expired, with saying, that he was satisfied by having defeated the French. His body was buried in the citadel of Corunna, in a grave dug by the officers of his staff, who performed this last melancholy duty to their commander, whom they had long regarded as their benefactor and father.

The 25th of October, 1800, being the anniversary of the accession of the king to the throne, and the day on which he entered the fiftieth year of his reign, excited a general spirit of joyful enthusiasm throughout the nation. The day was universally celebrated as a Jubilee, and in no part of the kingdom with more fervid affection than in Scotland. In the capital, the morning was ushered in with the ringing of bells, and at eight o'clock, the lord provost, magistrates, and council, went in procession to Leith, in order to lay the foundation of the military works, then about to be erected, for the defence of the docks and harbour. On placing the stone, a royal salute was fired from the dock, and returned by the shipping in the roads. After this the procession returned to the assembly rooms, where a grand entertainment was prepared; and at two o'clock, sermons were preached in all the churches and chapels of the city and neighbourhood. The day concluded with a splendid illumination. In addition to this festivity, the corporation voted a most dutiful address to the king, which was very graciously received. As this

document forms a portion of history, we may be allowed to extract some of its prominent passages. After a suitable introduction, the corporation thus expressed themselves:—

“On an occasion so joyful to the subjects of your empire, we cannot suppress the sentiments of affectionate attachment which we entertain to a sovereign who is endeared to us by our long experience of the excellent endowments which add the dignity of personal worth to the splendour of royalty, and render the homage due to his exalted station the willing tribute of the heart to superior virtue. In the strictness with which your majesty has ever maintained the sound principles of our invaluable constitution, we have a conspicuous proof of your inviolable regard for the rights of your people. By the many salutary regulations made during your majesty's reign, for encouraging industry, protecting commerce, securing the impartial administration of justice, and preserving in your empire that righteousness which exalteth a nation, your majesty has shewn it to be the most ardent wish of your heart to promote the best interests of your subjects.

“By the firmness with which you have supported the dignity of your crown; you have manifested that energy of mind and high sense of honour which will suffer no encroachment on the rights of your empire. The alacrity with which your majesty has interposed to rescue the injured from the grasp of the oppressor, while it adds lustre to your character, entitles you to the gratitude of the world. We account it a signal proof of the goodness of the Almighty to this realm, that he has so long preserved to us a sovereign from whose wise and beneficent government we derive such inestimable advantages; and the illustrious example which you exhibit of every private virtue, shews your majesty to be endowed with that rare purity of mind which prosperity cannot corrupt, and which combines the qualities which adorn the man with those which add dignity to the monarch. And when we consider the prosperity of our country in these eventful times, the rapid advancement of this nation in science and arts, and useful institutions, and the stability of your empire, upheld by the wisdom of your majesty's councils, and the heroic achievements of your fleets and armies, amid the wreck of so large a portion of the civilized world, we congratulate your majesty that your paternal solicitude for your people has been crowned with such eminent success; and that having devoted your life to promote the true interests of your subjects, you have the satisfaction of beholding the inhabitants of this great empire firmly attached to your person, united among themselves, and enjoying a degree of political happiness, which, if it has been equalled in this world, has never been surpassed.”

In the house of lords the great Roxburgh case, which had occupied public attention for five years, was now decided. To form a clear idea of this complicated case, it will be necessary to go as far back as the year 1648, when Robert earl of Roxburgh executed a deed of settlement, in which, on failure of having a son of his own, he called to the succession sir William Drummond, his grandson by a daughter deceased, who married the earl of Perth. But this settlement was conditional, that sir William should espouse one of the four daughters of lord Harry Ker, deceased, the only son of the earl of Roxburgh, in which case the destination was extended to the heirs male of the union. Sir William Drummond accordingly married his cousin lady Jane Ker, the eldest daughter of lord Harry, and became the second earl of Roxburgh. The succession continued in the persons of the male issue of this marriage down to the death of duke William in 1805: the family having got their title extended by a patent from queen Anne in 1707. By the entail in 1648, earl Robert appointed that, failing of heirs male of Sir William Drummond and lady Jane Ker, the estates should go “to the eldest dochter of the said umquhile Harry Lord Ker, without division, and their heirs male; she always marrying, or being married, to a gentleman of honourable and lawful descent, who should perform the conditions above and underwritten; which all failing, and their said heirs male, to our nearest and lawful heirs whatsoever.”

Upon the death of duke William, without issue, there were several competitors for the estate. Sir James Innes claimed, under the above clause, as

being the direct descendant of lady Margaret Ker, third daughter of lord Harry; as also did general Ker, as the heir male general of the first earl Robert. Mr. Ballenden Gawler also claimed as having got a right from the last duke William; who conceived that the entails terminated in his person, and that consequently he possessed the right of making a settlement. A vast deal of litigation followed on these competitions: but the court of session ultimately determined in favour of sir James Innes, which decision was confirmed by the house of lords.

Lady Essex Ker, the eldest sister of John duke of Roxburgh, who died in 1804, next made a claim to the title in the committee of privileges. Her ladyship also brought an action in the court of session, to have it found and declared that she had a right also to the estates in virtue of the above clause. Her principal plea was that of being the heir-female of the family, and that the term "eldest daughter," used in the above clause, was technically synonymous with "heir-female." Very ingenious arguments were framed upon this point, and long pleadings ensued. At length the court, on the 21st of June, gave judgment, unanimously repelling the pleas of lady Essex Ker, and finding that she could not claim the estates under the entail. The house of lords affirmed the decision of the court in all points, and thus the right of sir James Innes was established.

In the course of the same parliamentary session, a bill was passed for the relief of the clergy of the established church of Scotland having small stipends. This necessary measure was brought forward by the lord advocate, in correspondence with a committee of the General Assembly, and passed through both houses without opposition. By the act, a sum not exceeding ten thousand a year, was set apart in the hands of the receiver-general for Scotland, as a fund to augment small livings under one hundred and fifty pounds a year.

On the 10th of November of this year, a dreadful catastrophe happened at Paisley. The Glasgow and Ardrossan canal having been recently opened, a boat, for the conveyance of passengers, had begun to ply. On the day of the accident the boat arrived from Johnstone, at the basin of Paisley, about one o'clock, full of passengers, who crowded to the side of the vessel to get on shore, by which pressure above one hundred persons fell overboard, and eighty-four lost their lives.

At the close of this year, died, in London, his grace William Douglas, duke, marquis, and earl of Queensberry. This nobleman, who had led a life of pleasure rather than of usefulness, nevertheless attained the advanced age of eighty-five, and left behind him an immense sum of money, to the amount of near two millions. The ducal title descended to the duke of Buccleugh, and his heirs male and female; and the marquise and earldom to sir Charles Douglas of Kilhead, who also, as heir-male of the family, came into possession of the estate of Queensberry. The personal property, however, became subject to litigation, and a chancery suit followed, which is not yet ended.

Such a character as this, however important in some respects, was not a loss to Scotland or the world; but shortly after, the public had to lament that of a man whose professional merits and private worth endeared him to his contemporaries, and have embalmed his memory. This was Robert Erskine, lord president of the court of session. He was the son of the author of the well-known poem entitled "The Grave;" and was born at his father's manor of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian. On being called to the bar, he rose to eminence, and after filling different situations with honour, succeeded sir Hay Campbell as head of the court of justice in 1806.

In the midst of his usefulness, and while enjoying the universal approbation of his countrymen, this excellent man and upright judge was cut off in a very sudden manner. On Monday, May the 30th, after taking his ordinary walk, just as he was entering the house he fell into the arms of his servant, and expired in a few minutes. The funeral of this upright and accomplished magistrate was attended by a deputation from the General Assembly, and several other public bodies, who participated in the general feeling, which disposed all ranks to consider the sudden removal of so excellent a person as a national calamity.

The right honourable Charles Hope, who succeeded to the vacant office, commenced his first speech, after taking the usual oaths, with a panegyric upon his predecessor. "This day," said he, "must be one of melancholy recollection to us all. It is impossible to see the chair of this court filled by a person in the character of permanent president, without feeling a renewal of our grief for the loss which we lately sustained. It is but three short years since your lordships received into this office one of the greatest men who ever filled it. But this period, short as it is, was sufficient for his glory, because it afforded to the country ample experience of his value; and has, in fact, deeply aggravated our sense of his loss. It is not my intention, upon the present occasion, to draw a full and accurate delineation of his character. I feel myself quite unequal to the task; and, indeed, I doubt much whether any man, not himself possessed in an equal degree of his great qualifications, be capable of forming even a just conception of his character. He was a man, such as is given to any country but once in an age. His abilities were so great, and his endowments so extensive, that he was qualified to adorn any other situation, as much as that for which Providence designed him. But it was as a judge, and as the head of this court, that we were chiefly concerned in his character: and certainly, I never knew, and I believe the court never possessed, one more eminent. To the lively and almost intuitive perception, to the address in the conduct and despatch of business, which distinguished president Dundas—to the sound judgment, and profound legal knowledge of president Miller—to the wonderful ingenuity, the depth of law, and the patient investigation, of president Campbell,—Mr. Blair added the highest attainments in literature and science, together with a commanding eloquence and dignity of manner peculiar to himself; so as to unite, in his own person, as many qualifications of a perfect judge, as were ever found in any one man, on any bench, in any country, in any age. But the best and truest eulogium on his character was the universal grief and consternation which took place at his death—a consternation, not arising merely from regret for the loss of such a man, but from the melancholy, and I may say the selfish, conviction which instantly flashed across the public mind, that there was not a man living qualified to be his successor."

The demise of this great and good man was rendered remarkable by another awful instance of sudden mortality. Lord Melville, on hearing of the death of the president, hastened to Edinburgh from his country seat, purposely to follow the remains of his deceased friend to the grave. On the very morning of the interment, however, his lordship became a corpse by a sudden stroke of apoplexy, at the house of the chief baron, who married his daughter. Thus terminated, at the age of seventy, a life filled with incident, and devoted for a long period to the public service. After discharging high legal offices in his own country, he became an active member of administration; and in conjunction with Mr. Pitt, carried on the government with uncommon energy and ability, amidst storms and difficulties unparalleled in history. The last public situation he held was that of first lord of the admiralty, in which he gave general satisfaction to those who had business to transact at his office. While treasurer of the navy, he devised several improvements, which have been found of essential benefit to the seamen, particularly in regard to the payment of their wages and prize-money. In private society, lord Melville was a most agreeable companion, and greatly beloved by a numerous circle of friends.

The glory diffused over the administration of the prince regent, by the successes of the British army in Spain and Portugal, induced the corporation of Edinburgh to present a loyal address to his royal highness, on the 8th of April, 1812.

After a general expression of dutiful attachment, the magistracy proceeded to say, "In common with all his majesty's subjects, we lament the continued indisposition of our venerable and beloved sovereign, who through so many happy years has proved himself the father and the friend of his people. But we feel this calamity the less, while we see the government of the empire entrusted to a prince, who, with his father's firmness, unites his father's zeal for the public welfare; and whose determined adherence to patriots



principles, and to views of impartial usefulness, we are well persuaded that neither the clamours of faction, nor the misrepresentations of party, will ever shake.

"We beg leave to offer our humble congratulations on the splendid events by which the era of your royal highness's government has been distinguished. We rejoice especially in the success which has attended his majesty's arms in Spain and Portugal. Looking with peculiar interest to the great struggle which is there maintained against the common enemy of independence and social order, we revere, in your royal highness, the determined supporter of so noble a cause: we trust that it will prove, in its issue, not less favourable to the interest of Europe, than, from its commencement, it has been glorious to the British arms. The auspicious opening of your royal highness's administration, gives us the firmest confidence that, under your government, the glory, the prosperity, and the happiness of this great empire will not only keep their customary and splendid course, but will descend to our posterity with increasing lustre."

But though the prospects of the country were now cheering, internal discontent arose on account of the public burdens and the high price of all the articles of life. In Scotland the extravagant advance upon grain, particularly oatmeal, produced a violent sensation among the people. At Edinburgh, on the 18th of August, this year, an immense crowd assembled in the Cowgate and Grass-market, for the purpose of intercepting the supplies on their way to town. Several carts were accordingly seized, and the contents distributed among the populace; after which the mob proceeded to the Dalkeith road, where they stopped several more carts, and retailed the meal at two shillings the peck, which they compelled the drivers to receive. In the evening the houses of several dealers in meal were attacked, and the windows broken. At Leith also, similar outrages took place. The magistrates, meanwhile, were on the alert, and made every exertion to quell the tumult. As a necessary precaution, a party of soldiers was ordered from the castle; and the following proclamation was issued:—

"The inhabitants are enjoined to avoid all riotous proceedings in the present circumstances, as any tumults that may be excited can have no other effect than to deter persons who have provisions from bringing them into town, and thus to increase the scarcity. The lord-provost and magistrates assure the inhabitants, that they will use all the means in their power to relieve them from their present distresses. At the same time, as the magistrates have every reason to know that a scarcity of grain exists throughout the country, they give the inhabitants this public notice of their determination to make use of the powers vested in them, to repress any tumultuous proceedings, and preserve the peace of the city."

This had the desired effect; and the next day every thing was quiet. A meeting of the principal inhabitants was then held at the parliament-house, when it was agreed to open a subscription for the relief of the poor, and a considerable sum was collected, the distribution of which was intrusted to a committee; the money to be given weekly, according to the number in a family.

At the beginning of the following year, a very important cause came on for discussion before the barons of exchequer in Scotland. James Massie, a builder in Aberdeen, died in 1811, having accumulated a fortune of twenty thousand pounds, which he left to trustees for the benefit of his nephew and two nieces. Massie was a Roman Catholic, and his brother Alexander, the father of the children, was of the same persuasion. The latter died before James, leaving his widow and family in slender circumstances. The mother was a Protestant, and anxious to bring up her children in the same faith; but the trustees, two of whom were priests, determined to educate the children in the Catholic religion, which being opposed, occasioned an application to the court. The case came on for a hearing, and was argued at great length by Messrs. Cranston and Lumsden for the trustees, and by Messrs. Clark and Gordon for the relatives, when two questions were started: first, the legal right of persons professing popery to hold the curatorial office at all, and secondly, the disputed expediency of appointing the stranger trustees to the tutelage of infants, in opposition to the will of the surviving parent.

After several long pleadings, the barons decided against the trustees, and in favour of the mother's right to rear her own children without any control.

Soon after this adjudication, the renewed subject of the Catholic claims in parliament produced such an effect on the public, that the presbytery of Edinburgh adopted the resolution of petitioning against any farther concessions being made to the Romanists.

At the close of this eventful year, the lord-provost and council of Edinburgh transmitted a congratulatory address to the prince regent, on the victories which had regenerated Europe, and humbled the gigantic power under whose wild, vast, and unbounded projects of ambition, such seas of human blood had been split, and a mass of human misery created.

The restoration of peace, which shortly after followed, was celebrated throughout Scotland with splendid rejoicings. On the evening of the 15th of April, 1814, a general illumination took place at Edinburgh, and all the surrounding neighbourhood. The grandest display was the South Bridge, where a triumphal arch was thrown across the whole main street, with two side arches over the pavement. This superb structure was tastefully decorated with shrubs, and surmounting the main arch was a crown ornamented with lamps.

On the same day the foundation-stone of the new harbour of Newhaven was laid, in presence of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and deputations of the trustees of Mid-Lothian and Fife. The ceremony was conducted with great pomp and solemnity, after which the company partook of a sumptuous dinner at the new rooms in the royal exchange.

On the 2d of August, a little after six in the morning, the town of Kilwinning was alarmed by a shock resembling that of an earthquake. This perturbation, however, was occasioned by the fall of the abbey tower of that place; a piece of antiquity that for its beauty had long been an object of admiration. The venerable fabric was one hundred feet high, and the walls were eight feet thick on each side. At the height of eighty feet was the belfry, containing one of the largest and finest toned bells in the country, a gift from the earl of Eglington, and put up no longer back than the 2d of August in the preceding year. On the top, from a platform covered with lead and surmounted with battlements, was protruded the Papingo, celebrated in the annals of archery for above three hundred years. For a long time this large pile had exhibited obvious marks of decay by the many fissures in the walls, into which the ivy had thrust its roots and extended its foliage. On the 2d of August, 1809, the tower was struck with lightning, so generally through the whole mass, as evidently to accelerate its ruin. The old rents became larger, and some new ones were formed, which made the walls bend out to an alarming extent. These symptoms were sufficient indications that the structure would not stand long; but as the building was an object of great veneration, much anxiety was evinced for the preservation of as much of the architectural relique as possible. Accordingly, in the course of the preceding summer, professional men were consulted, some of whom were decidedly of opinion that it was improper to keep it up; others thought it possible to retain it for a considerable number of years; while some again had no doubt of being able to preserve it completely for any length of time; and so fully assured was one builder of the practicability of this, that he actually entered into terms for the repair of the tower, and had materials brought for the purpose; when, on the very day appointed to set to work, the edifice fell with a tremendous crash to the ground. Providentially the people in the vicinity had removed to a distance some weeks before, and the labourers who were to have been employed had none of them risen to their work when the accident occurred. This abbey was founded in 1140, so that the age of the tower must have been at least six hundred and fifty years.

During the session of parliament in the following year, an important bill was passed for the introduction of the trial by jury into all civil causes in the courts of Scotland. This measure originated with lord chancellor Eldon, who also succeeded in carrying an essential clause for making it indispensable that juries should be unanimous in their verdicts.

In pursuance of this enactment, on the 13th of June, the right honourable William Adam, one of the barons of exchequer, the lord-chief commissioner of the new jury court, the honourable lord Meadowbank, the honourable lord Pitmilny, and the other commissioners, presented themselves before the court of session, the whole bench of judges being assembled in the chamber of the first division, when their commissions were read, and they took the oaths of office. And on the 22d of the same month, the lords commissioners for trial by jury in civil causes, met in the court of exchequer, when William Clerk, esq. advocate, John Osbourn Brown, esq., and John Russell, esq. writers to the signet, presented their commissions as clerks of court, which were read, and the court was duly formed.

On the 22d of the same month, John Waugh, esq. acting chief magistrate of Edinburgh, received official intimation that a grant of ten thousand pounds had been unanimously voted by the house of commons for the college of Edinburgh; with an assurance that the same sum would be annually allowed for seven years.

Two days afterwards, an express arrived from London with the intelligence of the glorious and decisive victory of Waterloo. This news was received with great joy by all ranks, and a meeting of the inhabitants was held in the parliament house on the 27th, when it was unanimously resolved to open a subscription for the support of the relatives of those who had fallen in the battle, as well as for the relief of the wounded.

As the Scottish troops bore a distinguished part in this great victory, it becomes an act of historic justice to particularize their merits; which we are enabled to do by giving the following narrative, the artless production of an eye-witness:—

"The 92d, forming one of the regiments of the 1st brigade, along with the Scots (Royals) 42d and 44th, was suddenly ordered to Brussels on the 15th of June, at night; after which they marched thirty miles, and came up with the enemy about two or three o'clock on the 16th, and immediately marched into the field; but as the first division was only there, with some Brunswickers, the 92d was ordered to take position in a ditch to cover the guns and cavalry, as the junior regiment: in the mean time, the other part of the division went a little to the left, to check the French infantry passing that way. The situation of this regiment was most unpleasant for upwards of an hour, but we were possessed of an ample view of all that was going on, although exposed very much to the enemy's guns at this period, from the duke of Wellington and his staff being just in front of the regiment; and at this point all the reinforcements passed to their stations. Very many of the duke's staff were then wounded. At this time the French cavalry began to attack a village. The Brunswick cavalry, then in front of the 92d, went to meet them; but not being in strength, they retired in some confusion. We could not then give any help; and the French cut down many of their rear, and dismounted two guns. The Brunswickers passed round the right flank, intermingled with the French; and as soon as they were cleared, our regiment fired. The grenadiers being wheeled back on the road by the side of the ditch, were lined, to enable them to fire as the French passed, while the others fired obliquely on those who were pursuing the Brunswickers. The volley separated the front charge from the rear by the gap which we made, and nothing was seen but hurrahs and men tumbling over each other. The rear of the enemy then retreated and the front dashed through the village, cutting down all stragglers. The enemy's attack being repelled, we now prepared to charge in our turn again, a body of cavalry nearly in motion, supported by infantry. 'Come on, old 92d,' was the word from the adjutant-general Barnes; saying which, we jumped from the ditch, and we charged beautifully. Colonel Cameron led the regiment; the fire of the enemy was severe, and we moved from behind a house, passing the corner of a garden, parallel to the road, when a volley was given by a column on the right, which was retreating to the wood. The fire killed our gallant colonel Cameron, and did considerable execution. The same column kept the regiment employed for five minutes, before the garden could be cleared to advance to the lines. The fire was now dreadful, and the regiment suffered much; but at length the French retreated to the south.

of the wood, still keeping up a tremendous discharge. The 92d had by this time separated itself from the line, and had not more than fifty effectives left, when a regiment of guards was sent to its relief. The men afterwards retired behind the houses, when the loss was found to be twenty-eight officers and two hundred and seventy privates.

"The guards, however, were not allowed to keep possession of the post we had gained five minutes.

"In the afternoon of the 18th, the regiment, which was then reduced to about two hundred men, found it necessary to charge a column of the enemy which came down upon them to the number of between two and three thousand men. They accordingly broke into the centre of the column with the bayonet; and the instant it was pierced, the Scotch Greys dashed in to their support, when they and the 92d cheered each other, crying out, 'Scotland for ever.' By the effort which followed, the enemy to a man were put to the sword or taken prisoners, after which the Greys charged through the second line of the French, and took the eagles."

The intrepidity of the Scotch Greys did not escape the notice of Buonaparte. From the eminence, where he commanded a prospect of all that was going on, his attention was repeatedly drawn to the movements of this gallant corps. At first he said to those around him, "Regardez ces chevaux gris? Qui sont ces beaux cavaliers? Ce sont des braves troupes, mais dans une demi-heure je les couperai en pieces?" "Observe those grey horses! what fine soldiers! They are brave troops, but in half an hour I shall cut them in pieces."

Seeing that the chasms in the British squadrons were filled up the instant they were made by his artillery, he exclaimed, "Quelles braves troupes! comme ils se travaillent, ils travaillent, très bien, très bien!" "What brave troops, how they go through their work! Admirable, truly admirable!"

These expressions were intermingled with others which betrayed his impatience; and when the Imperial guards, on whom he depended, recoiled, Napoleon said to Soult, "These English fight desperately; but they must give way at last." The other, who spoke from experience, replied, "No, they will be cut in pieces first." At the close of the day, hearing the fire of the Prussians, and seeing the British cavalry making a tremendous charge, he exclaimed, "It is time to save ourselves," and retreated, with all his staff, about forty yards; but then halted, and observing the cavalry intermingled pell-mell, and furiously cutting down the French soldiers, he exclaimed, "How terrible those grey horses are!" saying which, he rode off as fast as he could, nor stopped till he reached Charleroi.

At the end of the same year, Scotland was visited by two princes of the house of Austria, the younger brothers of the emperor Francis. These illustrious strangers, after inspecting the principal towns in England, arrived at Hamilton palace on the 26th of November; and as their coming had been expected, a vast concourse of people assembled to welcome them.

Their approach was announced by the discharge of artillery, and the marquis of Douglas spared no pains in preparing for their reception. The next day the archdukes went to Glasgow, where they visited all the public buildings and great manufactories. On Saturday evening, the 2d of December, they entered Edinburgh, being received in due form by the lord-provost, the lord-advocate, general Whyte, and other persons of distinction. The next day, after religious service, they proceeded to the castle, where the Royal Scots were drawn up on the hill, and saluted them as they passed. At the gate they were introduced to major-general Hope, who conducted them over the fortress. The princes, on their return to the hotel, were visited by several noblemen; and on the following morning the lord-provost and council attended them with a congratulatory address, and the freedom of the city. In the course of the same day their imperial highnesses inspected Heriot's Hospital, the university, the palace of Holyrood-house, the infirmary, and other public places. In the afternoon, the lord-advocate of Scotland gave a grand dinner to the Austrian princes and a large company, at his house in George-street. On Tuesday they visited the court of session and exchequer, the advocate's library, and city chamber. They afterwards took

a view of Calton Hill, Bridewell, and Nelson's monument, where a collation was prepared for them, of which they partook. In the afternoon they dined with the provost, at his house in Charlotte-square, where they met a very large party of noblemen and gentlemen.

On Wednesday the princes, accompanied by the lord-advocate, the lord-provost, and general Whynyard, visited the High School, from whence they proceeded to inspect several factories, work-shops, and yards. The same day they went to Leith, and after viewing the fort, custom-house, docks, and botanic garden, returned to dine with general Whynyard. The next morning the archdukes set out for London.

On the 22d of January, 1816, the new jury-court met in the exchequer court room at Edinburgh; when the lord-commissioner, the right honourable William Adam, delivered a most eloquent speech, in which he congratulated the country on the acquisition of an object that had been long and ardently desired, and from which he fondly hoped the greatest advantages would flow. On the advantages which might reasonably be expected from this institution, the country had already had some experience. They had long felt the invaluable blessings of trial by jury before the supreme criminal tribunal, and in the court of exchequer. From their experience in these, their expectations of this jury-court would doubtless be high. While the power was vested in a supreme tribunal, consisting of men qualified by education and experience to decide on questions of law, that tribunal was assisted by a casual one, consisting of citizens, qualified by their daily intercourse in business to decide on those simpler questions of fact or damages which would frequently call their attention. Two circumstances which tended very strongly, in his lordship's opinion, to recommend the propriety of trial by jury, were its purity and consistency. It was impossible for a moment to suppose that any undue influence could be used on the minds of the jury. Till the time of trial it was unknown to either party, who the persons were that would be the arbiters in his case. They were known only to an officer of court, bound by oath to discharge his duty with fidelity and accuracy; and even when summoned, it was impossible to tell who the particular persons were to be, as they were selected by ballot. The business was conducted with open doors, which gave it the highest possible publicity.

His lordship then paid a handsome compliment to the gentlemen of the bar, and concluded with saying, that "ambitious as he might have been to take a share in the management of justice in his native land, it would afford him the strongest consolation in his dying moments, that his talents, however deficient, and his labours, however imperfect, had contributed in any degree to the benefit of his country. When his public labours should terminate on earth, and himself be removed from the arduous duties of life, he wished for no higher honour than to have it inscribed on his monument, that, under God, he had been the humble instrument, with heartfelt integrity, of administering justice between man and man."

One of the first and most important cases, which came before this court related to the deed of settlement made by the late earl of Fife, conveying to trustees very large estates, the rents of which were to accumulate for the purpose of being invested in the purchase of other lands for an indefinite period. An action was brought in the court of session by the nephew and successor of the earl, for the reduction of the deed, on the ground that it was not executed with the essential forms of law; that it was signed at a time the earl was blind; that it was not read over to him in the presence of the witnesses, and that one of these last was not present at the execution of the settlement. To ascertain these facts, the cause was remitted to the court, when, after hearing evidence and arguments for three days, the jury determined in favour of the validity of the deed.

On the 19th of March the inhabitants of Edinburgh were gratified by the arrival of their renowned countrymen, the remains of the 43d regiment. Colonel Dick rode at the head of the first division, accompanied by major-general Hope and colonel David Stewart. At an early hour vast crowds were collected in the streets; and the road, as far as Musselburgh, was thronged to such a degree, that the march from Piershill to the castle, though

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less than two miles, occupied nearly two hours. House-tops and wind were filled with spectators, and as the men passed along the streets at the ringing of bells, the waving of streamers, and the acclamation of the multitude, their red and white plumes, tattered colours, and glittering bayonets were all that could be well seen of these heroes, except by the few who occupied elevated situations. The scene, viewed from the windows and roofs of the houses, was the most extraordinary ever witnessed in Edinburgh. Crowds were wedged together across the whole breadth of the street, extended in length as far as the eye could reach; and this motley throng appeared to move like a solid body, till the gallant Highlanders were lodged in the castle. A subscription was instantly set on foot among the inhabitants, and a handsome sum was soon raised, with which the non-commissioned officers and privates were entertained in the assembly rooms. A few days after, the 78th regiment arrived, and on the 3d of the following month a most splendid fete in honour of the veterans was given in Corrie's rooms.

The total number of persons belonging to the 42d regiment, from 1793 to this year, was 18,137; but there were, at this time, only three men in the corps that had fought against Buonaparte's Invincibles in Egypt.

The General Assembly of the church of Scotland met this year on the 1st of May, when Lord Napier presided as his majesty's high-commissioner.

Their first act was the passing of an address to the prince regent, congratulating his royal highness on the brilliant success of his government, and the marriage of his daughter, the princess Charlotte, with prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg.

This summer was rendered remarkable in the north, by violent storms and repeated concussions of the earth. On Sunday, the 21st of July, the city of Glasgow was visited, during divine service, by a fearful tempest of hail, lightning, and thunder; the fury of which proved so alarming, that the congregation were thrown into confusion, and the ministers in general suspended worship. In the fields the corn was laid prostrate, many sheep were killed, and trees blasted by the lightning. At Kilmichael, in Argyleshire, it was sacrament Sunday, in the midst of which solemnity, about three in the afternoon, darkness overspread the face of heaven; and the thunderbolts fell with such force, that all in the church thought the roof was rent. On the outside the clergyman in the tent was obliged to stop for a quarter of an hour; the people fled for shelter, but all the houses in the village could not contain them. At the same time a singular phenomenon was observed at Loch Lomond, which merited the particular attention of philosophical inquirers. During the ebb-tide, the water all of a sudden rose some feet high; rolling forward in a body, and recoiling in a circular direction, whirling round several times boats which lay in its course, and in this manner it continued to advance and retreat for some minutes.

On the Saturday following, at Edinburgh, after a very fine morning, rain began to fall about noon, and continued till late at night; pouring down in such torrents, that some of the low streets presented the appearance of rapid streams; and at the back of the Canongate, several houses were flooded up to the bed-rooms.

In the following month, an earthquake extended entirely across the island of Great Britain. The shock was felt on the western coast of Ross, at Gairloch, and Appleton; but most strongly at the latter place. Inverness and the vicinity might be considered as its centre; and it reached, with little diminution, to Aberdeen, Montrose. To the north of Inverness it seemed to have rapidly declined. At Cromartie it was still less severe; at Perth it was sensibly felt; and at Edinburgh it was just perceptible. The spire of the steeple at Inverness, one of the handsomest in Scotland, was so much injured as to require pulling down. No other accident, however, occurred; nor was any person wounded by the fall of bricks and stones during the shock.

Among the instances of mortality this year, the principal was that of Dr. Adam Ferguson, formerly professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. This eminent scholar, whose works will ever reflect honour upon his native country, died at St. Andrew's at the advanced age of ninety-two. Dr. Ferguson was not merely a speculative philosopher, but a practi-

moralist; being distinguished for integrity, benevolence, and those qualities of the heart which render the possessor amiable and estimable. The works of this great man, particularly the *History of the Roman Republic*, are too well known to need any account or character of them in this place.

On the 7th of December, a meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh was held, to take into consideration the best means of relieving the suffering poor who were out of employment. After passing some appropriate resolutions, a liberal subscription was entered into, which was assisted by a donation of one thousand pounds from the prince regent. A similar proceeding was adopted at Glasgow; and by these means order was preserved both there and in the capital; while other parts were disgraced by riots, the effect of popular discontent.

At Edinburgh, the money collected was applied in making a promenade round the Calton hill, thereby opening new features of beauty in one of the most splendid landscapes in Europe.

At the same time and place, another subscription was commenced, for the construction of a railway to facilitate the conveyance of coals and merchandise. Other works of ornament and utility were carried on with equal spirit; particularly the erection of the college of Edinburgh, towards which parliament granted ten thousand a year.

In the midst of these benevolent exertions and patriotic improvements, a damp came over the public mind on the death of the princess Charlotte, the flower of the royal family, and the bright hope of the nation.

About the same time with this melancholy loss, Scotland was deprived of that distinguished luminary of the bar, Mr. Henry Erskine, brother to the earl of Buchan. At an early age he raised himself, by his abilities, to the first rank of eminence; and became dean of the faculty, as well as *advocate*. In eloquence, he was supposed to excel his brother, the late chancellor of England; and, in all other respects, he was far superior to that great but eccentric nobleman.

The gloom occasioned by these instances of mortality, was deepened on the 20th of December, when the Forth packet, from Aberdeen to Leith, struck upon the sandbank called the Annet, and all on board, to the number of between twenty and thirty persons, perished in the sight of some thousands of spectators on the shore, who could render the sufferers no assistance.

On the 6th of February, 1818, in pursuance of an order from the prince regent, an examination of the crown-room and chest at Edinburgh, supposed to contain the regalia of Scotland, took place. Nothing appeared in the room but a large oblong oaken chest, secured by two strong locks, for which no keys could be found. The commissioners, according to the tenor of their warrant, directed this chest to be forced open, which was effected with some difficulty. In it were found the crown, sceptre, and sword of state of Scotland, all of which answered the description given in the published records. There was also a silver rod of office, the peculiar use of which could not be ascertained. The workmanship of the crown and sceptre is highly elegant, and in good taste. The sword was a present from pope Julius to James the Fourth, and of a pattern corresponding to the excellence of the arts in Italy at that classical period.

In the summer of this year, the foundation-stone of a new observatory was laid on the Calton hill at Edinburgh; a situation peculiarly favourable for scientific purposes.

About the same time, at a meeting of the freeholders of Stirling, it was resolved to erect a monument on the field of Bannockburn, to commemorate the heroism of Robert Bruce and his followers, in achieving the independence of their country on that interesting spot.

In the course of the summer of this year, a remarkable discovery was made at Sanda, one of the Orkney isles. The sand having been blown away to the depth of nearly twenty feet, there appeared the remains of buildings, of a very remote antiquity, enclosed by stone walls nearly half a mile in extent. Some of the houses were exceedingly large, and roofed with stones of prodigious size. Adjacent were some circular tumuli, each containing three graves, but none more than four feet six inches in length. There exists no record or tradition that can throw light on these very curious remains of antiquity.

At midnight, on the 10th of November, the shock of an earthquake was felt at Inverness, and to a considerable distance round the town. It was most violent along the banks of Loch Ness; and the noise varied according to circumstances, being in some places very loud, in others more gentle, but every where a tremulous motion was, for a few seconds, communicated to light articles of furniture. The night was uncommonly serene, with clear moonlight; and while not a breath of wind was stirring on the surface, the clouds were driven along very rapidly.

At the close of the year, the capital was disgraced by the lawless proceedings of the populace. The occasion was this: a felon named Johnston, having been convicted before the high court of justiciary, of an atrocious robbery, received sentence to be executed near the site of the old gaol, on the 30th of December. At the time appointed, the culprit was brought to the scaffold. He appeared penitent, and, after some minutes spent in devotion, dropped the signal. The executioner was awkward; and the rope being too long, the toes of the criminal reached the platform. Upon this, cries of murder rose from the crowd, and a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. A well-dressed young man jumped on the scaffold, and cut down Johnston, who, while showers of stones were thrown at the magistrates, was carried off in triumph down the Luckenbooths. Fortunately the mob passed the police office, and thus afforded an opportunity for a sortie of constables to sally out, and get possession of the criminal; who was kept in the office till a military force from the castle enabled the magistrates to carry the sentence into execution; but again the executioner performed his office in such a bungling manner, that the body was obliged to be raised while the rope was shortened. Another shout of murder then broke from the crowd; but the presence of the soldiers prevented further disturbance.

The depressed state of the manufactures, owing to a stagnation of foreign trade, produced in the following year a ferment, which was aggravated by political incendiaries, who went about persuading the people to associate, and petition for a parliamentary reform, as the only remedy for the existing evils. These artful representations had such an effect upon the misguided people, that serious riots took place in many parts, but chiefly at Glasgow and Paisley; where some houses were assailed, and considerable damage was done before order could be restored.

Immediately after the meeting of parliament, a petition was presented to the house of commons, from the presbytery of Hamilton, in which it was stated, that "in many instances nearly one-half of the weavers were unemployed at the looms, and that even when so employed, the pittance of wages was in most cases so scanty, that, when a family had to be supported by the earnings of one man, it was absolutely impossible for him, without other aid, to keep them in existence. It was added, that many families in the several parishes could not now attend, as formerly, their public ministrations at church, for want of decent clothing; and that in consequence the education of their children was in many cases neglected from the same cause." In conclusion, the petitioners observed, "that if the pressure of want could be removed, they felt perfectly assured that peace and quietness, so far as respected the great body of the manufacturing population, would follow of course."

The heritors of the parish of Rutherglen, made a statement concurring entirely with that of the presbytery of Hamilton, as to the inadequacy of wages, want of employment, and the sufferings of the manufacturing class in Scotland. The petition and statement were ordered to be printed, but the matter complained of exceeded the power of even parliament to redress.

Scotland, within the space of a few months, was deprived of several persons who were pre-eminently distinguished, either by rank or talent, from the rest of mankind. Among these were Archibald duke of Hamilton, and Charles William Montagu Scott, duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry. The first of these noblemen died at Ashton Hall in Lancashire, at the advanced age of eighty. He succeeded his nephew, Douglas duke of Hamilton, in 1790, and left issue two sons and three daughters. The duke of Buccleugh died April 20th, in the meridian of life, at Lisbon, whither he had gone for his



health. He was an ornament to his country, and his death was justly lamented as a national calamity, for he devoted his time and property to the public benefit. No tenants on the Buccleugh estate, who deserved patronage, were ever deprived of their farms, and scarcely any ever voluntarily relinquished them. Besides the numerous important situations held by the duke, he was president of the Highland Society of Scotland. His grace married the daughter of lord Sydney, and by her, who died in 1814, he had three sons and four daughters. Another public loss was felt in the death of the right honourable Robert Dundas of Arniston, lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, over which he had presided eighteen years. Through life he sustained the highest character for his steady firmness as a friend, his uniform kindness as a neighbour, his amiable tenderness as a husband and father, and his inflexible integrity as a judge. Nothing could more strongly prove his great value to the country at large, than the entire satisfaction he gave to all parties during the very turbulent period when he held the arduous office of lord-advocate. It is remarkable, that on the day of his lordship's death, being the commencement of the Lammas Term in the court of exchequer, his successor, sir Samuel Shepherd, arrived at Edinburgh.

The university of St. Andrew's was deprived this year of two emblems and ornaments, Dr. James Playfair, principal of the united college of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, and Dr. George Hill, principal of St. Mary's college. The former obtained a durable reputation by his large work on Chronology; and the latter by his "Theological Institutes," and "Lectures on Sacred History."

About the same time the university of Edinburgh lost a valuable member in Mr. John Playfair, professor of mathematics, whose funeral was solemnized in the Calton burying-ground, by the attendance of the whole body of the college and the magistrates of the city.

The roll of mortality, this year, received another addition in the name of James Watt, whose improvement of the steam-engine, and many valuable inventions, have immortalized his memory. He was a native of Glasgow and had numbered eighty-three years at the expiration of his long and useful career.

The parliamentary history of this year was marked by a bill brought into the house of commons for the erection of new churches in various parts of Scotland, where the people stood in great need of spiritual instruction. That part of the act, however, which gave the patronage of these additional establishments to the crown, was most strenuously opposed; and some of the members of the lower house recommended the vesting of that privilege in the parishioners. To this proposition insuperable objections were raised, chiefly on the ground that popular elections always generated ill will, and were commonly made instrumental to the propagation of fanaticism. The report of the committee therefore was received, and acted upon without any alteration.

The long and eventful reign of George the Third was now about to terminate; but its final close was accompanied with a very awful and affecting incident. His majesty's fourth son, Edward, duke of Kent and Strathearn, who had but lately married the sister of the prince of Saxe-Coburg, in consequence of the contracted state of his income, went to reside in a private manner on the coast of Devonshire. His royal highness was at this time in the vigour of health, and had all the promise of a long life; when he was suddenly attacked by an inflammation of the lungs, the effect of a cold caught from sitting in his wet boots, after a walk in the environs of Sidmouth. On the morning of the 20th of January, 1820, the duke was reported to be in such imminent danger that medical aid was called in from all quarters, but without effect, and in the evening of the 23d he expired. His amiable and affected duchess was most indefatigable in her attentions during his illness, and performed the office of a nurse with the most affectionate anxiety. She did not even take off her clothes for five nights, and all the medicines were administered by her own hands. The duke bore his afflictions with the greatest composure, and resigned his life with pious submission. His daughter, Alexandra Victoria, who was born in the palace of Kensington on the 24th of May 1819, is now in the immediate line of succession to the British throne.

While the preparations were making for the interment of this illustrious prince in the family tomb at Windsor, a sudden change was observed in the appearance of his venerable and august parent, who had for several years lived separated from the taint of all earthly communion, in the deep retirement of his palace, solitary, sequestered, blind, and totally unconscious of all that was passing in the world around him. As soon as the duke of York was apprized of the alteration that had taken place, his royal highness, by virtue of his office as the guardian of the king's person, hastened down to Windsor, where he remained till death closed the scene, which happily took place, without a pang or convulsion, at half-past eight o'clock in the evening of the 29th of January, in the eighty-second year of the monarch's age, and the sixtieth of his reign.

Thus ended a course which had been marked by a greater variety of important circumstances than any period in the history of Britain. Though the good old sovereign had long been buried as it were from the eyes of all mankind, and though incapacitated, by his infirmity, of taking an interest in public affairs, he was not forgotten. On the contrary, he continued to hold, even to the last moment of his existence, a latent sway over the hearts of his subjects, who revered him for his inflexible integrity, his firm attachment to the constitution, his faithful discharge of every social obligation, his unostentatious charity, and the uniform attention which he paid to the offices of religion, under the influence of which his whole life was evidently directed.

Though the greatest portion of this long reign was taken up in war, the issue was glorious to the kingdom, which never flourished more vigorously than when engaged in a contest with half the globe. The dismemberment of the empire, by the alienation and independency of the American colonies, instead of weakening, consolidated the strength of the country, by collecting and applying the national resources to internal cultivation, the encouragement of manufactures, and the extension of foreign trade.

The effects of this concentrated and enterprising spirit were soon made manifest throughout the island; and no where more conspicuously than in Scotland. Here the natural energy of the people appeared in a great variety of public undertakings and private speculations. Canals, on a most extensive scale, were excavated for the benefit of trade; foundries of a stupendous description were established, and cotton works, equally magnificent, arose in abundance, and experienced the greatest success. The interests of literature and science were no less diligently promoted; and no age or country ever exhibited a brighter galaxy of talent and genius than that which adorned the northern capital during the reign of George the Third.

It has been justly observed, that, independently of political events, we may challenge any era in the history of the world to produce a catalogue of the twentieth part of the noble institutions which have characterized and consecrated this auspicious reign. Painting, statuary, and engraving have been brought as it were into fresh existence under the royal patronage. Chemistry and mechanics have been successfully and extensively applied to the purposes of common life. Signals at sea have been reduced to a science; and military tactics have been carried to a state of perfection. Among the arts of peace, the study of agriculture, by the influence of the royal example, has become a favourite pursuit among persons of rank and affluence. Numberless domestic societies of every description have been established, to promote the moral and temporal good of our country; persons of the highest rank, and men of all parties, have associated to provide means for the instruction of the ignorant and the reformation of the vicious; to relieve every want that man can feel, or his power mitigate; to heal the disturbed in mind, or the diseased in body; nay, even to resuscitate the apparently dead. In addition to all these noble works, prisons have been converted into places of moral improvement; and the number of churches has multiplied. But the crowning glory of this period is, the removal from Britain of the foul stain which had for so many years lain upon her, of trafficking in human blood, and dealing in the persons of men.

## GEORGE IV.

ON Sunday the 30th of January, 1820, being the day after the royal demise, a court was held at Carlton House, when his majesty, on coming into the council, was pleased to declare, that as the law required he should, on his accession to the crown, take and subscribe the oath for the security of the church of Scotland; he was now ready to do it this first opportunity. This he accordingly did, in the form used by the laws of Scotland, and at the same time subscribed two instruments thereof, in the presence of the lords of the council, who witnessed the same. His majesty was then pleased to order that one of the said instruments should be transmitted to the court of session, to be recorded in the Books of Sederunt, and afterwards forthwith lodged in the public register of Scotland; but the other to remain among the records of the council, and also entered in the council book.

As soon as the intelligence reached Edinburgh of the change that had occurred, the lord-provost and magistrates proceeded immediately to the proclamation of the new monarch, which ceremony was performed at the High Cross, with the customary formalities.

In the month of April following, a general election took place, which produced an alteration in the representation of the Scottish peerage; the earls of Stair and Elgin being substituted in the room of the duke of Roxburgh and viscount Arbuthnot.

On the 19th of June this year, died, at Abbeyhill, the honourable Fletcher Norton, senior baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland. He was an Englishman, and the son of the first lord Grantley, but had held the judicial office forty-four years.

The same summer a special commission was appointed for the trials of the persons who, during the preceding winter, had been guilty of the most outrageous riots at various places. All the indictments were laid for high-treason, and at Stirling no less than twenty-two prisoners were convicted, but only two of them were executed. At Glasgow, one alone suffered. The conduct of the spectators in both instances was exceedingly furious, and the civil authorities were very grossly treated.

In the ensuing year nothing particularly affecting Scotland occurred, with the exception of the death of John earl of Stair, who, having no issue, was succeeded by his nephew John George, son of general William Dalrymple.

On the 26th of March, 1822, a fatal rencontre took place at Aschburton near Balmerto in Fife, between sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, and Mr. James Stuart of Dunnearn. The parties were attended by the honourable John Douglas and the earl of Rosslyn. The ball of Mr. Stuart struck sir Alexander in the shoulder, shattered the bone, and entered the spine, so that all surgical aid proved unavailing. This duel originated in a song, that appeared in a Glasgow weekly paper called the Sentinel, and which was traced to the baronet. The discovery was made by the treachery of one Borthwick, who was employed upon the paper at the time of publication. This man delivered a parcel of papers into the hands of Mr. Stuart; who, from them, was enabled to ascertain the author of the offensive article, and others. On the 10th of June the trial of Mr. Stuart came on before the high court of judicature at Edinburgh. The evidence on both sides being gone through with, the lord-advocate addressed the jury on the part of the crown, and contended that, by the law of Scotland, any person who killed another in a duel, was guilty of murder; and that this charge had in the present instance been completely proved. The jury, however, thought otherwise, and without leaving the box returned a unanimous verdict of acquittal.

The conduct of Borthwick excited general indignation, yet when he became the object of a prosecution on another account, the party in opposition to the government took up his cause, and attacked the lord-advocate with great asperity in the house of commons.

In the course of the same session of parliament a bill was introduced and passed, for the erection of a place of public worship as a national monument at Edinburgh. The plan adopted, was a fac-simile of the Parthenon of Athens.

and the site chosen was the Calton-hill; of which the corporation of the city very handsomely made a present. The object of the intended structure was to accommodate his majesty's land and sea forces, in and about Edinburgh, with a distinct place of public worship.

His majesty having in the preceding year honoured Ireland and Hanover with his royal presence, now signified his intention to visit Scotland. Accordingly on Saturday, the 10th of August, he embarked at Greenwich on board the Royal George yacht, which was towed by two steam-vessels. On Sunday morning the squadron was becalmed off Harwich, and the same evening passed Yarmouth. During the voyage, all along the coast the most enthusiastic affection prevailed among the people; and whenever the fleet approached near enough to any town, boats put off to salute the king. At Scarborough, the mayor in his robes, with the corporation, went off to present an address to his majesty, but as the Royal George was going with great velocity, the address was obliged to be handed up alongside attached to a pole, which circumstance excited no little merriment among the crew. On Wednesday, at half-past two in the afternoon, the squadron cast anchor off Leith, about a mile and a half from the shore. When the royal yacht was discerned bearing up the Frith of Forth, it rained heavily, notwithstanding which an immense multitude collected, and bore the inconvenience cheerfully, in expectation of being gratified by the landing of the sovereign. An official communication, however, was made to the magistrates of Leith, who were assembled at the platform and on the exchange in readiness to receive his majesty, informing them that the debarkation would not take place until the following day. All the vessels in the roads fired salutes as the king entered, who appeared on deck in a naval uniform, and acknowledged, by bowing, the cheers which hailed his arrival.

On Thursday morning, the principal inhabitants of Leith mustered in the High School yard, clothed in their best attire, each wearing a St. Andrew's cross and carrying a white rod. Here being formed into their respective incorporations and societies, they soon after proceeded to the stations assigned them in the line of streets through which the king was to pass.

While these preparations were going on there, similar arrangements for marshalling the citizens of Edinburgh were taking place in the metropolis. At ten o'clock large bodies were collected in Queen-street and St. David's-street; at the same time the lord-provost and corporation assembled in their full robes; and, with all the official insignia, moved forward towards the barrier in front of Union-street, Leith Walk, the place fixed on for the reception of his majesty upon his entering the city. At this spot the civic train arrived about eleven o'clock, all the streets being lined with the military and yeomanry of the garrison, while the tops of the houses were covered with spectators. The place prepared for the royal landing was as near as possible to that used on similar occasions by former monarchs. A floating platform was provided for the purpose, and so ingeniously contrived as to enable his majesty to land either at low or high water. Attached to this platform was a broad flight of twenty steps, covered with scarlet cloth, ascending to the quay. Here another platform was erected for the royal visitor to stand upon while receiving the homage of those who were deputed to tender his majesty their congratulations upon his touching the shore of Scotland. This last platform extended to the draw-bridge, where the royal carriage was in waiting. Upon it stood, in readiness to welcome the king, William Childs, esq. a local officer, bearing the title of admiral of the town, John Macfie, esq. the senior magistrate of Leith, James Roach, and Abram Newton, esqs. the other resident magistrates, in their corporate gowns, with their several assistants. Besides these local civil authorities, there were on the platform the marquis of Lothian, lord-lieutenant of the county, wearing the order of the thistle; the earl of Fife in uniform; earl Cathcart, as lord vice-admiral of Scotland; the marquis of Winchester, as lord-chamberlain; lord Charles Bentinck, as treasurer of the household; lord Charles Hope, president of the court of session; the lord chief baron, the lord chief commissioner, the lord-advocate, the lord-registrar, and others. At five minutes before twelve a gun was fired from the royal yacht, to announce the king's departure from the vessel, which report was

re-echoed by the batteries of the fort, the cannon at all the stations round the city, and the shouts of the multitude. In a quarter of an hour the guard-boats from the several ships of war attached to the royal squadron rowed into the river, near the custom-house, and lay on their oars opposite the landing platform. The fourth launch, bearing the royal standard, conveyed his majesty, who was dressed in an admiral's uniform, with a gold-laced hat, in which he wore the cross of St. Andrew and a large thistle. The barge was steered by sir Charles Paget, and on its arrival at the foot of the platform, his majesty was assisted from her by the marquis of Conyngham and lord Charles Bentinck; and, on landing, the senior magistrate addressed him in a short complimentary speech, to which a suitable answer was returned. His majesty then passed along to the extremity of the platform, where an open carriage, drawn by eight horses, awaited his reception. After the king had taken his seat, the duke of Dorset and the marquis of Winchester occupied the opposite one.

The procession now advanced towards Holyrood-House, headed by a division of the Scotch Greys, and the yeomen of the guard in their ancient dress. The carriage was flanked by the royal archers, under the command of the earl of Elgin and general Duff.

At ten minutes past one his majesty arrived at the city boundary, below Picardy Place, where the magistrates in their robes were waiting to receive him. A herald came forward, and knocked thrice at the gate, after which sir Patrick Walker, usher of the white rod, advanced, and required the gates to be opened in the name of the king. This demand being complied with, sir Patrick went forward to the lord-provost, and claimed admission for the procession. These ceremonies being finished, the whole train entered, amid the loud and reiterated acclamations of the multitude, which his majesty repeatedly acknowledged by taking off his hat and bowing. When the royal carriage entered the barrier, the lord-provost advanced, and delivered the keys of the city, which his majesty graciously returned with a compliment. The procession now moved on towards Holyrood palace, where a formal introduction of the magistracy took place. After going through this ceremonial the king returned to the carriage, and, accompanied by the same noblemen, set out for Dalkeith, where he remained the whole of the following day, absorbed in grief at the melancholy intelligence of the death of the marquis of Londonderry. The mansion of Dalkeith is a large building, situated amidst a woody and romantic landscape. At the extremity of the avenue leading from the private road, a small encampment was formed for the accommodation of the military stationed there as a guard. On Saturday morning his majesty set out early for Holyrood House, where a levee was held at twelve. Along the streets, in the line appointed for carriages, were placed divisions of the Scotch Greys to prevent interruption, and the court-yard was occupied by the archers, while three bands of music played national airs on the lawn. All the officers of state, judges, and law-officers of the crown, had precedence, by a different entrance from that to the public. One hundred and forty carriages conveyed the nobility and gentry to the royal presence. The greater part of the company appeared in military uniform. After the levee the king had a select party at dinner, and in the evening he returned to Dalkeith.

The next day he spent in retirement, which greatly disappointed the people of Edinburgh, who fully expected that he would have attended the High Court. On Monday his majesty held a court and closet levee, to receive upon the throne various addresses. At ten minutes after two o'clock the king reached Holyrood House, and, having changed his dress for that of the Highland uniform, took his seat on the throne surrounded by a number of chiefs arrayed in the same national costume. The first address presented to the monarch was that of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; next came the senior bishop of the Scotch episcopal church, and his brethren; after whom followed the representatives of the different universities and public bodies. At the close of this long and fatiguing scene the king returned to Dalkeith, the guards being stationed on each side of the carriage to prevent the obtrusive familiarity of the crowd. On the 20th his majesty held a drawing-room at Holyrood, and after the lapse of nearly two centuries this

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ancient edifice, where often feasted the chiefs of Scotland's power, began again the seat of splendour and chivalrous gaiety. The company, who began to assemble as early as eleven o'clock, consisted of the principal nobles and gentry of North Britain. The gentlemen were mostly in military dress, and the ladies in white satin. The king arrived at half-past two, in his yellow chariot drawn by six horses. He wore a full field-marshal's uniform and was received at the private entrance by all the officers of state. On this occasion it was observed that he appeared in better spirits than he had since his coming into Scotland. Crowds of well-dressed persons were waiting to greet him; to whom he repeatedly bowed and smiled with utmost affability and condescending grace.

On the 23d the peers of Scotland gave a grand ball in honour of the visitor, at the assembly rooms in Edinburgh. The front of the building was splendidly illuminated; and at the upper end of the great saloon a throne was erected, having the imperial crown at the top, with a golden thistle branch from it on each side. The floor was chalked out for dancing, represented by fanciful devices in various colours. The duke of Argyll, as chief of the Campbell clans, wore the dark green plaid of his native hills, and the polished belt, from which the claymore was suspended, had the ducl coat with other ornaments worked upon it in silver and gold. The duke of Hamilton also was arrayed in tartan, richly adorned, as were other personages from the mountainous districts. But the scene owed its splendour chiefly to the ladies, and never was a more lovely and brilliant assemblage within in any part of the British dominions. At ten o'clock his majesty, dressed in a field-marshal's uniform, was ushered into the room by the nobles of the committee, and as he entered he bowed on each side with his wonted grace and courtesy.

During the ball, one of the ladies, in approaching his majesty, held out both her hands, by way of inviting him to join the festive circle. The king, instead of being offended, placed his hand upon his breast, and with a low bow, "I would most willingly madam, if I could; but I am to say my dancing days are over."

The next day his majesty dined with the lord-provost and corporation in the parliament house. The chamber in which this feast was given, is highly praised for the extent of its accommodation and the beauty of its ornaments. The roof is of oak, supported by Gothic limbs, resembling in some degree that of Westminster Hall, but rendered tawdry by being gilded. The lord-provost, in his robes occupied the post of honour on the king's right hand; but this very polite man, he seemed a little abashed at thus dining for the first time in all probability the last, time with the monarch. At the lower part of the room sat sir Walter Scott, as cronier or principal steward. The dinner lasted about an hour, and after the removal of the cloth, "Non nobis Domine" was performed most impressively. Then a gentleman, attended by two pages, presented on his knees an ewer and napkin to his majesty, in virtue of an ancient tenure. This ceremony ended, the lord-provost arose, and proposed the health of his majesty, who had conferred such a signal mark of distinction on the good town of Edinburgh as would never be forgotten. The toast was drunk with reiterated plaudits, then the king rose, and his attitude immediately commanded silence.—"I am (said he) quite unable to express my acknowledgments for the gratitude which I owe to the people of this country; but I beg to say to them that I shall ever remember, as one of the proudest moments of my life, the day I came among them, and the gratifying reception which they have given me. I return you, my lord-provost, my lords and gentlemen, my warmest thanks for your attention this day; and I can assure you with truth and earnestness, and sincerity, that I shall never forget your dutiful attention to me upon my visit to Scotland, and particularly the pleasure I have derived from dining in your hall this day." Loud greetings hailed this speech, and the king struck up "God save the king," which was afterwards sung by all the vocal gentlemen present.

After his majesty had for a short time seated himself, he again rose and said, "I take this opportunity, my lords and gentlemen, of proposing the health of the lord-provost, sir William Arbuthnot, baronet, and the corporation."

Edinburgh." The lord-provost dropped on his knees, and kissed his majesty's hand, which was extended to him at the moment; and this graceful manner of giving additional rank to the chief magistrate was loudly applauded by the whole company.

After a short time the king rose again, and said, "I have one more toast to give, in which I trust you will join me, and it is, 'Health to the chieftains and clans, and God Almighty bless the land of cakes. Drink this with three times three, gentlemen.'" The royal command was obeyed with enthusiasm; but, to the regret of the company, the king immediately departed at ten minutes after nine o'clock. His majesty, who was loudly cheered as he retired, was attended to his carriage by the lord-provost and the principal officers of state. The chief magistrate soon returned, and the rest of the evening was spent in festivity.

At an early hour on Sunday morning the king left Dalkeith, to attend divine service in the high kirk. The throng of people, wishing for admission, was so great, that numbers were excluded. The king came from Holyrood in a carriage and six, entered the church at half-after eleven, and seated himself on the throne, surrounded by his courtiers, nobles, and officers of state. When he came in, the people stood up, and continued so during the reading of the introductory psalm. The sermon was preached by Dr. Lamont, Moderator of the General Assembly. The service was not long, and on its conclusion the king returned to Dalkeith. The conduct of the people, both outside and in the church, was to the full as characteristic as upon the preceding occasions. They lifted their hats, and bowed respectfully as the king passed; but without making any noise or creating the least confusion.

On the evening of the following day, the Caledonian-hunt ball took place. His majesty arrived at half-past nine, and was attended by the different members of the royal household.

On Tuesday the grand masonic procession to lay the first stone of the national monument on Calton Hill, set out from the parliament-house preceded by bands of music. The appearance of the different lodges was very splendid, and the paraphernalia rich and appropriate. The duke of Hamilton marched in front as grand master for Scotland, supported by the duke of Argyll and the earl of Rosslyn. Several other noblemen followed in the procession, as well as the lord-provost and magistrates in their robes of office. Nothing could be finer than this spectacle, which only wanted the royal presence to give it effect. Among the pageantry was a formidable looking personage, half clad in shining armour, and attended by two pages, one black and the other white. Calton-hill and the neighbouring sites were crowded with well-dressed people, and the bustle and beauty of the scenery equalled any thing ever witnessed. Volleys of artillery, at half-past three, announced the lowering of the first stone of the monument by the duke of Hamilton and other commissioners, with all the imposing forms of the masonic ceremonial.

In the evening, the king honoured the theatre with his presence. The performance was Rob Roy, and the throng was immense, but fortunately no accidents occurred. When his majesty entered the royal box, the whole company rose, and the gentlemen stood uncovered except Glasgow, an highland chieftain, who refused to remove his bonnet until compelled to do so by the audience. This man it seemed laid claim to some old family privilege of standing covered in the royal presence; and now thought it a fine opportunity to exercise his right.

Another Highland chieftain deputed himself in a manner still more unbecomingly, and unbecomingly the national character. The king hearing that he had in his possession a dirk which once belonged to the unfortunate prince Charles Edward, expressed a wish to purchase the relic. The Highlander, however, pertinaciously refused to part with it on any account, though the article was of no value whatever. A lady, who set great store upon a kilt, brooch, and spoon, which had been the property of the royal adventurer, no sooner learnt in what manner her countryman had behaved, than she instantly put these treasures into the hands of sir Walter Scott, to be presented to his majesty, who received them very graciously; and when the donor was introduced at the drawing-room and ball, his majesty paid her particular attention.

The knife, fork, and spoon ere of the finest silver, the handles richly embossed with the thistle, the ends adorned with the rose, and the letters G. S. shortly but conspicuously marked. They were made in Holland, and impressed with the Dutch stamp. The lady wished to have taken them from the old case which contained them, and to have enclosed them in one of Morocco leather, but his majesty's good taste preferred having them in their ancient garb.

The time fixed for the royal departure having arrived, his majesty set out from Dalketh about noon on Thursday the 29th; and, escorted by the Scotch Greys, passed through Edinburgh, the streets of which, as well as the roads, were lined with piquets and patrols of horsemen. The day unfortunately proved wet, and the cavalcade did not reach the magnificent seat of the earl of Hopetoun till two. His lordship had invited a select party to meet his majesty, who partook of a *dejeuner a la fourchette*, which consisted of every delicacy in season. The king spoke much of Scotland, and particularly expressed high admiration of Edinburgh. Here captain Adam Ferguson, the deputy usher of the regalia, and Mr. Henry Raeburn, the celebrated painter, received the honour of knighthood; when the king was pleased to tell the latter that he would sit to him for his portrait, and be painted in the Highland dress. This design, however, was frustrated by the death of the great artist some days after. At a quarter before three o'clock his majesty took his leave of the noble host, and departed for Edgar pier near Queensferry. The earl of Hopetoun insisted upon conducting the king to the place of embarkation, where the lord chief commissioner Adam was in readiness to pay his respects. Upon his majesty's taking his seat in the barge, a royal salute was fired by the shipping, and re-echoed from the hills of the surrounding coast by different small batteries erected on the demesnes of the noblemen and gentlemen of the neighbourhood.

His majesty's yacht was towed down the Firth amid the thundering of the artillery from each shore: but the rain again fell in torrents, and nearly obscured the flotilla from the view. A number of pleasure-yachts, and even small boats, endeavoured to keep up with the royal squadron, but the king's vessel was towed along so rapidly as to distance them all.

In the mean time the most active preparations were made on the Thames for the reception of his majesty, who landed at Greenwich at a quarter past four on Sunday afternoon; and proceeded immediately to town, in excellent health and spirits.

At the opening of parliament, on the 4th of February, 1823, the royal commissioners said, "They were commanded by his majesty to state that the manifestations of loyalty and attachment to his person and government, which he had received in his late visit to Scotland, had made the deepest impression upon his heart."

During the same session, Mr. Hume presented to the house of commons a petition from the members of an infidel Society at Edinburgh, bearing the title of Zetetic. These persons complained, that while engaged in propagating the principles of free-thinking, they were interrupted by the magistrates of Edinburgh, who seized their books, and held the missionaries of atheism to bail. Mr. Hume enforced the prayer of the petition, that all such meetings should be legalized and secured from the interference of the civil authorities. The lord-advocate, in reply, defended the conduct of the magistrates, and said that the Zetetic philosophers, instead of having any right to complain, had got extremely well off.

The biographical register of Scotland, this year, received some considerable additions by the death of the duke of Roxburgh, Sylvester Douglas, baron Glenbervie, general John earl of Hopetoun, who died at Paris while the king was at Edinburgh; Mr. Charles Grant, the philanthropist, and late chairman of the East India Company; admiral lord Keith, and lastly, Thomas lord Erskine, who closed his long and brilliant career at Almondell, the seat of his nephew Mr. Henry Erskine, on the 17th of November.

The parliamentary history of the following year was one of great importance to Scotland, in the introduction and passing of a bill for the restoration in blood of the representatives of the attainted peers of that nation; as well as for the reversal of the attainder of the earl of Stafford. Highly gratifying



as his majesty's government had hitherto proved, the present measure added very considerably to that popularity.

The following list of the Scottish titles attained in the years 1716 and 1746, exhibits the dates of creation, the heirs entitled by their respective patents to the succession, and the names of the representatives of these ancient families which exist.—

		1715.
Before 1663	Earl of Mar, Erskine,	} Restored.
	Heirs general.	
1610	Marischal of Scotland,	} Represented by Sir Alex. Keith, of Dunstons and Ravelston, descended of Wm. 3d earl Marischal, who died about 1530.
Before 1458	Earl Marischal, Keith,	
	Heirs male.	} Extinct.
1430	Lord Maxwell,	
1620	Earl of Nithsdale, Maxwell,	} Represented by Sir George Seton of Carleton, descended of George 3d earl of Wmms, who died in 1650.
	Heirs male.	
1443	Lord Seton,	} Represented by Sir Thomas Livingston, of Westquarter and Bealornie, descended of Wm. 6th lord Livingston, who died 1302.
1600	Earl of Wintoun, Seton,	
	Heirs male whatsoever.	} Represented by the descendants of the earl of Melfort, settled in France.
1458	Lord Livingston,	
1600	Earl of Linlithgow,	} Extinct.
1641	Earl of Calendar,	
	Heirs male.	} Represented by Sir James Carnegie of Kinnaird, descended of David 1st earl of Sutherland, who died in 1658.
1437	Lord Drummond,	
1605	Earl of Perth, Drummond,	} Represented by Dalzell of Gann, great-grandson of the attainted earl.
	Heirs male whatsoever.	
1600	Lord Mackenzie,	} Extinct.
1620	Earl of Seaforth, Mackenzie,	
	Heirs male.	} Restored.
1633	Earl of Southesk, Carnegie,	
	Heirs male.	} Extinct.
1628	Lord Dalzell,	
1639	Earl of Carnwath,	} Restored.
	Heirs male.	
1646	Earl of Panmure, Maule,	} Extinct.
	Heirs male.	
1638	Viscount Kenmure, Gordon,	} Extinct.
	Heirs male whatsoever.	
1644	Viscount Kingston, Seton,	} Extinct.
	Heirs male.	
1664	Viscount Kilguth, Livingstone,	} Represented by Bruce of Kennet, daughter of Mary, daughter of Robert 4th lord Borthwick, and sister of the attainted lord.
	Heirs male.	
1607	Lord Burleigh, Balfour,	} Represented by Captain James Seaborn's grandson of the attainted lord.
	Heirs general.	
1650	Lord Duffus, Sutherland,	
	Heirs male.	
		1746
1459	Lord Boyd,	} Represented by the earl of Errol, great-grandson of the attainted earl.
1661	Earl of Kilmarnock,	
	Heirs male whatsoever.	} Extinct.
1685	Lord Machod,	
1703	Earl of Cromartie, Mackenzie,	} Restored.
	Heirs male.	
1609	Lord Modesty, Drummond,	} Represented by Fraser of Lovat, descended of Alexander, 5th lord, who died 1452.
1626	Viscount Strathallan,	
	Heirs male.	} Extinct.
1431	Lord Lovat, Fraser,	
	Heirs male.	} Extinct.
1603	Lord Balmerinoch, Elphinstone,	
	Heirs male.	} Restored.
1633	Lord Pittsligo, Forbes,	
	Heirs male whatsoever.	
1681	Lord Wairs, Wairs,	
	Heirs general.	

Another act of legislative liberality, which marked the present year, was the provision made for the religious improvement of the Highlands. Some of the parishes there are from twenty to fifty miles in extent, so that with the obstructions of lakes, rivers, and mountains, the inhabitants in many places were utterly debarred from an attendance on divine service, and the clergyman prevented from visiting his people. To remedy this evil, a resolution passed the house of commons, for the erection of forty or more new churches in different parts of this country, with a manse for the minister, and a salary of one hundred and twenty pounds a year. This undertaking was entrusted to the commissioners, who had already rendered such essential service by the completion of the Grand Caledonian Canal, and the parliamentary roads and bridges.

At this time the canal had succeeded so far as to admit of the navigation of one hundred and twenty vessels from different places, laden with various commodities. Steam-boats also passed regularly between Glasgow and Inverness. By deepening the line, the largest merchantmen were afterwards enabled to proceed from sea to sea, through this magnificent canal. It now affords a fashionable excursion for beholding the stupendous rocks, the splendid water-falls, extended lochs, admirably constructed canal locks, elevated mountains, and beautiful scenery, that are presented to the view. A steam-vessel passes through in one day.

In the winter of the present year, Edinburgh suffered severely. On the night of the 25th of November, a fire broke out in a tenement over the Apothecaries' Hall in the High Street, which, besides destroying a number of houses, extended to the steeple of the Tron church, and consumed it; but the body of the edifice was preserved. On the following day, another conflagration, unconnected with the preceding one, occurred in the Parliament Close, by which the whole east side of the square was levelled, and above three hundred families deprived of a dwelling.

In the course of this year the peerage of Scotland lost two of its members, a William Ker, marquis of Lothian; and Alexander Wentworth, baron Macdonald. The former was succeeded by his son, and the latter by his brother, general Godfrey Bosville Macdonald.

At this time, such was the imprudence of ministers, and the negligence of parliament, that a motion was carried for repealing the statutes that had been enacted against combinations of workmen for the increase of wages. It was said that this measure would be productive of harmony and order, instead of which had the contrary effect, and occasioned the most flagitious outrages all over the kingdom. At Edinburgh the masons' labourers struck, and assembled in gangs to prevent others from serving their employers. The reapers in East Lothian did the same during harvest. But these inconveniences were trivial, compared with what occurred at Glasgow and the neighbourhood. The extensive iron-foundries of the Clyde were stopped for several weeks, by a combination among the colliers; who, though their wages were already very high, refused to work in the pits, or to suffer others to do so, without an advance. By this means all trade in that line was at a stand, and a prodigious loss was incurred. At Glasgow the cotton-spinners went still farther, and committed the most atrocious acts of violence, amounting in some cases to murder, upon the peaceable and well-disposed mechanics.

In consequence of these disgraceful proceedings, one of the first measures of the next session of parliament was, the passing of another act against all such associations and combinations of operatives to the injury of their employers and themselves.

On the 21st of October, 1825, happened a dreadful catastrophe, which excited a general feeling of sympathy and indignation throughout Scotland. The steam-boat Comet, in her passage from Inverness and Fort William, on rounding the Kempeck point, between Gourrock and the Clough light-house, came into contact with the steam-boat Ayr, that was outward-bound. The collision was so violent, that the Comet went down almost instantaneously, even above seventy persons were in a moment precipitated into the deep; even only being saved out of eighty. At the moment of the misfortune the people on the deck of the Comet were engaged in dancing. The Ayr, instead of rendering assistance to the sufferers, gave her paddles a back stroke, turned

round, and ran off to Greenock, leaving them to their fate. Duncan M'Isaac, the master of the Comet, was one of those who escaped; and, as his conduct was deemed reprehensible, he was brought to trial before the high court of justiciary; but, owing to a blunder in the indictment, he was acquitted. The Comet has since been weighed, broken up, and a considerable part of the property recovered.

About the time when this accident occurred, the great Fife cause came to a final decision in the court of session. On a former hearing, the validity of certain deeds executed by the late earl of Fife had been established; but being dissatisfied with the decision, the present possessor of the title appealed to the lords, who remitted the cause back to the court of session, when the former judgment was reversed, and in consequence the earl obtained an addition to his income of twenty thousand a year.

In the spring of 1825, died Alexander Lindsay, sixth earl of Balcarnea, and one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage. He was succeeded in the title by his eldest son James, and in the representation by lord Strathallan.

At the close of this year, died suddenly John Francis Erskine, earl of Mar. This venerable nobleman, who had attained the advanced age of eighty-five, was succeeded by his son John Thomas Erskine. The title of Mar is one of those earldoms, the origin of which is lost in its antiquity. It existed before the era of genuine history, and came, by female descent, to the Erskines in 1435; who, after being kept out of it for one hundred and thirty years, had it restored to them by queen Mary, in 1565, in the person of the sixth earl. John, the eleventh earl, was well inclined to the house of Hanover, but being deprived of his public employments, and concluding that his ruin was decreed, he joined the Pretender in 1715. For this his estate was forfeited, his person attainted, and he died in exile in 1732. His only son served in the house of commons, and died in 1766, when the representation of the family passed to a nephew of the preceding earl, and his son lived to be restored in blood.

Another of the restored lords, James Sutherland, baron Duff, died afterwards at the age of eighty, and was succeeded by his cousin sir Benjamin Dunbar, of Hempriggs, baronet.

From this time nothing particularly deserving of public record occurs in the history of Scotland; unless the subscription of the Caledonian Service Club at Edinburgh, for a statue of the late Duke of York, be considered in the night. The act certainly is as honourable to the feelings of those who projected and carried it, as to the character of the illustrious personage whose private and public merit it commemorates. The death of that amiable and public spirited prince, has left a blank in the state not easily supplied, and the consequences which have already resulted from it, are so portentous as to render the loss extremely calamitous under the peculiar circumstances in which the royal succession at present stands.

All states and empires, as Buchanan well observes in his epistle dedicated to their appointed course; and though, in a gloomy mood, he ventured to tell his royal pupil and master, that "the government seemed to be hurried on to ruin and destruction;" the event in a few years falsified the augury. The accession of James to the throne of Great Britain, whatever might be its political effects, proved ultimately highly beneficial to Scotland, in giving scope to native industry, and turning to advantage the resources of the country. But it was the legislative union of the two kingdoms, in the reign of the last of the Stuarts, that completed the good work, by extending the privileges of Scotland, and enabling the people to employ their natural and acquired means with a view to the national improvement, as well as to the personal benefit. In proof of this, we need only take a glance at the comparative state of commerce in Scotland within the space of a century. At the time of the Union, the shipping of Scotland fell short of ten thousand tons; and at the close of the late war with France, the amount of tonnage exceeded one hundred and sixty thousand.

When the act for incorporating the two crowns passed, Scotland had one million of yards of linen for sale, and at the end of the century there were more than twenty-four millions of that article made for home consumption.

and exportation. At the former period the custom-house duties amounted to thirty-four thousand pounds; at the end of 1796 the return was two hundred and eighty-four thousand five hundred and seventy-seven pounds; at the close of the late war the amount was above eight hundred thousand pounds; and at present the annual return far exceeds that sum. But of the advanced state of trade, perhaps a better criterion can hardly be given than in the excise duty on paper made in Scotland, which in 1813 amounted to £23,600, and in 1826 to £76,926.

Since the accession of his present majesty, the progression in capital, industry, and population, has gone on with a rapid yet steady acceleration of force. Of this fact, Edinburgh alone furnishes a striking evidence in the rise of the value of property. A house, which in the year 1788 cost the builder only eight thousand pounds, was lately sold for thirty-five thousand. Near the basin of the canal, ground which a few years ago was bought for about two thousand pounds, now yields an income of one thousand a year. A small town which has sprung up in this part of the suburbs is enlarging daily, insomuch that a person who has not visited the capital for some time, would find himself bewildered amidst new streets, crescents, squares, monuments, bridges, and public buildings. The complaint of the ancients, that "corn grows where Troy stood," is here reversed; for the land which lately lay waste, or yielded a scanty subsistence to grazing cattle, is now thickly set with human habitations. The lowing of herds has given place to the clangor of the anvil and the noise of the shuttle; while in the remoter provinces, wild heaths are turned into pasturage, and immense flocks are seen browsing where a few years since the sportsman rambled in search of game.

Of the change which has occurred throughout the Highlands, the state of the great annual wool and sheep market at Inverness, in the month of June of the present year, exhibits a substantial proof. At this mart one hundred and twenty thousand stone of wool, and one hundred and fifty thousand sheep, were sold on terms of advantage to the growers, and of satisfaction to the purchasers. The prices, on an average, were from fifteen to twenty per cent. higher than in the preceding year, and more than fifty per cent. beyond what could have been expected at the beginning of the season.

Such is the improved state of Scotland, and so completely has the prediction of queen Anne been verified, when, in recommending a consolidation of the two nations, she said,—“An entire and perfect union will be the solid foundation of lasting peace; it will secure your religion, liberty, and property; remove the animosities among yourselves, and the jealousies and differences between our two kingdoms: it must increase your strength, riches, and trade; and by this union, the whole island being joined in affection, and free from all apprehensions of different interests, will be enabled to resist all its enemies, support its interest every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe.”

As a contrast to this cheerful picture, let us quote the gloomy augury of lord Belhaven, with the pleasant comment of his countryman Mr. Henry Dundas, afterwards lord Melville; the one in his speech on the Union with Scotland, and the other in his speech on the Union with Ireland.—

“I think I see (said Belhaven) the laborious ploughman, with his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth.” “Now I do see, on the contrary, (said Dundas,) the mere ploughman enjoying treble wages and treble comforts; while his master, the farmer, instead of his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, reaps such profits from its immediate sale, as enables him to live almost upon an equal footing, in point of every social enjoyment, with even the hereditary landed gentleman—the possessor of the soil itself!”

“I think I see (continued lord Belhaven) the pretty daughters of our landed gentlemen, petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employment.”—In answer to this, the right honourable commentator says, “Now, I do see, and I believe every one else sees, that the pretty daughters of the Scotch nobility and gentry, so far from petitioning for husbands, bear, at the present moment, a very high premium in the nuptial market of the English aristocracy!”

"I need not (concludes the modern statesman) enlarge on a topic which is proved to every man's observation, by the examples daily passing before them. In truth, nothing has tended more to accelerate the happy connexion which now subsists between the two parts of the island, than the intercourse of friendship, habits, and affection, arising from the union of the busy, wealth, and talents, produced by the intermarriage of the inhabitants of the opposite sides of the Tweed. And as to their sons petitioning for want of employment, let me do justice to this liberal nation by declaring that we need only look into every profession in life, from the Scotch gardener, baker, and hair-dresser, up to the Scotch merchant, the Scotch physician, the Scotch general, the Scotch admiral, and the Scotch lawyer, to prove that, since the Union, merit has been equally rewarded throughout the whole island, whether its possessor was rocked in his cradle on the south or on the north side of the Tweed."

This song of triumph over the dismal forebodings of prejudice, might have received a higher and more glorious tone of elation, had the perspicacious mind which conceived it so happily, and expressed it so vigorously, been enabled to pierce the veil of futurity, and to anticipate the wondrous changes that were about to be unfolded. Had he been so gifted, he would have beheld numerous steam-vessels, of majestic dimensions, navigating the Clyde, and the whole Caledonian sea from west to east. He would have seen other shipping, and craft of various sizes, passing continually along the various canals which intersect the country in all directions, and conveying from place to place manufactured goods for exportation, or raw materials for the exercise of industry. On the beautiful lochs of the interior he would have contemplated innumerable boats, of elegant structure, filled with visitors from the furthest parts of the kingdom, and drawn hither solely by the desire to survey the magnificent scenery of unsophisticated nature. If, in addition to all this, there had been exhibited a view of the extensive roads, winding along the sides of mountains that were once impassable; bridges, thrown across the rapid streams rushing through the glens below; and the many commodious harbours constructed along the shores for the convenience of commerce,—the observer would have been lost in admiration, and exclaimed with enthusiastic ardour, that nothing short of a consolidation of interests could have produced such beneficial but expensive works.

It is clear, from the preceding history, that Scotland, in her separate state though possessing a nominal sovereignty, was too poor in natural or acquire means, to engage in the improvement of the country upon a scale calculated for general utility. Besides this, the annals of the nation shew that the people were at all times, while enjoying a separate government, so much divided among themselves, and so completely under the influence of their chiefs, as to be incapable of indulging any inclination they might have of a patriotic kind, with safety, or of carrying it into execution with effect.

Legislative power and wisdom alone could achieve the necessary reformation, and this we have happily seen brought to an issue amidst all the formidable difficulties occasioned by foreign war and intestine convulsions. Union is strength, and perseverance is superior to force. What would have appalled the wisest and most resolute of our ancestors, has been fully accomplished under the auspices of George the Fourth, who after successfully combating for the liberties of Europe, may repose in the felicitous satisfaction of having given stability to his dominions, and may apply to himself the language of the illustrious chief of antiquity,

*Nec mihi regno peto : peribus se legibus ambas,  
Invicta gentes eterna in fœdera mittant.*

*I neither wish to reign,  
Nor bid the Latins serve the Trojan train :  
From strife let each unconquer'd nation cease,  
And join in leagues of everlasting peace.*

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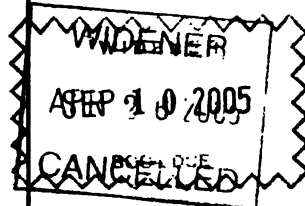
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